

Deconstructing Ashdoda: Migration, Hybridisation, and the Philistine Identity

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Abstract

For many Near Eastern scholars the label 'Philistine' continues to reflect an ethnic group comprised of people who migrated from the Aegean ca 1200 BC, and who should be equated with the Peleset Sea Peoples mentioned in Egyptian texts. When looking at the archaeological evidence of 12th-11th century BC southern Canaan, however, any straightforward correlation between intrusive materials and an Aegean identity is frustrated by apparent influences from Cyprus and Canaan itself. Using Philistine seated female figurines (customarily called 'Ashdoda' figurines) as a case study, it is argued that Philistine remains more likely represent the productions of a hybrid culture, and betray influences from more than just the Aegean. As such, Ashdoda is not an appropriate ethnic marker for any 'Aegean' Philistine identity. While it is possible to interpret a path of migration in the cultural influences present in Ashdoda, a more likely interpretation of these figurines classifies them as hybridised objects, the by-products of the mixing of peoples and ideas in the multicultural setting that was Early Iron Age 'Philistia.' If any Aegean influence in the material remains seems predominant, it may be due to a particularly cohesive subgroup falling within the early Philistine/Peleset identity label, for whom a return home was less likely.

INTRODUCTION

For several decades Near Eastern archaeologists have associated both the destruction levels and intrusive material changes found in the Early Iron Age (EIA) southern Levant (ca 1200-1050 BC) with the incursion of the Philistines. Under the assumption that the label 'Philistine' represents an identifiable ethnic group, several attempts have been made to ascertain their geographic and cultural origins, and to trace their route of migration to the southern coastal plain.¹ An analysis of the material remains of early 12th century BC southern Canaan led to the conclusion that the Philistines were an ethnic group, who should be equated with the 'Peleset' Sea Peoples mentioned in contemporary 12th century BC Egyptian texts.² To connect these Egyptian *Peleset* invaders with the biblical Philistines, scholars formulated a 'Philistine equation',³ whereby the *Peleset* equalled the producers and consumers of Philistine Bichrome pottery, who themselves equalled the Philistines mentioned in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, this type of pottery (and other EIA remains) represented a material bridge, linking the earlier Egyptian texts to the later Hebrew ones. The traditional Philistine historical narrative portrayed them as invaders, who entered the southern coastal plain en masse from the Aegean. This origin was proposed because of a perceived Aegean character of some of the intrusive materials found in early 12th century BC strata at

certain Philistine 'Pentapolis' sites, and vague biblical references to 'Caphtor' (interpreted as either Crete or the Aegean in general) as their original homeland.⁴

More recently, other archaeologists have criticised previous arguments concerning this presumed Aegean origin for the Philistines. These critiques have included those who see more localised roots for the Philistines,⁵ those who think the name has been applied too broadly to the material remains in southern Canaan (allowing them to be labelled 'eclectic' erroneously),⁶ and those who feel that an ethnic identity is not indicated by the archaeological record at all, instead pointing to other mechanisms, such as a shift in trade systems, to explain the intrusive Iron I assemblages.⁷ These alternate views have in turn been dismissed, with proponents of the 'Aegean-origins' model claiming the archaeological evidence best fits a migration scenario.⁸

Assuming the Philistines represented a single, self-identified, ethnic group is problematic, given the ambiguous nature of the material record, as well as the lack of any Philistine written sources. All textual information pertaining to the Philistines comes indirectly, often from groups (e.g. Egyptians, Israelites) that were hostile towards them. The 'eclectic' nature of Philistine assemblages, however, is not only a reflection of the overly broad branding of this label to the regional material culture of southern Canaan in the 12th-11th century BC,⁹ but also the reluctance to accept non-Aegean cultural

influences for proposed Philistine materials, which conflict with the traditional invasion narrative. Archaeologists dealing with Iron I levels in southern Israel often emphasise the new, intrusive elements in the material record, interpreting them as evidence for the arrival of new peoples (e.g. Sea Peoples, Israelites), at the expense of the continuous, and more plentiful, Canaanite materials.¹⁰ While it is extremely difficult to estimate how many new people arrived in the southern Levant after 1200 BC, any suggestion of the total displacement of the local Canaanite population by these migrants is not supported by the archaeological evidence.

In order to argue for Philistine migration into the Levant during the 12th century BC, a more sophisticated framework for predicting migratory movements was required. This framework was provided by Barako,¹¹ who employed a demographic-geographic model to show that the collapse at the end of the Late Bronze Age did create an environment conducive to the movement of large populations.¹² Barako still assumed an Aegean origin for the Philistines, and that the label had specific, ethnic meaning from the outset of their arrival to the Levant.¹³ Whatever the value of an Aegean label for the 12th century BC *Peleset*, this paper contends that a *settled* Philistine society was a composite culture, drawn not only from Aegean migrants, but those from Cyprus, and the local Canaanite population as well. To this end, it employs a hybridisation perspective, where the dynamic nature of cultural identities is interpreted through the mixings of peoples, practices, and objects.¹⁴

To investigate the difficulty in assuming a path of migration from an Aegean origin for the Philistines, a deconstructive analysis of 'Ashdoda' figurines is employed as a case study. These figurines are seated female terracottas, often interpreted as the representation of an imported Philistine goddess. The prototypical Ashdoda (*fig. 1, right; fig. 3*), named for the site of Ashdod where it was found, is certainly distinct from the figurines in the Canaanite or Egyptian coroplastic tradition. Its resemblance to Aegean seated figurines has allowed Near Eastern archaeologists to offer up Ashdoda as another indication of the Aegean cultural roots of the Philistines.¹⁵ I argue that they do not display solely Aegean typological attributes, but also Cypriot and even Canaanite traits. These other cultural influences may hint at a path of migration for the *Peleset* (i.e. via Cyprus), but more likely are the by-product of a period of co-habitation between Aegeans, Cypriots and Canaanites in the southern coastal plain during the 12th-11th century BC. These figurines represent 'hybridised' objects, showing

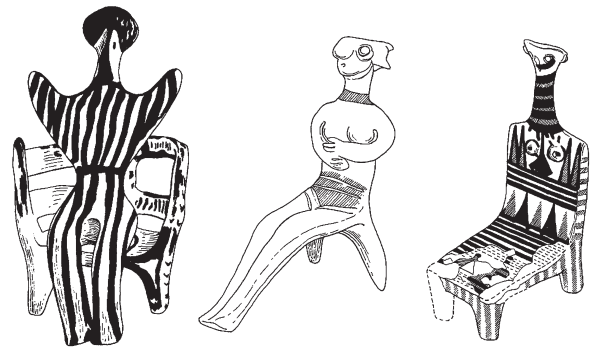


Fig. 1. Seated figures from (l. to r.) Mycenae (ca 15th-13th c. BC), Katydhata, Cyprus (ca 13th-12th c. BC) and Ashdod (11th c. BC) (Sandars 1985, 171, Fig. 116).

influences from not only the Aegean and Cyprus, but also native Canaanite culture. The fact that Aegean influences are the most easily detectable in Philistine material remains may be due to a particularly cohesive sub-group within this label, who were not as likely to return home as other elements who are encompassed in the 'Philistine' archaeological culture.

Following an assessment of Barako's use of the demographic model for predicting migrations, I will analyse Ashdoda in the context of the coroplastic traditions in the eastern Mediterranean, investigating whether such objects can be used to describe a path of migration for the Philistines. I conclude with a discussion of Ashdoda as a hybridised object, and whether such figurines should be used as ethnic markers.

PREDICTING MIGRATIONS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

Migration as an explanation of culture change has had an on-again/off-again relationship with western archaeologists. While it was often employed by those working in the culture-historical tradition,¹⁶ the processual movement of the 1960s reacted against overly simplistic models that equated shifts in material remains to the movements of people, often involving invasions (e.g. Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese) and ignoring either internal means for change or diffusion mechanisms. While this 'new archaeology' did not deny the occurrence of migrations in the past,¹⁷ the unpredictability of such events, and the difficulty of distinguishing migrations in the archaeological record, made it an inadequate explanation in instances of culture change, and 'impossible to test objectively'.¹⁸

In the 1980s, drawing on a century of migration analysis in demography and geography and the

growth of inter-regional investigations, western archaeologists once again began to consider migration as a viable area of study, albeit in a more structured way than before.¹⁹ Instead of regarding migration as a compressed, historical event, they considered it a social process. They began to create models for the predictability of migratory movements that did not focus on the historically specific causes of migration, which are often impossible to recover archaeologically. Instead, archaeologists looked at pragmatic elements such as access to information about possible destinations, the attractive elements (called 'pull factors,') which could encourage migration towards such destinations, and the negative elements (called 'push factors,') which provided incentive to leave the homeland.²⁰ These concepts were borrowed from demography, and were distinct from previous explanatory models of migration in emphasising that push and pull factors do not provide proximate historical reasons for migration (which may involve irretrievable ideological reasons), but instead more general trends measurable by the processual methods of new archaeology.²¹

In Near Eastern archaeology, however, migration and invasion theories never really went out of vogue. This is a reflection of both the strong culture-historical tradition in this field, and the influence of the biblical narrative,²² where several related instances of mass population movements (e.g. Exodus) are recounted. As mentioned above, the Philistines themselves are referred to as migrants from Caphtor in the Hebrew Bible, and so it has been easy for archaeologists to assume the intrusive culture seen in the Iron I southern coastal plain represents the entrance of the Philistines into Canaan from the Aegean.²³

When it comes to the archaeological basis for identifying the Philistines as migrants to the Levant, Stager outlines three criteria:²⁴

1. The intrusive culture must be distinct from the contemporary indigenous (or other foreign) cultures and the nature of the contact situation (invasion, peaceful assimilation, etc.) must be evident. So if there is forced entry, evidence for destruction should be apparent, or if there is a more felicitous incorporation into the host population, one should be able to identify new migrant 'zones' annexed to the settlement.
2. The homeland of the migrating group must be located, and the material there shown to pre-date the migration material.
3. The route of migration should be traced and verified for 'archaeological, historical and geographic plausibility'.²⁵

While these criteria might seem to provide a reasonable analytical basis for distinguishing migration in the archaeological record, in practice none of these features is easy to identify. Further, they seem to require a presumption of migration, to which the evidence can then be manipulated to fit. By seeking historical plausibility, Stager puts himself in a position where proximate causes may need to be assumed, in the case of the Philistines, based on limited or biased textual sources. Still, the basic model of migration for the Philistines, beginning in the Aegean, travelling east via Cyprus, then proceeding on to Egypt and the southern coastal plain is often accepted in Levantine archaeology.²⁶

Barako²⁷ warns against the compressive nature of archaeological evidence, which tends to force a longer-stage process like migration into a chronologically limited event. He disagrees with models that interpret a 'total population displacement' by the Philistines, instead proposing the migration represented an instance of 'subcultural intrusion', where 'an organised group, or subculture, immigrates to a foreign land and is integrated into the adoptive society'.²⁸ While it was previously believed that the Philistines' initial settlement consisted of a military elite, Barako persuasively argues for the existence of a migrating 'group of people diverse in terms of class, sex and age',²⁹ drawing on both Egyptian iconographic evidence, which shows women and children amongst the invading Sea Peoples, as well as the archaeological evidence of loomweights and common Aegean-inspired cooking wares, to dispel the notion of the Philistines as an exclusively male, upper-class military phenomenon. This interpretation fits in with recent ethnographic studies that show women in the frontier of migratory movements, tempering the assumption of (unmarried) young men entirely making up the 'scouting' party.³⁰

The Aegean material record of the 'crisis years' ca 1200 BC certainly seems to provide an archaeological basis for positing plausible push factors that would have directed people away from this region. Barako, in fact, outlines several possible scenarios including socio-economic collapse, natural disasters, famine, and internecine warfare.³¹ That these causes are non-specific fits well with the demographic strategy of seeking broad possibilities, rather than assumed proximate historical events (e.g. the Trojan War, or a Dorian invasion of the Peloponnese). When it comes to pull factors encouraging relocation to southern Canaan, Barako's propositions are less satisfying, as it is hard to read in the archaeological or geographic record a Levantine agricultural and/or exchange superiority over

the Aegean (or Cyprus). Moreover, assuming - as Barako does - an attraction for the 'spoils of raiding' seems to counteract his model of diverse classes, sexes, and age groups making up the migrating population.³² All of his push and pull factors, regardless of their validity, still assume an Aegean origin for the Philistines.

Along with push and pull factors, Anthony emphasises the importance of pragmatic facilitating features, such as a sufficiently advanced transportation technology, as well as access to information (whether accurate or not) about the destination.³³ Barako argues that seafaring technology available to Aegean migrants by about 1200 BC was not only sufficient to allow for migration, but migration of a sizable scale.³⁴ There have been suggestions, based on the depictions of ox-carts from the Medinet Habu mortuary temple (*fig. 2*), that we should consider the movement of the Philistines as both a land and sea movement,³⁵ but just how far these figures had travelled, or where the land battle took place specifically (i.e. possibly in an already settled Philistine context), is not at all apparent in these reliefs. In many respects, it would seem impractical for the migration to have adopted both modes of travel simultaneously, and there is evidence for the transportation of animals on boats in the Aegean, dating back as far as the Early Bronze Age.³⁶ Of course, if one proposes a lengthy *process* of migration, as opposed to a particular historical event, then there is no need to assume that land and sea movements were contemporary, originated in the same place, or were even especially related to each other.

As for conduits of information, following the suggestion that people rarely migrate to areas which they know nothing about,³⁷ Barako proposes that - before our era of mass media - information about distant places was best received via long distance trade networks, for which we have certainly a good deal of evidence in the Late Bronze Age, at least with respect to indirect communication lines between the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant.³⁸ A key piece of information that the Philistines would have required was the knowledge that Egypt controlled the various urban centres in the southern coastal plain ca 1200 BC. Such information could have come from naval merchants, but also from mercenaries: their Sea Peoples allies, the *Sherden*, had previously fought for Egypt under Ramesses II, during the 13th century BC Battle of Qadesh,³⁹ and could have been familiar with the political realities of the Levantine coast.

Just as others have argued for the 'Achaean' colonisation of Cyprus, the migration of Aegean

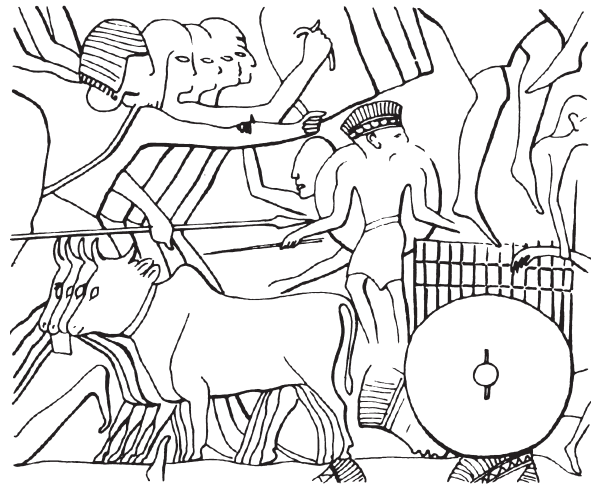


Fig. 2. Depiction of an ox-cart from the reliefs on Ramesses III's mortuary temple at Medinet Habu (Dothan 1982, 9, Fig. 5). (Courtesy of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago).

peoples to the southern coastal plain of the Levant should be regarded as 'not the outcome of a single event but the result of a long and complex process involving recurrent migrations'.⁴⁰ Such a process would have involved more than young, male, military elites, as evidenced by the iconographic and archaeological data.⁴¹ Using the Ashdoda figurine as a case study, I will argue that the Philistine identity associated with this object is the by-product not only of Aegean migration, but also of interaction amongst other mobile populations (including Cypriots), and co-habitation with local Canaanite peoples over the course of successive generations. Such a process of migration did not take the form of an historical 'wave' of invaders, although in certain places, at certain times violent clashes may be detected archaeologically. More typically, though, the material record indicates a longer-term process of (peaceful) migration.

ASHODA AND HER 'PRECURSORS': TYPOLOGICAL ANALYSIS

The prototype 'Ashdoda' was found in the Philistine Pentapolis city of Ashdod during excavations in the 1960s.⁴² This object is important because: a.) it is the best preserved example of this type of figurine found in the Levant; and b.) because of its similarity to Mycenaean seated figurines, it is thought to provide another marker of the Aegean origins of the Philistines.⁴³ Other Ashdoda-type figurines are known, although exclusively from fragmentary remains, and have been found at Ash-

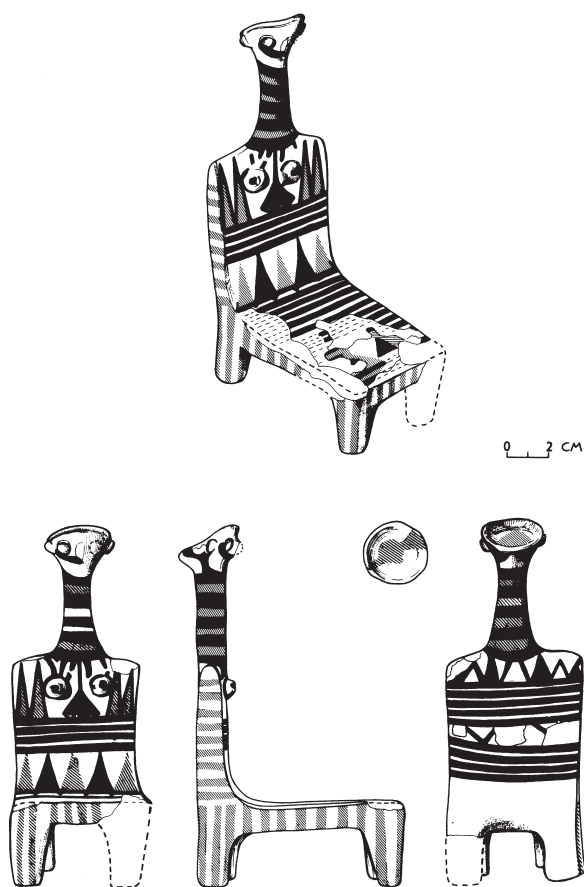


Fig. 3. Line drawing of 'Ashdoda' showing described features (Dothan 1982, 235, Fig. 9). (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

dod, Aphek, Tel Batash (Timnah), Gezer, Tel Mique (Ekron) and Ashkelon.⁴⁴ All of these are female figurines with long necks, bird-like faces, and *polos*-style headwear, with applied pellet eyes, and occasionally ears as well.⁴⁵ All such features were foreign to Canaanite objects, and even Brug, the most vocal pro-Semitic origins proponent, acknowledges that Ashdoda figurines offer the most serious challenge to any dominant Canaanite element in Philistine cultic material.⁴⁶ Ashdoda represents the schematic combination of a seated female and a chair or offering table. The head and neck merge into an armless, breasted torso, which also forms the back of the chair. From the 'waist' the figurine bends into a four-legged seat with further horizontal black lines. The elongated triangles are seen as a Philistine stylisation of Egyptian lotus motifs,⁴⁷ and have led some to assume this is some kind of vegetation or fertility goddess.⁴⁸ Two painted triangles at the back of the neck may indicate hair,⁴⁹

and a black pendant lying between the breasts hangs from a necklace, in what is called a more realistic rendering of the lotus motif.⁵⁰

When we look at the painting style, however, it becomes apparent that there may be specific Canaanite influence in the execution of such figurines. Enough fragments remained to restore the prototype Ashdoda almost completely (fig. 3). It was a handmade figurine, covered in heavy white slip with black and red painted designs (like Philistine bichrome pottery), which included typical Philistine motifs of horizontal bands and elongated triangles.⁵¹ This bichrome style, however, is widely acknowledged to have been derived from Canaanite pottery practices,⁵² so the claim that Ashdoda shows purely Aegean roots, or, worse, that it lacks any Levantine influence, is incorrect. Such 'local' input seems logical on stratigraphic grounds, as Ashdoda was not found in the earliest Philistine levels at Ashdod, but rather in a later 11th century BC context,⁵³ following a period of co-habitation between the new migrants and the indigenous Canaanite population. It would thus be incorrect to suggest that Ashdoda represents an 'example of the image of a deity worshipped at Ashdod at the time of the Philistines' initial settlement'.⁵⁴ There is no conclusive evidence that Ashdoda is a foreign goddess (even if we were to accept that the figurine represents a goddess at all) introduced to the southern coastal plain at this time. Indeed, even the Aegean precursors with which it is compared (see below) are not universally accepted as goddess figurines. Given the range of contexts in which they are found (houses, graves, and sanctuaries), the interpretations 'range between the two extremes of simple toys and of idols'.⁵⁵

Dothan describes Ashdoda's find spot as situated near an unusual apsidal feature,⁵⁶ which was possibly a cult area, although originally thought to be a silo, and its function remains unknown due to a lack of diagnostic finds.⁵⁷ It was actually found on the opposite side of a road from this feature, and in a later stratum, so any association with the earlier installation is tenuous.⁵⁸ There is one possible example of an earlier (12th century BC), albeit quite fragmentary, seated figurine at Ashdod (fig. 4), described as having 'one pointed shoulder and part

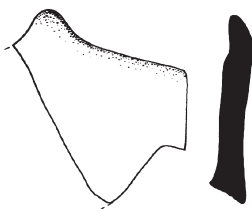


Fig. 4. Possible early Ashdoda figure from Ashdod (Area H, stratum XIIb - 12th c. BC) (Ben-Shlomo 2005, 121, Fig. 3.36, n. 4). (Courtesy of the Israel Antiquities Authority).

of a plaque-shaped body, its lower part slightly inclined - possibly indicating the beginning of a "seat", and bearing 'traces of chalky white slip'.⁵⁹ The drawing of this fragment forces one to use quite a bit of imagination to see any Ashdoda form of representation. Other examples dating to the early 12th century BC were found at Ekron in a 'shrine', although just the heads, leading Dothan to refer to them as 'crude figures in the Mycenaean tradition' that anticipate the later rendering of Ashdoda.⁶⁰ None of these earlier examples is painted in the bichrome style, although the earliest Philistine pottery is itself monochrome,⁶¹ so this technique may have only been adopted by the producers of such figurines after a generation or two. Brug reported an Ashdoda-type figurine from Tell Qasile, described as holding an infant,⁶² although the excavator claims that no such figurine has been discovered there.⁶³

Dothan refers to Ashdoda as a 'conceptual and stylistic continuation of the seated Aegean female goddess'.⁶⁴ The Aegean examples are sometimes shown holding a child (referred to as *kourotrophos* figurines), examples of which are known from the Greek mainland, Rhodes and Cyprus. These figurines are occasionally incorporated into the seats (although to a lesser degree than Ashdoda), and are occasionally even detachable from them.⁶⁵ A typical Aegean example offered as a possible forerunner to Ashdoda is a female figurine which seems to be in a seated posture, yet lacks a chair (fig. 1, left). This type of seated figurine appears first in the Late Helladic (LH) IIIA (ca 1400-1300 BC) period, and becomes common through to the end of the Mycenaean palatial period.⁶⁶ It was found by Tsountas in a tomb in Mycenae, and is now housed in the National Museum in Athens.⁶⁷ It has a similar pinched-nose face to Ashdoda, and wears the *polos* head covering, although its eyes are painted on, rather than added as pellets. That this figurine was originally seated is not only suggested by the pose, but by the lack of painted stripes on the lower posterior and the back of the legs.⁶⁸ Whether it was seated on a chair (of which there were empty examples of at Mycenae), or sat 'side-saddle' on an animal figurine, is uncertain.⁶⁹ It sat uncomfortably when restored to an empty chair, yet it does not appear to have been broken off from any saddle either. From the waist up, this figurine actually resembles a typical Mycenaean *Psi* figurine, also known as 'mourning-woman' figurines, of which there are examples from Philistine contexts at Tel 'Aitun, although the rendering in the latter instance is less schematic.⁷⁰ There are other Aegean examples, dated to the same LH IIIA

period, that imitate the posture of Ashdoda more closely, including partial incorporation into the chair. Mylonas reported one found at Mycenae, which is now in the Louvre, and another from Nauplia.⁷¹ While the latter has the familiar pinched face, the Louvre piece is quite different above the neck. The Louvre figurine belongs to the *kourotrophos* tradition, and Mylonas suggested that the Nauplian example may also originally have had an infant represented.⁷²

It is important to note that not all Near Eastern scholars see purely Aegean features when looking at Ashdoda. Dothan herself acknowledges the possibility of Cypriot elements in the execution of these figurines,⁷³ while others have argued for an Aegean-Canaanite mix,⁷⁴ a logical assumption if we are dealing with Aegean people in a Canaanite setting. Still others would associate Ashdoda with the Anatolian goddess Kybele/Kubaba,⁷⁵ or feel she belongs to the Astarte/Aphrodite tradition. This latter association is not based on any typological similarities, however, but on a reference in Herodotus concerning the presence of an ancient temple to Aphrodite Urania in Ashkelon.⁷⁶ Sanders, without being overly explicit, seems to question the Aegean influence on Ashdoda, although she does not offer any alternate sources of influence. She does admit that a seated figurine from Katydhata in Cyprus (see below), is 'rather similar'.⁷⁷ While these other possible influences are casually referred to, they seem to have little effect on the predominance of the 'Philistines-from-the-Aegean' model, nor is it ever explained how these non-Aegean traits could have encroached upon a Mycenaean-based figurine.

When we move to Cyprus, more serious problems arise in trying to associate seated figurines with Aegeans in motion. Dothan refers to a seated figurine from Katydhata (fig. 1, centre) as a 'Late Cypriote adaptation of this [Aegean goddess] concept in Base-Ring ware',⁷⁸ a transitional piece between the Aegean origin of the type and the Philistine 'end-product.' When looking at these seated figurines placed alongside the standing figurines of the Late Cypriot II-III (1450-1050 BC) group B variation (figs. 5-6),⁷⁹ however, the similarities to Cypriot practice seem much more evident; these include gesture, execution of the head and facial features, state of undress (including the lack of any *polos*), fabric used and production technique.⁸⁰ While it may be possible to argue that the seated posture is an Aegean-influenced feature for these figurines, they so clearly fall within Cypriot coroplastic tradition that any attempt to define them as a transitional type between Mycenaean figurines and Ashdoda should be abandoned.



Fig. 5. Seated LC II-III Cypriot figures, C (i) class (Karageorghis 1993, Plate X: 6). (Courtesy of the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford).



Fig. 6. Standing LC II-III Cypriot figures, B class (Karageorghis 1993, Plate IX: 3). (Courtesy of the National Museum of Scotland (left) and by kind permission of the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus (right)).

Are we to dismiss, therefore, any connection between Cypriot seated figurines and Ashdoda? Although plainly of local tradition, the similarities between the Cypriot figurines and Ashdoda seem

more than just coincidence. We can consider this issue further by analysing Ashdoda as a hybridised object, that is, the by-product of various peoples of diverse origins living together in coastal Philistia during the 12th-11th century BC.

ASHODA AS AN INDICATION OF HYBRIDISATION

If Near Eastern archaeologists wish to argue for a seaborne migration eastward for the Philistines via Cyprus, they cannot rely on these Cypriot seated figurines to represent a transitional piece in the development of an Aegean tradition, and consequently as a clue for a path of migration as demanded by Stager's criteria (see above). Cyprus can still be incorporated into a process of migration for the Philistines, if not necessarily part of their route of migration, if we redefine these Cypriot examples as an independent local tradition that in turn influenced how the Philistines would make the (slightly later) Ashdoda figurines. By proposing Cypriot migration to the Levant as well, there is no 'transitional' label for the Cypriot figurines, and allows one to look on Ashdoda as a 'hybridised' object.

Hybridisation is an interpretive model of culture-contact situations, which allows for greater subtlety in interpreting material remains than previous, more binary approaches. This approach has been used for colonial situations in the Mediterranean,⁸¹ but may also be valid in discussing the meetings and mixings of different cultures that take place during episodes of migration. Instead of restricting cultural input to two actors, a homogenous migrating party and a homogenous indigenous host, the hybridisation framework acknowledges the existence of other 'in-between' peoples, and interprets the creation of new social forms, beliefs and materials as the result of prolonged interaction between two *or more* culture groups.⁸² This concept is particularly appropriate for EIA southern Canaan, a region described as containing 'a mixture of cultural assemblages' during this period, and where specifically 'Philistine' material is called 'a subculture within the context of the regional culture of Philistia'.⁸³ Hybridisation also has the advantage over earlier colonial approaches in that it does not presume the cultural superiority of the migrating party, who, in colonial perspectives, import civilisation onto a passive, backwards indigenous population.⁸⁴ This view of superior migrants and passive, receptive hosts has definitely influenced the interpretation of the Philistine-Canaanite relationship, perhaps most blatantly expressed by Macalish-

ter, who referred to the Philistines as 'the only cultured or artistic race who ever occupied the soil of Palestine'.⁸⁵

Considering Ashdoda is an 11th century BC object (i.e. the production of a 'Philistine' population that had been settled for nearly a century), hybridisation is an especially useful approach, as it recognises the potential cultural influences from not only Aegean migrants and Canaanite locals, but also other settled migrant populations, and even 'in-between' parties, such as those who represent social reproduction due to intermarriage between settled groups. It also recognises the fluid nature of identity definition and negotiation over time. Under a hybridisation framework, groups in southern Canaan may have constituted distinct corporate identities in the 12th century BC (i.e. the *Peleset* / Philistine label may have only referred to a more restricted part of the population), but over time co-habitation led to an *inherent* mixing of peoples and practices,⁸⁶ and a broadening of the label to include formerly excluded peoples, practices, and materials. The hybridisation framework also does not presume any Aegean cultural superiority, where Ashdoda becomes some imported foreign goddess thrust upon a subaltern Canaanite population. Instead, Ashdoda represents the combination of multi-directional cultural influences. That said, Ashdoda figurines are not simply 'mixed' objects for which origin-culture 'ingredients' can be listed. They are the products of behaviour, the choices made by their producers (and consumers) as to what was worth incorporating, either from outside influences, or in response to the hybrid nature of the region in which they were manufactured.⁸⁷

This incorporation does not necessarily involve adopting whatever a seated figurine may have meant to Cypriot, Canaanite or Aegean societies; the meaning of Ashdoda figurines would have been context-specific to the society in which they were found.⁸⁸ The Aegean, Cypriot and Canaanite traits interpreted in Ashdoda figurines could be purely aesthetic (the easiest feature to see in the material record), but could also involve ideological components, such as the consumer's desire to associate him/herself with ancestral, cultural origins or migratory contacts. Sherratt, assuming a goddess is represented, also suggests Ashdoda could have been associated 'with the sea and possibly the rather more physical companionship of travelling sailors or merchants', or more generally the stars and navigation,⁸⁹ certainly an appropriate deity to be worshipped by people who live on or near the coast. If this is the case, it may be more

appropriate to associate Ashdoda with a class or occupation than an ethnic group. There is no guarantee that Ashdoda had the same significance (or any significance) *within* the various components under the archaeological label 'Philistine.' There is some distributional support for this possible restriction of Ashdoda's social relevance: Mazar mentions how such objects are not found in all areas conventionally covered by Philistia, such as the peripheral site of Tell Qasile.⁹⁰ If we accept that the Philistines represented a hybridised population in the EIA, that is, a co-habiting agglomeration of disparate culture groups who produce composite cultural materials like Ashdoda, then there is no need to posit any sort of orthodox practice for the population at large.

Anthony writes of the phenomenon of return migration,⁹¹ the backwards ebb that often accompanies the migration process, as certain members of the migrating party decide to return to their place of origin. Returning migrants may be detectable archaeologically by an increase in population back at the original homeland (although the returning 'stream' of migrants may be quite small and undetectable), possibly accompanied by the presence of hybrid forms that betray the period of contact between the migrants and their hosts. (E.g. it would be interesting to see if the materials associated with the 'Achaean' colonisation of Cyprus in the 11th century BC could be better contextualised as the remains of immigrants directly from the Aegean, or as those of a return migration stream from the Levant).⁹² Anthony lists a shift in the push and pull factors as a likely predictor of return migration,⁹³ although surely distance from the former homeland is an important, pragmatic and constraining factor as well. In such long distance migrations, greater subgroup cohesion may occur. Those 12th century BC migrants to southern Canaan who re-located (or whose ancestors did) from a greater distance (e.g. from the Aegean, as opposed to Cyprus or elsewhere in the Levant), and for whom return migration was less likely due to the greater distance involved, may have chosen to express their social identities (ethnicity, class, religion, etc.) more actively as a form of social 'security' in a new setting.

As a possible ethnographic correlate, Green⁹⁴ recounts a study of Portuguese migration to Toronto and Paris. Those in the Canadian city were more active at the community level with their fellow immigrants, while in Paris there was no 'Little Portugal' neighbourhood, and few community groups. For those Portuguese immigrants in France, then, the 'active vision of return' to Portugal was more

prominent. To return to the present case, it is possible that while acknowledging the hybrid nature of Philistine material culture as expressed in objects such as Ashdoda, the Aegean influences may come through more strongly as a result of greater subgroup cohesion among 'Aegean-Philistines,' for whom return migration was less likely. As time goes on, with the continued mixing of peoples, practices, and materials, the need for such social security may lessen, and indeed the Philistines do lose much of this Aegean 'flavour' in later centuries.⁹⁵

The final section looks beyond seated female figurines, to see if the material similarity between Cyprus and the southern Levant is reflected in other objects dating to the Late Bronze - Early Iron Age transitional period. The presence of Cypriots among early migrants to the southern coastal plain could help to explain why there are strong similarities between the rendering of Ashdoda and the seated Late Cypriot II-III figurines, without having to disenfranchise the latter figurines from their proper local tradition.

CYPRUS AND THE PHILISTINES

How plausible a scenario is an initial Aegean migration to Cyprus followed by a secondary push on to the Levant, a push that could have involved Aegeans, Cypriots, or their descendents? As a model of migration, it does conform to certain principles outlined by Anthony, such as the idea that migration begets further migration, where the most likely predictor of migration is a previous change of residence.⁹⁶ Still, such a path is difficult to demonstrate materially: how does one distinguish between 'temporary' Aegean migrants to the island from those who continued to live there? Are Cypriot traits seen in the material record of the Levant in the early 12th century more plausibly explained as the products of Aegeans who migrated first to Cyprus, and then subsequently moved on to the southern coastal plain, the personal belongings of Cypriots themselves who have migrated there, as Cypriot imports, or as locally made imitations of Cypriot goods?

Scholars who discuss the relationship between Cyprus and the Sea Peoples are good at emphasising possible Aegean influences on Cyprus, such as the presence of certain architectural features (e.g. hearths, bathtubs), new pottery traditions, and innovations in coroplastic art,⁹⁷ but are fairly silent on any influence Cyprus had on the Sea Peoples themselves. Muhly has remarked, however, that the most significant difference between Dothan's Hebrew (1967) and English (1982) volumes of *The*

Philistines and their Material Culture was the increased awareness of Cypriot-style materials in Philistine assemblages.⁹⁸

If we re-contextualise Late Cypriot II-III seated figurines as an independent coroplastic tradition, rather than a form that was influenced by Aegean migration to Cyprus, then any influence these Cypriot objects have on the later rendering of Ashdoda could be explained two ways. If the migrants to southern Canaan first relocated to Cyprus, and then pushed on to the Levant, then Ashdoda could be 'deconstructed' to represent a path of migration. On the other hand, Cypriot cultural influences could have been experienced in the Levant itself, in which case Ashdoda could be deconstructed to represent the multicultural society into which migrating peoples were integrated. Given that Ashdoda is not the product of any first-generation of migrants (i.e. 11th century BC, not early 12th), then the latter scenario seems more plausible.

These figurines alone, however, are clearly not sufficient to prove the sort of culture contact inherent in a period of co-habitation between Aegeans, Cypriots and Canaanites in the southern coastal plain. When we look at the material assemblage of the Philistine settlements, many other objects seem to betray knowledge of and (perhaps) prolonged contact with Cypriot traditions. The crude female heads discovered in the 12th century BC shrine at Ekron, which Dothan interpreted as Ashdoda precursors, were found associated with other Cypriot-type materials,⁹⁹ such as bovine scapulae with incised blades on them (a long-standing Cypriot practice) (fig. 7),¹⁰⁰ and miniature votive vessels. These latter objects were identical to ones Dothan had found while excavating at Athenioun, on Cyprus (fig. 8).¹⁰¹ Barako also notes Cypriot affinities in cultic equipment such as the scapulae, small bronze wheels for incense burners, and ivory-handled knives (fig. 9).¹⁰² Sherratt, who questions any ethnic identity associated with the Philistine label, feels there are more consistent material similarities between Cypriot and Philistine artefacts, than between Philistine and Aegean ones.¹⁰³

Aside from the above mentioned cultic paraphernalia, Philistine and Cypriot archaeological assemblages contain similar vessel types. These include *kernos* vessels (fig. 10).¹⁰⁴ In the Levant, examples are known from Ashdod, Gezer, Megiddo, and Beth-Shean.¹⁰⁵ Another shape common to both traditions is the strainer spouted jug (fig. 11), with both Cypriot and Philistine Iron Age examples known, the latter (occasionally referred to as 'beer jugs') from the earliest Philistine levels at several

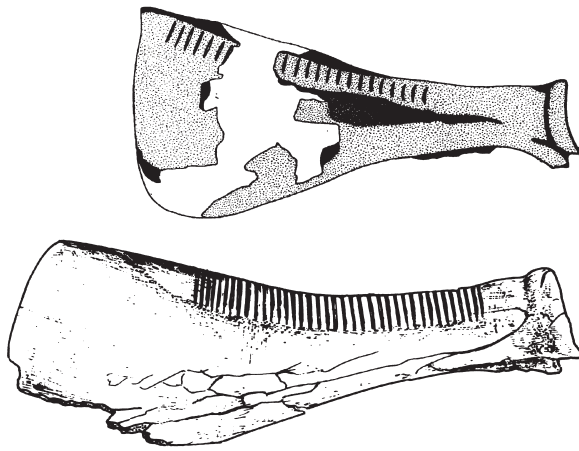


Fig. 7. Incised bovine scapulae from Kition (top) and Ekron (bottom) (Webb 1999, fig. 81.6; Dothan and Dothan 1992, 242).

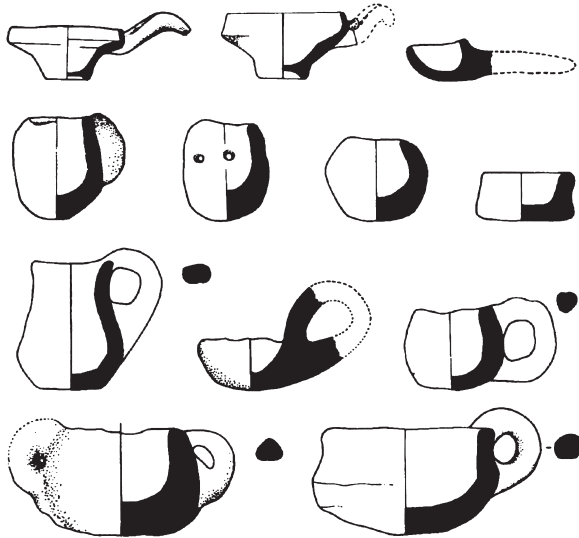


Fig. 8. Miniature votive vessels from Atheniou, Cyprus, 16th-13th c. BC (Webb 1999, fig. 4).

sites.¹⁰⁶ Although the strainer-spout itself is thought to be a Canaanite innovation, the closest parallel to the shape of the Philistine vessels comes from Cyprus, dating from the second half of the 13th century BC.¹⁰⁷ Even the most frequently mentioned material expression of initial Philistine settlement, Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, was originally thought to have been a Cypriot import because of its close resemblance to White Painted Wheelmade III wares from the island. Chemical analyses, however, proved that this so-called Mycenaean pottery was a locally manufactured product.¹⁰⁸

It is apparent, then, that the seated figurines are

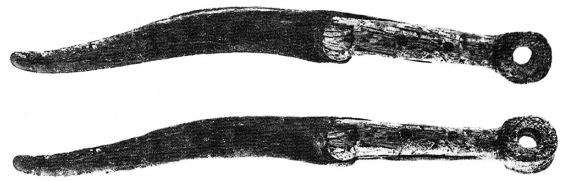


Fig. 9. Ivory-handled knives from Enkomi, Cyprus (top - late 13th c. BC) and Ekron (bottom) (Courtois 1984, Plate II: 18; Dothan and Dothan 1992, Plate 30). (Enkomi image courtesy of Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, Ministère des Affaires Étrangères).

not the only example of prolonged culture contact between Cyprus and the southern Levant before and after the 'crisis years' ca 1200 BC. While a temporary 'stopping point' on Cyprus is possible for certain Aegean migrants who may later have formed part of what we would term the Philistine identity, it seems just as likely, and perhaps more plausible given the amount of Cypriot-like material in Philistia, to assume that some of the migrants to the southern coastal plain in the early 12th century BC were themselves from Cyprus. Simply interpreting Cypriot cultural influences in these various objects, however, does not *prove* a direct Cypriot presence in the southern Levant during this period.



Fig. 10. Kernos vessel from Beth Shean (Dothan 1982, 225, Plate 6). (Photo Z. Radovan, from the Collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, p. 1810).

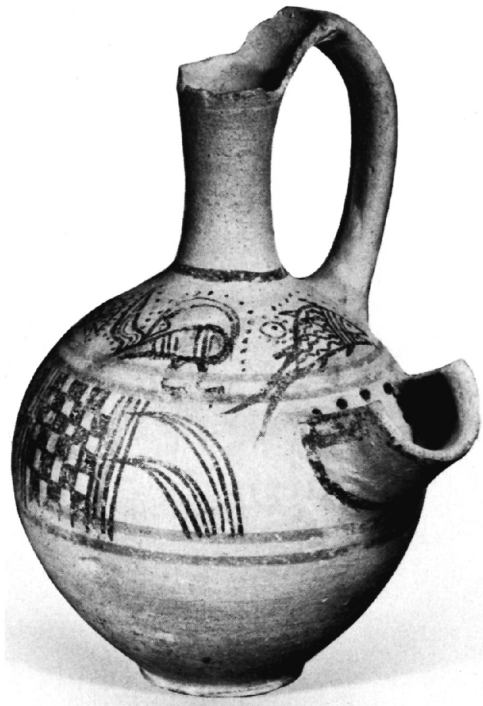


Fig. 11. Philistine 'beer jug' (Dothan 1982, 145, Plate 62). (Photo Z. Radovan, from the Collection of the Israel Department of Antiquities and Museums, 69-99).

There are other means of cultural transmission that do not require the relocation of peoples. Indeed, such an assertion of mobile populations based on the diffusion of material traits for the Late Bronze Age, with its mixing of forms and motifs,¹⁰⁹ would be difficult to maintain. The beginning of the Early

Iron Age (ca 1200-1050 BC), however, is characterised by a marked decrease in extra-regional commercial exchange in the southern Levant,¹¹⁰ and the termination of elite trading networks, such as those characterised by the Amarna letters. Although often lacking provenience analysis, these Levantine artefacts with Cypriot traits are generally accepted as local productions (e.g. pots with Philistine, and not Cypriot, motifs),¹¹¹ and while some of the examples given above could be interpreted as trade replacements for now unavailable goods (e.g. the beer jugs), the ritualistic aspect of many of the others seems to confound a commercial motive for their presence in the Levant. Ivory handled knives, incised scapulae, and ritual pottery forms no doubt held some kind of identity connotations for their consumers, an identity that likely had some connection to Cyprus.

This Cypriot identity group (whether it be ethnic, religious, or class-oriented), with its cultural knowledge of Late Cypriot II-III seated figurines, along with Aegean migrants, and their knowledge of seated Mycenaean female figurines, and local Canaanite coroplastic artisans, with their knowledge of bichrome painting techniques, would all have had a role in the rendering of Ashdoda figurines.

CONCLUSIONS

One problem with hypothesising about Philistine origins and potential migration routes is that it is impossible to say for certain just how much this label (or *Peleset*) represented a self-aware social or cultural grouping. As is the case with the Minoans, we have no idea how they called themselves. Even if the biblical tradition that sees the Philistines as coming from Crete or the Aegean is correct, what would be the actual cultural identity of a group departing from that region ca 1200 BC? Minoan? Mycenaean? A hybrid of both these groups? Perhaps even farmers or merchants or potters who do not comfortably fit either category? That such people represented a contained, self-aware, and unified group by the time they (or their descendants) reached the Levant is materially problematic given the hybrid nature of Philistine remains, even in the initial settlement period. Such Sea Peoples elements as the *Peleset*, *Tjekker* or *Sherden* are probably best not thought of as discrete ethnic groups, but rather multicultural groups entering a mixed society, and creating new combinations up and down the Levantine coast.¹¹² It has been remarked that there is no straightforward, one-to-one relationship between ethnic identity and mat-

erial culture,¹¹³ and Ashdoda certainly seems to defy any simplistic attempt to pin a Philistine ethnic identity onto people from a single geographic or of a single cultural origin, or even on a path of migration. Ethnicity itself is not so much a thing as an idea, a decision to do certain things in a similar way to each other, and in different ways from other peoples.¹¹⁴ Because only a restrictive set of materials is generally used to express ethnic identity among societies, there is no guarantee that Ashdoda figurines would have been seen as a symbol of ethnic unity among those living along the 12th-11th century BC southern coastal plain. For example, it is also possible (if Ashdoda does represent a goddess) that her figurines are attempting to express religious or class unity. When describing ethnic groups, such identities are often expressed in opposition to a perceived 'other,' that is, the ethnic label is defined by the boundaries that exist between one group and another, rather than by the cultural material encased within it.¹¹⁵ Ashdoda, with its seeming amalgamation of cultural influences, is more likely to be an expression of the permeability of ethnic boundaries than a rigid ethnic marker.

It has been argued that 'Consciousness of ethnic differences becomes heightened in periods of political and economic flux (as opposed to stability and growth), when ethnic divisions are newly created or re-mobilized in forming new political units ... In such circumstances, ethnicity is ... actually created: there is no need to find age-old "territorial" origins for groups like the Sea Peoples.'¹¹⁶ While the Sherratts may be correct that the name *Peleset* / Philistine is a creation of troubled times, and a way for the Egyptians (or Israelites) to identify a cultural 'other,' the people represented by that label still had cultural roots, albeit likely multiple ones. The Late Bronze Age 'crisis years' were conducive to migration processes, as the demographic model predicts. The destructions and new material expressions found in the southern coastal plain can still be argued to represent the entrance of new (non-Canaanite and non-Egyptian) peoples, even if the new arrivals were composed of diverse elements. That a particularly cohesive Aegean element comprised part of this migratory movement in the 12th century BC may be indicated by the Aegean influences seen in some of the earliest intrusive materials. It should not restrict us, however, from broadening the concept of Philistine identity to include both migrants from elsewhere and more local elements, as the Canaanites would have represented a majority in every phase of contact, and in all sites interpreted as Philistine.

NOTES

- ¹ E.g. Brug 1985; Dothan 1982; Dothan 1995; Dothan 1998; Oren 2000; Stager 1995.
- ² For a translation of the relevant Egyptian texts see Pritchard 1969, 262-263.
- ³ Sharon 2001, 579.
- ⁴ The Pentapolis cities are recounted in the Hebrew Bible, as is the notion that the Philistines were migrants from Caphtor (Amos 9.7; Jeremiah 47.4).
- ⁵ Brug 1985.
- ⁶ Bunimovitz 1990.
- ⁷ Bauer 1998; Sherratt 1998.
- ⁸ Barako 2001a, 513.
- ⁹ Dothan 1982, 289; Bunimovitz 1990, 210.
- ¹⁰ Brug 1985, 52, 134, 202-203.
- ¹¹ Barako 2001b.
- ¹² Anthony 1990; Anthony 1997.
- ¹³ Barako 2001a, 524.
- ¹⁴ Whether an Aegean sub-group of Philistines should be more specifically associated with the earlier Peleset label is difficult to assess, given the lack of specific information provided by Egyptian sources, where this group is but one of the 'foreign countries' who 'made a conspiracy in their islands'. (See Pritchard 1969, 262, emphasis original). The settled Philistines, as identified by the Iron Age assemblages in southern Canaan, certainly defy a straightforward association with a single source culture.
- ¹⁵ Dothan/Gitin 1987, 203.
- ¹⁶ Burmeister 2000, 539.
- ¹⁷ Renfrew 1969, 152.
- ¹⁸ Anthony 1997, 21.
- ¹⁹ Anthony 1990, 897.
- ²⁰ Anthony 1997, 23-24.
- ²¹ Anthony 1990, 898-899.
- ²² Barako 2001b, 189.
- ²³ Barako 2001b, 190.
- ²⁴ Stager 1995, 332, 334.
- ²⁵ Stager 1995, 332.
- ²⁶ Barako 2001b; Bunimovitz/Yasur-Landau 2002, 211-212; Cifola 1994, 20.
- ²⁷ Barako 2001b, 194.
- ²⁸ Barako 2001b, 195, *contra* Stager 1995.
- ²⁹ Dothan 1982, 19; Barako 2001b, 197.
- ³⁰ Bunimovitz/Yasur-Landau 2002, 213.
- ³¹ Barako 2001b, 208-211. The debate concerning the specific causes of the collapse of Mycenaean society is well documented (e.g. Muhly 1984; Sandars 1985, chapter 3; Liverani 1987; Drews 1993). For the sake of this paper, it is of more relevance that the collapse is an archaeologically accepted fact, rather than deciding which push factor(s) contributed to the collapse.
- ³² Barako 2001b, 197, 212-214.
- ³³ Anthony 1990, 899; Anthony 1992, 175.
- ³⁴ Barako 2001b, 156.
- ³⁵ Barako/Yasur-Landau 2003, 25.
- ³⁶ Broodbank 2000, 99, fig. 23.
- ³⁷ Anthony 1990, 901.
- ³⁸ Barako 2001b, 215.
- ³⁹ Barako 2001b, 105, n. 4.
- ⁴⁰ Bunimovitz/Yasur-Landau 2002, 211.
- ⁴¹ Dothan 1982, 7.
- ⁴² Hachlili 1971b, 129.
- ⁴³ Dothan 1982; Dothan/Gitin 1987; Yasur-Landau 2001, 329.
- ⁴⁴ Yasur-Landau 2001, 329. Because of this fragmentary

- nature, and the problems of identifying a seated figurine from only partial remains, no precise number for Ashdoda figurines is known.
- 45 Dothan 1982, 234.
- 46 Brug 1985, 188.
- 47 Dothan/Dothan 1992, 154.
- 48 Yasur-Landau 2001, 333.
- 49 Hachlili 1971b, 129.
- 50 Dothan/Dothan 1992, 154. Why the maker would have chosen to include both stylised and realistic lotus motifs on the figurine is never discussed.
- 51 Dothan 1982, 234.
- 52 Sandars 1985, 167; Brug 1985, 55, 108; Sharon 2001, 573; Ben-Shlomo 2006, 44-45.
- 53 Hachlili 1971a, 162, where Area H, stratum 4b = 11th century BC, cf. Ben-Shlomo 2005a, 9, Table 1.1.
- 54 Dothan/Dothan 1992, 154.
- 55 Jones 1956, 122-123. This paper will not address the issue of what Ashdoda figurines actually are. The author is of the opinion that lacking textual references to them, or even unambiguous contexts for Ashdoda or her precursors, such an issue remains strictly in the conjectural realm. What is at issue here is seeking evidence for culture contacts in Ashdoda, regardless of its function or meaning.
- 56 Dothan 1982, 234.
- 57 Ben-Shlomo 2005b, 25.
- 58 Yasur-Landau 2001, 335.
- 59 Ben-Shlomo 2005b, 122, fig. 3.36: 4.
- 60 Dothan 1995, 48; Dothan/Gitin 1987, 202-203.
- 61 Dothan et al. 2006, 71-72.
- 62 Brug 1985, 185; cf. Yasur-Landau 2001, 331, pl. XCIXb, where he mentions a Tel Qasile Ashdoda figurine, although he has broadened the definition to include a 'b' type figurine holding a child. Not enough of this figurine remains, however, to convincingly group it with the prototype Ashdoda on morphological grounds.
- 63 Mazar 1980, 119.
- 64 Dothan 1995, 48.
- 65 Dothan 1968, 1018.
- 66 Mylonas 1966, 114.
- 67 Mylonas 1956, 110.
- 68 Mylonas 1956, 111.
- 69 Mylonas 1956, pl. XIV: 4.
- 70 Dothan 1982, 237, fig. 10.
- 71 Mylonas 1956, 115, 119, plates XIV: 6a and XV: 7.
- 72 Mylonas 1956, 119.
- 73 Dothan 1982, 234.
- 74 Brug 1985, 186.
- 75 Yasur-Landau 2001, 329.
- 76 Sherratt 1998, 307, n. 31.
- 77 Sandars 1985, 171, fig. 116. Other similar figurines are found in the Asmolean Museum, the British Museum, the Royal Albert Memorial Museum (Exeter), and the Hadjiprodromou Collection (Famagusta). The Katydhata figurine is now housed in the Cyprus Archaeological Museum (Nicosia).
- 78 Dothan 1982, 234.
- 79 The typological system used for these Base-Ring figurines is found in Karageorghis 1993, 3-14. The seated Katydhata figurine would fall under Karageorghis' 'C (i)' class. Webb 1999, 209, restricts their date to the LC III period (13th-12th c. BC).
- 80 Karageorghis 1993, 13.
- 81 Tronchetti/van Dommelen 2005, 193.
- 82 van Dommelen 2005, 136.
- 83 Bunimovitz 1990, 210, 218.
- 84 Dietler 2005, 56. Stone 1995 speaks of Philistine *acculturation*, using a value-neutral definition of that term taken from the 1930s. The author has used hybridisation instead of acculturation as a diagnostic term, however, as the latter has not been as narrowly defined as Stone would have it. See Cuisick 1998 for a concise analysis of the ambiguity of acculturation.
- 85 Macalister 1921, 33, quoted in Silberman 1998, 270.
- 86 van Dommelen 2006, 108.
- 87 Bunimovitz 1990, 218.
- 88 van Dommelen 2006, 119.
- 89 Sherratt 1998, 307, n. 31.
- 90 Mazar 1980, 119.
- 91 Anthony 1990, 904.
- 92 As a possible material expression of such 'return migration' Catling 1995, 128, interprets two Subminoan burials on Crete as heroes/grandees from that island who have returned (or whose children have returned) after spending a prolonged period of time on Cyprus.
- 93 Anthony 1990, 904.
- 94 Green 1997, 70.
- 95 Stone 1995.
- 96 Anthony 1990, 904-905.
- 97 Karageorghis 2000, 256-258, 266.
- 98 Muhly 1984, 39.
- 99 Dothan 1995, 48, 50, fig. 3.12.
- 100 Dothan/Gitin 1987, 204, although more recently some have interpreted the scapulae on Cyprus as evidence of Sea People's activity on that island, see Zukerman et al. 2007, 73.
- 101 Dothan 1998, 155; Webb 1999, 22.
- 102 Barako 2001b, 18; Courtois 1984, 26.
- 103 Sherratt 1998, 293.
- 104 Morris 1985, 84, pl. 152; Dothan 1982, 132.
- 105 Hachlili 1971b, 132-133; Dothan 1982, 222-224.
- 106 Morris 1985, 77, pl. 147b; Dothan 1982, 132.
- 107 Dothan 1982, 154.
- 108 Sherratt 1998, 298; Dothan 1998, 151.
- 109 Feldman 2006.
- 110 Crielaard 1998, 187; Sharon 2001, 593-594.
- 111 Dothan 1982, 132, 154; but see Ben-Shlomo 2006, 179-193 for a recent analysis of the composition of Philistine Iron I pottery within the Pentapolis sites.
- 112 Gilboa 2005, 47.
- 113 Barth 1969, 14; Jones 1997, 106-109.
- 114 Lucy 2005, 86.
- 115 Barth 1969, 14.
- 116 Sherratt/Sherratt 1998, 335.

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The deity of the Alaimo sanctuary in Leontinoi (Sicily)

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Abstract

*The sanctuary of Alaimo was discovered in 1988 outside the ancient town of Leontini in Sicily. The dig yielded a cult open-air area that in antiquity was characterized by the proximity of rivers and by the presence of aquatic plants. In the sanctuary were performed animal sacrifices and ritual meals. The offers to the deity were mostly ceramics and small finds dated mostly between the second half of the 7th century BC and the beginnings of the 6th century BC. These offers were discovered inside a small square deposit or in the area around it. An attic red-figured krater dedicated to Dioskouroi was found as well, but we propose a different dedication of the sanctuary in the archaic age.**

The sanctuary discovered in the district called Alaimo is situated outside the ancient town of Leontinoi in Sicily¹ (fig. 1), on the borders of the plain that, extending to the west, included one of the penetration routes from the Chalcidian colony to the hinterland and the native settlements. Its excavation took place in the autumn of 1988 under a collaboration of the Soprintendenza dei Beni Culturali of Siracusa and the University of Catania.² At first, the dig only yielded vases and other small finds, mixed with bones, near or under groups of stones, all laying on virgin soil. At a later stage, a small square room, a part of a roadbed made of irregular stones, and stretches of a wall were brought to light (fig. 2). The objects found in and around the room consisted mainly of Corinthian and locally made pottery. There were also a few East-Greek vases and other small finds. Ceramics and small finds date between the middle of the 7th and the beginning of the 6th century BC. Outside the room, a few 6th and 5th century Attic fragments have been found, among which an Attic skyphoid krater dated to ca 435 BC, with a dedication to Dioskouroi incised on it (fig. 3). Three bronze coins only show that the area was still in use between the second half of the 4th century BC and the Roman age.³

According to G. Rizza, the Attic skyphoid krater proves that the Alaimo sanctuary was dedicated to the Dioskouroi from as early as the 7th century BC onwards. In his opinion, the people of Leontinoi had invoked these twin deities to protect the Greek colony and its territory against the indigenous Palikoi.⁴ In our view, the Attic skyphoid krater does not prove the sanctuary's dedication just from the very beginning. In fact, the history of

Sicily, particularly of Leontinoi, in the 5th century BC should be taken into account to explain the incised dedication.⁵

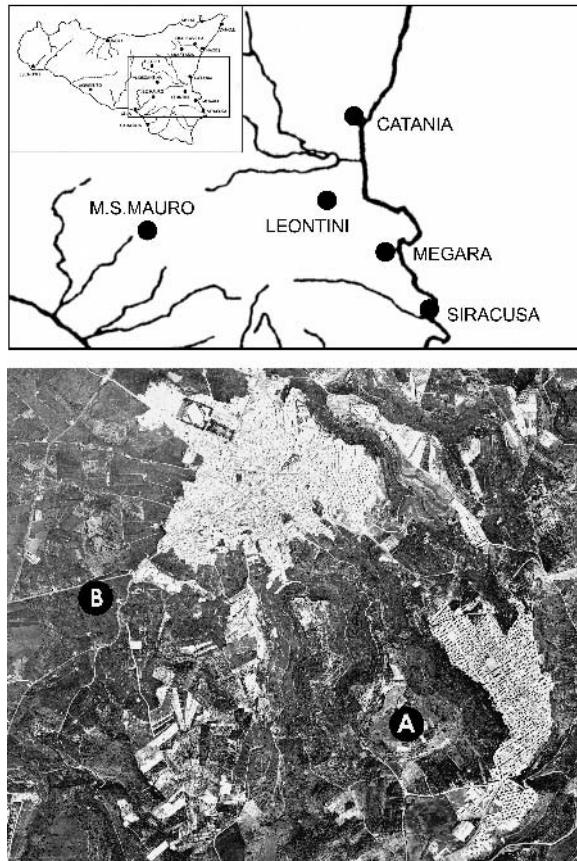


Fig. 1. Leontinoi localization and topography; A is the ancient town site, B the Alaimo sanctuary site.



Figs. 2a. General photo of excavation, 2b. sacred offers.

LANDSCAPE

The sanctuary was not far from the confluence of the Lisso/S. Eligio and the Reina/S. Leonardo rivers, the latter (the ancient Terias) being the natural waterway linking the Greek colony to the sea. Big stone blocks discovered about one kilometer off the sanctuary are interpreted as remains of a fluvial port.⁶ The area in which the sanctuary is situated, was undoubtedly rich in water. Pollen analyses of the earth found inside some vases have made clear that, in antiquity, the landscape was characterised by aquatic plants and plants that grow near rivers, lakes, and marshes.⁷ Therefore, the presence of water has been a characteristic feature of the Alaimo sanctuary certainly to be taken into account when attempting to determine the deity to whom the sanctuary was dedicated.⁸

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Unfortunately, very little of the architecture of the Alaimo sanctuary has been preserved. The small room, or rather fence, built of big, roughly hewn

stones, enclosed a nearly square space of about 3.50 m x 3 m. It turned out to be completely filled with a large amount of pottery, other small finds, and some bones, all laying on a burnt stratum. Probably, rituals of libations and the burning of oil and ointments, but also animal sacrifices and sacred meals were performed in several places of the sacred area, before leaving the votive-objects, often near groups of stones.⁹ Some *louteria* and many kinds of vases (pouring vessels, drinking vases such as cups and *kantharoi*, *hydriskoi* and above all *krateriskoi*) found in the sanctuary are to be linked to the use of water and libations.¹⁰ Many vases for oil and ointments (Corinthian *aryballoi* and *alabastra*, Rhodian type *aryballoi*, etc.) attest that these substances were frequently used during the rituals.¹¹ The excavations also brought to light a few terracotta figurines, viz. three masks, a hand of a probably armed statuette and five animal statuettes; moreover, loom-weights, bronze jewellery and small iron arms were found.¹² Bone analysis has shown that the animals are mostly ovine-caprine, porcine and bovine bones being less abundant. Very significantly, a few bones of dog, horse and wild-animals like pigskin and deer could be identified; there are also a few sea-products.¹³ Some bones, showing traces of cooking-burning only, are evidently remains from meals; other, however, being almost completely burnt must have come from animals sacrificed to the deity.¹⁴ Ovine astragali, most of them pierced, are another significant group.



Fig. 3.
Attic skyphoid-krater with dedication to Dioskouroi.



Fig. 4. Vases and small finds from the Alaimo sanctuary.

DEITIES

As stated above (see note 4), Rizza, took the inscription on the Attic skyphoid krater of ca 435 BC as evidence that the sanctuary had been dedicated to the Dioskouroi, in his opinion from the very beginning, even though the vase is much later than the other finds linked to religious activities. But first, whereas the strong links of colonies with their mother-cities regarding to their pantheon are a well-known fact, at least so for the beginning of a colony's existence, the Dioskouroi were Doric half-gods whose cult has never been attested in Euboea.¹⁵ Second, their cult has no way been attested in Sicily before the 5th century BC.¹⁶

It was only after the beginning of the 6th century BC that the Dioskouroi were gradually transformed from local Spartan heroes into panhellenic half-gods. The process, probably set in motion by the Homeric hymn to the Dioskouroi,¹⁷ turned them into protectors of seamen, a talent not immediately associable with a couple of horsemen from inland Sparta.¹⁸ Their quality as *soteres*, saviours (cf. also the Electra passage below), is apparent from the fact that Polydeukos renounces his complete immortality, to share it with his brother.¹⁹ Their *epiphany* could change the result of a battle, as it did in the battle between the Locrians and Crotonians at the river Sagras.²⁰

As regards rituals linked to these half-gods, Pausanias (4.27.2) informs us that the *thysia* for

the Dioskouroi included eating and drinking. We get an impression of such rituals from many scenes on Attic vases showing the *theoxenia*, when meals are prepared for visiting heroes.²¹ Contrary to what the bones from the Alaimo sanctuary suggest, at these *theoxenia*, fruits and cakes, not meat, were the more appropriate offerings.²²

For these reasons, it is highly unlikely that the Alaimo sanctuary had been dedicated to the Dioskouroi from its very beginning. Therefore, either the vase with the dedication to the Dioskouroi was offered in the sanctuary of another deity, probably a female one,²³ and then, the cult of the Dioskouroi was joined at a later stage, or we may have to do with a change of the cult in the 5th century BC.²⁴

Unfortunately, the indefiniteness of divine personalities and of their votive-gifts, makes identification of deities problematical, particularly so during the archaic period.²⁵ In any case, we probably have to look for a possibly armed female deity worshipped in a Chalcidian colony of Sicily from a very early stage of its existence onwards, lady of animals, linked to water and rites of passage but also to the propitiation of fertility. We think that Artemis was the most likely goddess with these qualities during the archaic period.²⁶ If her sanctuary had not been found about 400 m north of the Alaimo sanctuary, Hera would be another candidate.²⁷ Demeter seems less probable: in fact, the animal bones and the terracottas recovered from the Alaimo sanctuary are not what we

would expect from a sanctuary dedicated to Demeter and Kore.²⁸ Moreover, V. Hinz asserts that the cult of Demeter played no great role in the archaic Chalcidian colonies because her functions were executed by a polyhedric female goddess, *kourotrophos* and *potnia theron*.²⁹

Furthermore, the Corinthian pottery found in the Alaimo sanctuary, dating from the middle of the 7th century BC onwards, is too early for a Demeter sanctuary in Sicily, where, to judge from the Malophoros sanctuary in Selinus, the votive-deposits of Demeter sanctuaries at Gela (Bitalemi), Catania, and also Cyrene, worshippers started giving Corinthian pottery as votive-gifts as late as 600 BC.³⁰

The dedication of the Alaimo sanctuary to Artemis would make a fascinating case. The colonists' origin and the *liminal* location of the sanctuary, but also the rites linked to the initiatory sphere of young people and fertility, make such a dedication possible. Also the osteological picture and some ceramic finds (like *krateriskoi*) are in line with this hypothesis.

Artemis ruled over all kinds of terraqueous environments, especially lakes and marshes, one of her commonest epithets being *Limnatis*. Artemis sanctuaries are often near marshes, lakes, rivers, streams, and also harbours. The importance of the Artemis cult in Euboia, already pointed out by ancient authors, is apparent from the many Artemisia built in the island. Recently, an open-air sanctuary north of the Apollo temple at Eretria has been convincingly attributed to Artemis.³¹ Until Roman and Byzantine times the centre of her cult had been the paneuboic sanctuary at Amarynthos.³² One of the main domains of the goddess was the protection of young people from birth to entrance into the adult world through rites of passage. The relationship with the initiatory sphere is confirmed by the myth of Amarinthos, remembered by ancient writers as a hunting companion of Artemis and father of Narcissus. The latter's story, drowning in a spring to be transformed into a flower, is a real myth of passage. Another of the goddess's domains is the military education of boys, involving battle training. The chthonian character of the goddess is also known; in fact, she is sometimes associated to Hekate and even confused with her.³³

The prevalence of ovine and caprine bones among the sacrifice remains is in line with the finds from other sanctuaries dedicated to Artemis.³⁴ The presence of deer and dog bones is, in our opinion, particularly significant. The link between Artemis and wild animals, especially deer, and the link of the dog with passage rites and Hekate-Artemis are both well known.³⁵

Finally, as regards the ceramic finds, it should be noted that the Alaimo *krateriskoi* remind us of the hundreds of *krateriskoi* brought to light in Brauron and in other Artemisian sanctuaries in Attica that were linked to water rituals during the *arkteia*.³⁶

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, we argue that the archaeological evidence and the peculiarities of the cult of the Dioskouroi suggest that the sanctuary was dedicated in the archaic period to a major female deity. This hypothesis implies that many elements of the Alaimo sanctuary make sense. Thus Artemis, as a *liminal* goddess, particularly worshipped in Euboia, could protect, at the borders of the polis, a sacred but also a strategic and at the same time vulnerable area.³⁷

Finally, we may suggest an explanation of the dedication to the Dioskouroi, linking it to the history of Sicily particularly of Leontinoi in the 5th century BC.³⁸ We know that, after Hippokrates' conquest of Leontinoi (495 BC), the polis was dominated by the *Deinomenides* who perhaps identified themselves with the Dioskouroi.³⁹ We may imagine a change of the cult and the dedication to the Dioskouroi could reflect the process of *dorification* of Leontinoi and of others Chalcidian colonies started by Hieron. The dedication may also have to do with the Athenian politics of *symmachia* with Chalcidian colonies, as testified by treatises with Rhegion and Leontinoi and by the Athenian expeditions to Sicily.⁴⁰ A highly interesting point in this connection is made by Euripides in the *Electra* (vv. 1241-1243 and 1347-1356). Here, the Dioskouroi say that they have just saved a ship from a storm and that they are now leaving to help the Athenian navy sail to Sicily.⁴¹

NOTES

* The present paper was read at the Meeting: *Euboia in Antiquity. Aspects of public and private life*, Chalkis, Euboea, 7-10 October 2004.

¹ For the problems of and bibliography on extra-urban sanctuaries, see Leone 1998 and Greco 1999.

² The excavations were directed by B. Basile e G. Rizza, whom I thank for entrusting me with the final publication. I also would like to thank C.W. Neeft for his kind advices.

³ Rizza 2003 and 2004; Grasso 2004.

⁴ Rizza 2003, 555-556: 'Gemelli, protettori dei giuramenti, i Palici furono associati dai Greci ai Dioscuri per le molte affinità tra le due coppie divine. (...) Fin dal più antico arcaismo il santuario dedicato ai Dioscuri sembra contrapporsi alla coppia di divinità indigene a protezione della colonia calcidese che a partire dai

- primi anni della sua fondazione ebbe rapporti conflittuali con le popolazioni locali. Dopo l'occupazione di Leontini e del suo territorio, i tiranni di Siracusa continuarono ad utilizzare il santuario dei Dioscuri, probabilmente nel quadro di un progetto di progressivo assorbimento culturale e politico delle popolazioni indigene.' For the Palikoi sanctuary at Mineo, see Pelagatti 1966 and Maniscalco/ McConnel 2003. For the Palikoi, see Meurant 1998.
- ⁵ Grasso 2008, 153-154.
 - ⁶ Caffi 2004.
 - ⁷ De Leonardis et alii 2008.
 - ⁸ Cole 1988.
 - ⁹ Bergquist 1992, recognizes cult practices involving animal sacrifices, depositions of drinking vessels, weapons, and figurines nearby rough stones or stelai, (at Selinous - Meilichios, Naxos - Santa Venera, Metaponto - east of temple B) a Western Greek variant of initiatory, *gentilitial* cult practices.
 - ¹⁰ For use of *krateriskoi* during *arkteia*, see Morizot 1994, 209; for libations, see Schmitt-Pantel 1995.
 - ¹¹ Detienne 1975, 47-58. Aromas, particularly incense and mirrh, were generally reserved to make ointments and perfumed oils for the gods. Smoke rising to the sky symbolized the linking of the human world with the world of the gods; their use with sacrifice, also served to neutralize the strong smells of burnt meats. See Zaccagnino 1998.
 - ¹² For the meaning of different kinds of offers, see Simon 1992.
 - ¹³ Wilkens 2008.
 - ¹⁴ For the animal sacrifices, see Detienne/Vernant 1982; Hägg 1999.
 - ¹⁵ For the diffusion of Dioskouroi cult, see Bonanno Aravantinos 1994.
 - ¹⁶ For the Dioskouroi cult in Sicily, see Cusumano 1993, 134-135; Annequin 2006, 196-197.
 - ¹⁷ Shapiro 1999.
 - ¹⁸ Sabbatucci 1979 observes that the character of Dioskouroi as protectors of seamen and colonists is clear, because they are different from Olympian gods linked to the polis; see also Campagnolo 2003.
 - ¹⁹ Piccaluga 1979.
 - ²⁰ Hermary 1986.
 - ²¹ Hermary 1978; Pirzio Biroli 1977.
 - ²² According to Jameson 1994, these rites played a much more important role than we generally recognize, their simpler and less expensive character making them more difficult to recognize.
 - ²³ As it is suggested by the pediment of the Marasà temple in Locri, see Costabile 1995.
 - ²⁴ Grasso 2008, 153-154.
 - ²⁵ Simon 1986; contra Baumbach 2004.
 - ²⁶ Grasso 2008, 155-156.
 - ²⁷ Frasca 2005.
 - ²⁸ At Alaimo, in fact, pig bones make up 13,65% in contrast to 68,68% of ovine-caprine bones (see Wilkens 2008). Also, female statuettes holding a pig are conspicuously absent, a dangerous *argumentum ex silentio*, though, because the excavations may not have come across the 6th- and 5th-century layers of the sanctuary.
 - ²⁹ For these aspects of the cult of Demeter and Kore, see, most recently, Hinz 1998, 234, 240.
 - ³⁰ Neeft, personal comment.
 - ³¹ Huber 2003, 142-169.
 - ³² Pulci Dora Breglia 1975; Knoepfler 1988; Sapouna Sakellaraki 1992; Novaro 1996. The identification of Amarinthos sanctuary is not certain, see Tritle 1995 and recently Theurillat/Fachard 2007.
 - ³³ Kahil 1984, 618, 686.
 - ³⁴ See Reese 1994; Bammer 1999; Huber 2003, 136-140.
 - ³⁵ Burkert 2003, 298-299; Cusumano 2002, 79-81.
 - ³⁶ For the special meaning of *krateriskoi* in the cult of Artemis, see Kahil 1965 and Morizot 1994, 209.
 - ³⁷ For the location of Artemisian sanctuaries, see Cole 1998 and Cole 2004, 178.
 - ³⁸ Luraghi 1994, 335-346; Gula 1995, 125-150.
 - ³⁹ Caltabiano 2005, 13-17.
 - ⁴⁰ First expedition: 427 BC, second expedition: 415 BC, see Anello 1992.
 - ⁴¹ D'Anna 1979, 106, note 17.

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Raritäten aus dem Bereich der archaisch-griechischen Bronzen

Conrad M. Stibbe

Meinem Reisegefährten Arend Hubrecht zum Gedenken

Abstract

The author wants to draw the attention of those interested in archaic Greek bronzes, to three Laconian bronze products which remained in the dark, but in fact are important, for one reason or another, even if they are still not properly published.

1. Wer Griechenland auf der Autostrasse verlässt, die von Thessaloniki nach Sofia führt, erreicht nach einer etwa einstündigen Fahrt ab der Grenze die bulgarische Provinzhauptstadt Blagoevgrad. Dort befindet sich in einem erst vor kurzem restaurierten Viertel aus dem Mittelalter das Historische Museum, ein grosses, relativ modernes Gebäude. Es beherbergt nicht nur eine Sammlung lokaler Exponate aus neuerer Zeit, sondern auch, im Kellergeschoss, eine Abteilung, in der u. a. antike Kunst ausgestellt ist. In einer etwas spärlich beleuchteten Vitrine wird der Besucher den grossen, reich verzierten Henkel eines griechischen Volutenkraters aus Bronze entdecken (Abb. 1).

Dieser Henkel, der hier nur kurz vorgestellt, nicht sachgerecht veröffentlicht werden soll,¹ hat eine Höhe von etwa 20 cm. Er ist vorne mit dem Relief einer Gorgo geschmückt, die vortrefflich und vollständig erhalten ist bis auf die Schlangenbeine, die von der Hüfte der Gorgo ausgehend nur noch als abgebrochene Ansätze zu erkennen sind. Analog zu vergleichbaren Stücken werden die Schlangenbeine der Schulter des Kraters geruht und sich von dort erhebend mit den Köpfen dem Betrachter zugewandt haben. Das breite Antlitz (Abb. 2) zeichnet sich durch grosse, kugelige Augen aus, umrahmt von feinen Lidern mit Tränensäcken und überwölbt von doppelten, plastisch hervorgehobenen Brauen. Die oberen Brauen sind breit und schraffiert; sie berühren sich über der Nasenwurzel. Von dort zieht sich eine pfeilförmige, durch Punktierung hervorgehobene Falte plastisch über die Stirn. Die eigenartige Bildung der Augenpartie ist bezeichnend für menschliche Köpfe und besonders für Gorgonenköpfe (Gorgoneia) lakonischer Provenienz.²

Die Nase ist breit und stumpf. Von ihr aus zieht sich je eine schmale Falte hinunter zum leicht

gebogenen, recht schmalen Maul. Dieses zeigt zwei Reihen gewöhnlicher Zähne, während die Zunge, nach dem üblichen Schema, heraushängt. Die Bildung des Maules (nicht sehr breit, leicht gebogen und ohne Eckzähne) liefert uns ein Indiz für die Datierung (nicht für die landschaftliche Zuweisung). Über der schmalen Stirn gewahrt man je drei von der Mitte ausgehende Schneckenlöckchen, die jeweils in drei oder vier Schichten unterteilt sind und in der Mitte spitz auslaufen. Fein ausgearbeitet sind auch die grossen, an den Rändern gestrichelten Ohren. Hinter ihnen und dem Kinn des Ungeheuers kommen jeweils vier lange Haarsträhnen zum Vorschein. Sie fallen steif und gerade bis über die plastisch hervorgehobenen Brüste herab. Die äussere Strähne ist jeweils schräg graviert, die drei inneren zeigen ein abweichendes Muster: sie sind wie Bambusröhre in längliche, geriefelte Zonen mit Querstreifen unterteilt. Alle Strähnen laufen zugespitzt aus.

Das bis zur Hüfte reichende Gewand der Gorgo weist ein eingeritztes Schuppenmuster auf mit je einem plastisch abgesetzten Überschlag über der Schulter; unten ist es von einem waagrechten Wulst abgeschlossen (Abb. 3). Dieser Wulst ist mit einem schmalen Perlstab und einem breiteren Zickzackmuster ausgestattet. Auch der Gewandsaum am Hals und an der Schulter ist jeweils mit einem eingeritzten Zickzackmuster verziert. Für diese Art Gewandung gibt es verschiedene Parallelen.³ Die Gorgo hält zwei muskulöse Arme angewinkelt vor dem Bauch; die zur Faust geballten Hände berühren sich nicht.⁴ Während ihre Schlangenbeine fehlen, sind ihre beiden schönen Flügel erhalten, die unter den Armen ansetzen und sich nach hinten sichelförmig entfalten (Abb. 4, 5). Sie decken den leeren Raum unter den Voluten ab. Die Flügel sind zweiteilig gebildet: der obere,



Abb. 1. Henkel eines bronzenen Volutenkraters.
Blagoevgrad, Historisches Museum (Foto des Verfassers).



Abb. 2. Derselbe, Detail (Foto des Verfassers).

kurzere Teil setzt die Verzierung des Wamses mit einem Schuppenmuster fort; der untere Teil besteht aus jeweils zehn länglichen Federn die sich oben um eine Öffnung drehen. Dieses runde Loch war ursprünglich vielleicht mit einem Halbedelstein oder einer Glasperle ausgefüllt. Keiner der vergleichbaren Volutenhenkel weist ein ähnliches Loch in der Flügelpartie auf.⁵ Die einzelnen Federn sind plastisch von einander abgesetzt und haben an der Aussenseite, ihren Umrissen folgend, doppelt gekerbte Linien.

Von ausgezeichnete Qualität, doch eher konventionell sind die Volutenhenkel (Abb. 1, 4, 5).⁶ Der glatte Mittelteil des Henkelbandes ist durch zwei kantige Erhebungen gegliedert und wird von zwei schrägschraffierten Schnurbändern gesäumt.⁷ Die zur Wulstoberkante ansteigenden Teile des Henkelwulstes sind mit aufgerichteten, doppelt umrandeten Zungen verziert. Die Oberkante des Henkelwulstes, der sich über den Gorgonenschultern einrollt, hat eine punktartige Erhebung in der Mitte und ist mit grossen Perlen besetzt. Auf der Wulstaussenseite befindet sich ebenfalls ein aufgerichtetes, doppelt umrandetes Zungenmuster; es



Abb. 3. Derselbe, Detail (Foto des Verfassers).

wird unten durch ein Perlband abgeschlossen. Die Henkelvolute dreht sich anderthalbfach ohne Zwischenraum ein. Der durch die erste Eindrehung gebildete Zwickel ist mit vier Palmettenblättern gefüllt. An diese vier Blätter sowie an die zur Vernietung dienenden Attaschen stossen die Sichel- flügel, die zu beiden Seiten aus der Flanke der Gorgo herauswachsen.



Abb. 4. Derselbe, Seitenansicht 1 (Foto des Verfassers).

Die heute bekannten Volutenkratere mit Gorgonenhenkeln lassen sich in drei Gruppen unterteilen.⁸ Bei der ältesten Gruppe (um 575-560) sind die Gorgonen noch ganz in die Architektur des Henkels einbezogen und zwar als Trägerfiguren für die auf ihren Schultern ruhenden Henkelvoluten; ihre Arme und Schlangenbeine sind daher weitgespreizt, die Schlangen stützen sich ganz auf die Schulter des Kraters.⁹ Bei der zweiten, etwas jüngeren Gruppe (um 560-540) überwiegt nicht mehr das tragende, sondern das dekorative Element; die Schlangenleiber und -köpfe wenden sich dem Betrachter zu.¹⁰ Zum ersten Mal weist das Ungeheuer die Gorgonenflügeln auf, die den leeren Seitenraum unter den Voluten ausfüllen. Bei der dritten und jüngsten Gruppe (um 540-525) erfüllen die Gorgonen keinerlei tragende Funktion mehr. Sie haben ganz menschliche Gestalt angenommen - allerdings mit andersartigen Flügeln - und sind im Knielaufschema dargestellt; die Schlangen und Seitenflügeln der zweiten Gruppe sind noch vorhanden, haben sich aber aus ihrem Zusammenhang gelöst und sind nur mehr unverstandene Zutaten.¹¹ Es dürfte klar sein, dass der Henkel in Blagoevgrad der zweiten Gruppe ange-

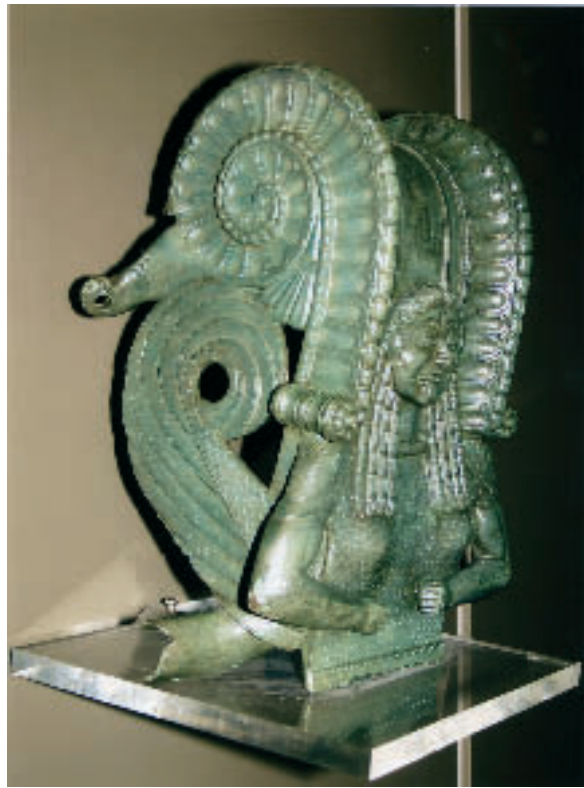


Abb. 5. Derselbe, Seitenansicht 2 (Foto des Verfassers).

hört und somit um 560-540 datiert werden kann.

Die erste und zweite Gruppe lassen sich stilistisch lakonischen Werkstätten zuordnen.¹² Infolgedessen bereitet die Zuweisung des Henkels in Blagoevgrad an Lakonien keine Schwierigkeit.¹³ Schon mehrfach wurde hier unser Henkel mit den Henkeln des Kraters aus Trebenishte in Sofia verglichen (Abb. 7, 8), mit denen er stilistisch so nah verwandt ist, dass man ihn der gleichen lakonischen Werkstatt zuschreiben kann.¹⁴

Die Tatsache, dass die Schlangenbeine der Gorgo an unserem Henkel abgebrochen sind, dürfte darauf hinweisen, dass er gewaltsam aus seinem ursprünglichen Zusammenhang gerissen wurde. Wie die relativ gut erhaltenen Kratere in Sofia und Belgrad, die beide aus Gräbern bei Trebenishte stammen, aus denen sie in trümmerhaften Zustand zu Tage kamen, könnte unser Henkel aus einem solchen 'Fürstengrab' hervorgeholt und als Einzelstück verkauft worden sein. Auf Nachfrage wurde mir bestätigt, dass der Henkel von einem Privatmann aus einem Dorf namens Sedeletz südwestlich von Blagoevgrad, zum Verkauf angeboten und dann vom dortigen Museum erworben wurde. Das geschah vor dreissig Jahren.¹⁵



Abb. 6. Detail eines Henkels des Kraters von Vix. Chatillon-sur-Seine, Museum. Aufnahme des Museums.



Abb. 7. Henkel eines bronzenen Volutenkraters aus Trebenishte. Sofia, National Museum (Foto Vasil P. Vasilev).

Afb. 8. Derselbe, Seitenansicht (Foto Vasil P. Vasilev).



Auch wenn der genaue Fundort heute nicht bekannt ist, so gibt es keinen Grund, eine vom Verkaufsort weit entfernte Fundstelle anzunehmen. Folgende Erwägungen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass unser Henkel zu einem Krater gehörte, der schon im Altertum aus Sparta in das heutige Bulgarien exportiert worden war. Blagoevgrad und Sedeletz liegen am mittleren Lauf des Strymon (heute Strimonas oder Struma genannt), der aus den bulgarischen Bergen östlich von Thessaloniki kommend durch ein weites fruchtbares Gebiet fließt und in die Ägäis mündet.¹⁶ Solche Flüsse wurden in der Antike als Handelswege benutzt.¹⁷ Wohlhabende Barbarenfürsten waren am Kauf griechischer Prunkgefäße interessiert. Das gilt im nördlichen Barbaricum besonders für die Fürsten der Kelten und Skythen sowie die der Illyrer auf der Balkanhalbinsel. Bekannteste Bei-



Afb. 9. Detail einer bronzenen Hydria aus Thermi. Thessaloniki, National Archäologisches Museum (Foto des Verfassers).

spiele für letztere liefern die erwähnten Fürstengräber bei Trebenishte unweit von Ochrid, wohin eine Handelsstrasse von der griechischen Hafenstadt Pydna führte.¹⁸ Es gibt aber weitere Beispiele, wozu nun auch unser Henkel gehört.¹⁹ Zu den lakonischen und korinthischen Volutenkratere gesellt sich eine recht grosse Zahl andersartiger Bronzegefässe aus jenen beiden Produktionszentren. Auf eines von ihnen soll weiter unten näher eingegangen werden (s. Nr. 2).

Als Ergebnis dieser kurzen Betrachtung halten wir fest: ein Volutenhenkel des Typus mit Gorgone, der unweit von Blagoevgrad im heutigen Bulgarien zu Tage kam, gibt uns einen Hinweis auf die Existenz einer Handelsstrasse entlang und auf dem tief ins Innere des Balkans führenden Fluss Strymon. Die hohe Qualität des Stückes und seine stilistische Nähe zu einem fast vollständig erhaltenen Volutenkrater aus Trebenishte in Sofia erlauben uns, ihn der gleichen lakonischen Werkstatt zuzuschreiben und um 560-540 zu datieren. Dank dieses bisher unbekannten Bronzehenkels in Blagoevgrad erweitert sich unser Bild lakonischer Exporte in den Balkan. Fächerartig haben sich die Handelswege entlang den Flüssen Strymon, Axios und über die Makedonische Tiefebene in Richtung Ochrid/Trebenishte im 6. Jahrhundert v. Chr. den Bronzeprodukten zunächst aus Sparta, dann auch aus Korinth geöffnet.²⁰

2. Im Nationalen Archäologischen Museum von Thessaloniki war 2007 ein Grabinhalt ausgestellt, in dem sich eine sogenannte 'narrow-mouthed

hydria' aus Bronze befand (Abb. 9).²¹ Das Grab, so die beigelegte Beschreibung, wurde in einer ausgedehnten Nekropole südöstlich von Thessaloniki, in der Gegend Thermi entdeckt. Während die meisten Gräber schon in der Antike geplündert worden waren, war dieses Grab, registriert als 'Grave 8, Plot 158a1', noch intakt. Die reichen Mitfunde ermöglichen eine Datierung der ganzen Bestattung, einschliesslich der Bronzehydria auf ca. 560 v. Chr.²² Obwohl die Grabungen schon vor zwanzig Jahren (1988) begannen, blieben die Ergebnisse bisher unpubliziert.

Es soll hier vor allem auf die Bedeutung der Bronzehydria hingewiesen werden.²³ Der eher ungewöhnliche Typus, der sich durch eine schmale Mündung (im Gegensatz zu der breiten Mündung einer kanonischen Hydria) und durch Seitenhenkel mit Attaschen in Form menschlicher Hände (im Gegensatz zu den sonst üblichen Entenkopf- oder Palmettenattaschen) auszeichnet, war seit langem bekannt.²⁴ Neu sind nunmehr der Fundort und der gut datierbare Kontext.

Mit einer geschätzten Höhe von 45 bis 50 cm erreicht unsere Hydria das normale Mass.²⁵ Der relativ schmale Hals steigt senkrecht auf bis zum Rand, der nach der für diese Hydrien üblichen Machart mit dem Vertikalhenkel separat gegossen und auf dem Halsende aufgesetzt ist.²⁶ Der obere Henkelansatz ist mit je einer Löwenprotome zu beiden Seiten des Griiffs ausgestattet, genauso wie bei einigen Hydrien aus Trebenishte und Paestum.²⁷ Der Henkel ist wie üblich flach mit einem Perlband in der Mitte und einem Wulst am unteren Ende. Es folgt eine Schlangenpalmette am unteren Ansatz, die zum frühen kanonischen Typus gehört und deshalb recht genau um 555 datiert werden kann, sowie die Palmetten der soeben genannten Hydrien.²⁸ Die Schulter des Gefässes ist gerundet (nicht abgeflacht wie bei den jüngeren Gefässen), und die Seitenhenkel schliessen sich, wie gesagt, dem für diese Hydrien üblichen Typus mit Attaschen in Form flach ausgestreckter Hände an. Auf dem Übergang zum Griff hat jede Hand ein Perlband, das auch die Mitte des Griffes schmückt. Der Körper hat eine bauchige Form und ist im Vergleich zu den kanonischen Hydrien recht gross. Der Fuss schliesslich zeichnet sich wie die übrigen Gefässe dieses Zeitabschnitts durch eine recht flache und konkav ausladende Form aus.²⁹

Bedeutungsvoll ist gewiss, dass es neben den Hydrien mit schmäler Mündung eine Reihe von Bronzeamphoren gibt, die ähnlich gross sind und eine ähnliche Hals und Mündungsform sowie die gleiche bauchige Körperform aufweisen. Es wurden bisher ebenfalls sieben Exemplare katalogisiert.³⁰

Die Forschung ist sich noch nicht darüber einig, wo und wann diese Hydrien und Amphoren mit schmaler Mündung hergestellt worden sind. Die Konzentration der Funde in Trebenishte und Paestum hat zu der These geführt, sie seien allesamt in Grossgriechenland hergestellt und von dort in die heutige Republik Mazedonien (Trebenishte, Bitola) exportiert worden. Eine generelle Datierung um 525 würde dazu passen.³¹ Diese Annahme stützt sich jedoch zu einseitig auf die Fundorte. Neuere Funde haben das Bild bereits verändert. So stellt neben zwei schon länger bekannten Henkeln mit Händeattaschen aus Delphi neuerdings ein ebensolcher Henkel von der Akropolis von Athen einen authentischen Vertreter solcher Hydrien dar.³² Hinzu kommt nunmehr unsere gut erhaltene Hydria aus Thermi. Diese vier Exemplare lassen eine Achse Paestum-Trebenishte eher zweifelhaft erscheinen. Dass Hydrien des Typus mit schmaler Mündung in Athen, Delphi und süd-östlich von Thessaloniki in Thermi zu Tage kamen, deutet vielmehr auf eine Herstellung in einer der grossen Produktionszentren des griechischen Mutterlandes hin.

Ich möchte die Vorstellung einer Verbindung Paestum-Trebenishte folgendermassen korrigieren. Die beiden ältesten uns bekannten Gefässe mit schmaler Mündung - eine Hydria aus Trebenishte und eine Amphora in Princeton - sind reicher verziert als die jüngeren Exemplare und erlauben eine eindeutige Zuweisung an Lakonien. Sie werden spätestens um 580-570 datiert.³³ Auch auf ihnen folgenden Exemplare, obwohl ikonographisch einfacher ausgestaltet, tragen unzweifelhaft lakonische Züge. Hierzu zählen zunächst die Attaschen der Seitenhenkel in Form ausgestreckter Hände, die an allen späteren Hydrien mit schmaler Mündung wiederkehren. Die Anwendung solcher Hände an Henkeln war eine 'auf der Hand liegende' Idee und findet sich zuerst an lakonischen Gefässen.³⁴ Ferner stehen auch die gedrehten Griffe der Amphoren eindeutig in der vom ältesten Beispiel, dem genannten Henkelpaar in Princeton, ausgehenden Tradition. Schliesslich fügen sich die Palmetten, die als untere Attaschen der Vertikalhenkel sowohl bei den späteren Hydrien wie bei den Amphoren üblich waren, mühelos in die Entwicklung der lakonischen Palmetten ein.³⁵

Es gibt noch eine dritte Gefässform, die früher vor allen Dingen aus Trebenishte und Umgebung bekannt war: den sog. 'Dinoskrater',³⁶ auch 'Kesselkrater des Typus Trebenishte' genannt.³⁷ Dieser war abwechselnd mit liegenden Ziegenböcken und mit profilierten Rollenattaschen entlang des

Mündungsrand verziert.³⁸ Ein Beispiel aus Trebenishte ist gut genug erhalten um diese Anordnung zu belegen.³⁹ Auf Grund der erhaltenen Ziegenböcke dieser Art hat man einen Katalog von 39 'Kesselkratern' aufgestellt.⁴⁰ Die Tiere sind allerdings grösstenteils isoliert erhalten und deswegen wenig beweiskräftig. Interessant ist dennoch, dass die Verbreitung der Ziegenböcke und Rollenattaschen eine auffällige Konzentration im nördlichen Griechenland und im Gebiet der heutigen Republik Mazedonien zeigt.⁴¹ Diese ist somit mit der Streuung der Hydrien und Amphoren mit schmaler Mündung zu vergleichen, wenn diese auch, wie wir sahen, weniger ausschliesslich auf Griechenland und Mazedonien beschränkt ist. Offenbar gab es im Norden eine besondere Kundschaft, die sich für diese ungewöhnlichen Gefässformen interessierte.⁴² Hervorzuheben ist ein besonders schöner Ziegenbock der in Gevgelia, einer Ortschaft im Süden der heutigen Republik Mazedonien, nahe der Grenze mit Griechenland, am Flusse Axios (Vardar) zu Tage kam. Die Augenform, 'die den Augapfel, den Tränenkanal und die Lid- und Brauenbögen angibt' (Bieg), ist stilistisch als lakonisch erkennbar, wie auch einige Parallelen, unter ihnen die Böcke aus Trebenishte, als lakonisch eingestuft wurden. Der Fundort weist wiederum, wie oben erörtert, auf die Nutzung der grossen Flüsse als Handelswege hin. In Thessalien soll in einem Grab bei Aiani ein vollständig erhaltener Dinoskrater mit abwechselnd Ziegenböcken und Rollenattaschen auf der Schulter zu Tage gekommen sein.⁴³ Damit wäre die Ausdehnung der Fundorte gen Süden unzweideutig nachgewiesen. Die Gruppe der Dinoskrater als solche stellt ein weiteres Argument zu Gunsten der Annahme dar, dass die eher ungewöhnlichen Gefässformen, wie auch die Hydrien und Amphoren mit schmaler Mündung, nicht etwa in der Magna Grecia, sondern im griechischen Mutterland hergestellt wurden. Es spricht ausserdem vieles dafür, dass die Dinoskrater wie die beiden anderen Formen zuerst in Sparta entstanden, dann aber bald von den korinthischen Werkstätten erfolgreich übernommen wurde.⁴⁴

Zusammenfassend können wir sagen, dass die 'neue' Hydria mit schmaler Mündung aus Thermi keineswegs isoliert dasteht und eine äusserst willkommene Erweiterung unseres Wissens über diese ungewöhnlichen Gefässformen in Bronze darstellt, sowohl wegen ihres Fundortes östlich von Thessaloniki als auch wegen ihres um 560 datierbaren Kontextes.



Abb. 10. Fragment einer Bronzestatue eines sitzenden Mannes, aus Tyros. Athen, Benaki Museum 8057.
Abb. 11. Dasselbe, Ansicht von oben (Fotos des Verfassers).

3. Athen, Benaki Museum 8057. Fragmentarische Statuette eines sitzenden Mannes, mit Inschrift (Abb. 10-12). FO. Heiligtum des Apollon Tyrinitas bei Tyros an der Ostküste Lakoniens. H. 5.5, Br. Knien 6.0, Dm. des Bauches 2.7, Dm des Fasses zwischen den Knien 3.0. Grünbraune Patina. BCH 63 (1939) Chron. 288-289, Abb. 2. BCH 66-67 (1942-1943) Chron. 321. AA 1940, 140, 143, Abb.

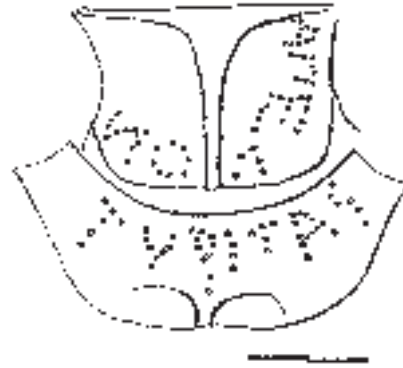


Abb. 12. Dasselbe, Zeichnung der Inschrift, nach Phaklaris 1990, 175, Abb. 101.

11-12. SEG 1940, (19) 892. Phaklaris 1990, 174-175, Abb. 101, Taf. 76a-b.

Die Statuette stellt einen sitzenden Mann dar, der ein Gefäß zwischen den angezogenen Beinen mit einem Band an den Knien aufgehängt hat. Der Oberkörper von der Taille aufwärts fehlt (Abb. 10). Ein glatter Streifen am oberen Rand des Unterkörpers zeigt, dass dieser separat gegossen ist, der Oberkörper daher (wahrscheinlich mit Blei) aufgesetzt war (Abb. 11). Tatsächlich abgebrochen ist dagegen der rechte Fuss. Ein kleines Loch befindet sich an der rechten Gesäßhälfte und ein weiteres vorne am Bauch des Mannes. Ferner sind die zugespitzten Kniescheiben beschädigt. Der Mann trägt ein langes Wams, dessen Borten an den Oberschenkeln mit je einem senkrecht geriefelten Streifen abgesetzt sind. Das Gefäß zwischen den Beinen des Mannes bildet in der Oberansicht nach innen einen Halbkreis, ist nach aussen aber nur schwach gerundet, so dass der obere Rand an den Seiten geknickt erscheint. Von den so entstandenen Eckpunkten ausgehend legt sich jeweils eine Schlaufe zum aufhängen um ein Knie des Mannes. Die Schlaufen setzen sich am Rand des Gefäßes, plastisch abgesetzt, fort und laufen von dessen Mitte nach unten schmäler werdend aus. Auf dem Bauch des Gefäßes befindet sich eine punktierte Inschrift, die bei der Wade des linken Beines anfängt und sich in einem Halbkreis an der Unterseite des Gefäßes und am Körper des Mannes fortsetzt.

Knie und Unterschenkel mit dem linken Fuss sind plastisch ausgearbeitet und zwar so, dass man die Kniescheiben, die Waden, die Schienbeine, die Knöchel und die Zehen deutlich erkennt und als plastisch gut gelungen bezeichnen kann. Die

Oberschenkel und das Gesäss dagegen sind kaum modelliert, doch gut proportioniert. Wichtig für die Interpretation ist die Tatsache, dass sowohl das Gesäss wie das Gefäss eine schräg abgeflachte Unterseite aufweisen. Daraus und aus der Stellung des Fusses ist zu ersehen, dass die Figur mit angezogenen Beinen auf einer ansteigenden Oberfläche angebracht war. Auch die Platzierung der Inschrift, die sich von der Vorderseite nach unten fortsetzt (*Abb. 12*), könnte auf eine Ansicht auf eine abschüssige Grundfläche hindeuten.

Die Figur stellt offensichtlich einen Mann dar, der seinen Beruf ausübt. Doch die Frage, um welchen Beruf es sich handelt, ist schwer zu beantworten, da es, soweit mir bekannt, bislang keine vollständig erhaltene und aussagekräftige Parallele gibt. Es könnte sich um einen Bauern handeln, der eine Kuh oder eine Ziege melkt.⁴⁵ Jedenfalls ist die Tatsache an sich, dass wir hier einer beruflichen Darstellung gegenüber stehen, schon Grund genug dem Stück mehr Beachtung zu schenken als bisher geschehen und ihn unter den seltenen Berufsdarstellungen lakonischer Provenienz einzureihen und zu datieren. Als Vergleichsbeispiel ist wohl der besser erhaltene Hydrienträger aus dem Heiligtum des Apollon Hyperteleatas bei Phoiniki (Lakonien) heranzuziehen, der schon oft diskutiert und um 540-530 v. Chr. datiert wurde.⁴⁶ Unsere Statuette dürfte gleichzeitig oder etwas früher entstanden sein.

ANMERKUNGEN

- ¹ Dieser Henkel wurde bisher weder in der Fachliteratur noch sonst erörtert. Eine offizielle Veröffentlichung seitens des Museums wird von Ilija Kulov vorbereitet. Die Kenntnis des Henkels verdanke ich Dr. Rastko Vasić (Belgrad).
- ² Vgl. etwa das Gorgoneion am unteren Henkelansatz einer lakonischen Amphora in Princeton: Stibbe 1994b, 93-99, *Abb. 13-14*. C.M. Stibbe, in Padgett 2003, 315-318, Nr. 85, *Abb. S. 316 und 318*. Ferner ein ähnliches Gorgoneion am Ansatz eines Hydriahenkels aus Trebenishte: Stibbe 2000, 73 *Abb. 45*.
- ³ Vgl. den Ärmelsaum der Gorgo *Abb. 7, 8*.
- ⁴ Wie dies bei den Henkeln eines Volutenkraters aus Trebenishte in Belgrad der Fall ist, der einem korinthischen Bronzebildner zugeschrieben wurde; s. Stibbe 2000, 88-98. Hitzl Nr. 17.
- ⁵ Vergleichbar ist jedoch eine lakonische Bronzesphinx aus Tarent in München, die ähnliche Flügel aufweist (ein oberer Teil mit Schuppenmuster und eine allerdings doppelte Federstaffelung mit doppelt eingravierten Rändern) und sogar jeweils ein grösseres 'Loch' in den Voluten, in denen ein Stein oder eine Glasperle eingesetzt gewesen sein mag. Zu dieser Sphinx s. Stibbe 2000, Umschlag und S. 12, *Abb. 14*.
- ⁶ Sehr ähnlich sind die Henkel der Volutenkratere aus Trebenishte in Sofia (*Abb. 7, 8*) und in Belgrad gebildet.

Die Beschreibung konnte deswegen weitgehend der von Hitzl 1982, 263 Nr. 16 gegebenen angeglichen werden.

- ⁷ Das Schnurband an dieser Stelle ist eine Ausnahme: beim Krater in Sofia befindet sich hier ein Perlband (*Abb. 7*).
- ⁸ Vgl. die Erörterung in Stibbe 2008a (im Druck).
- ⁹ Zu dieser Gruppe gehören zwei Henkel eines Kraters in Nîmes und Paris (Hitzl Nr. 10-11); der Krater von Vix (*Abb. 6*; Hitzl Nr. 12) und ein Henkel aus Armento (Hitzl Nr. 14) sowie eine späte, korinthische Nachahmung aus Kampanien (Hitzl Nr. 15).
- ¹⁰ Zur zweiten Gruppe gehören die beiden Kratere aus Trebenishte in Sofia (*Abb. 7, 8*) und Belgrad (Hitzl Nr. 16 und 17).
- ¹¹ Zur dritten Gruppe gehören ein Krater in Privatbesitz (Stibbe 2008a), ein Henkel aus Kilikien im Louvre (Hitzl Nr. 19) und ein Henkel aus Martonocha bei Kiev in St. Petersburg (Hitzl Nr. 18).
- ¹² Es gibt aber auch innerhalb dieser Gruppen einige Nachahmungen.
- ¹³ Die dritte Gruppe ist nicht lakonisch, sondern setzt sich aus Nachahmungen verschiedener Kunstzentren zusammen. Dazu Stibbe 2008a (im Druck).
- ¹⁴ Die Unterschiede sind gering und weisen auf eine etwas frühere Entstehungszeit für den Henkel in Blagoevgrad hin.
- ¹⁵ Diese Informationen verdanke ich Herrn Ilija Kulov (s. oben Anm. 1).
- ¹⁶ Der Strymon galt vor Philipp II. als Grenzfluss zwischen Mazedonien und Thrakien.
- ¹⁷ Noch heute führt die Hauptverbindungsstrasse von Thessaloniki nach Sofia, wie gesagt, an diesem Fluss entlang.
- ¹⁸ Dazu Stibbe/Vasić 2003, 94-95.
- ¹⁹ Aus Skopje berichtete mir Professor Viktor Lilic am 5. Dezember 2006 (leicht gekürzt), dass 'some 200 meters northern of the river Vardar near the road to Koreshnica village, two men illegally dug two holes during the winter of 1995-1996. They found a bronze krater; sixteen helmets; sixteen cuirasses; sixteen shields (decorated with many silver/gilded plates for protection shaped as fishes radially orientated around the central omphalos; sixteen knemides; sixteen urns and sixteen small figures of Ares.' Professor Lilic fügte hinzu, er habe diese Auskünfte von ortsansässigen Leuten erhalten, sie sei daher schwer nachprüfbar. Tatsächlich mutet die Beschreibung mit der Wiederholung der zahl 'sechzehn' recht fantasievoll an. Der Fundort sei, so Professor Lilic, eine Nekropole, die auf einer Plattform von 100 x 50 Meter errichtet wurde. Er wolle demnächst dort eine offizielle Grabung durchführen. Interessant an der Sache ist vorläufig, dass wir hier wiederum ein Fürstengrab mit einem Bronzekrater an einem grossen, ins Innere des Balkans führenden Fluss vermuten können. Der Fluss Vardar, griechisch Axios, verläuft etwa parallel zum Strymon und mündet westlich von Thessaloniki ins Meer. Der Fundort Koreshnica in der heutigen Republik Mazedonien liegt etwa gleich weit von der griechischen Grenze entfernt wie der Fundort südwestlich von Blagoevgrad in Bulgarien. Er wäre also gut vergleichbar. Ebenfalls am Axios, aber weiter stromabwärts, wurde in Gevgelija nahe der griechischen Grenze, die archaisch-griechische Bronzestatue eines liegenden Ziegenbockes gefunden, der wohl zum Zierat eines Dinoskraters gehört und wahrscheinlich lakonisch ist (dazu weiter unten, zu Nr. 2); s. Bieg 2002, 116-117, *Abb. 134, 173 Nr. Z35*.

- ²⁰ Die von Claude Rolley und in seiner Nachfolge von Julia Vokotopoulou aufgestellte Theorie, die Bronzegefäße aus den Gräbern von Trebenishte und sogar eine aus der Nekropole von Pydna stammende Bronzehydria seien in Süditalien hergestellt worden, ist damit wohl entgültig widerlegt. Zum Primat der lakonischen Bronzeworkstätten, die in der ersten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts die Führung übernehmen und in der zweiten Hälfte von den korinthischen abgelöst werden, s. Stibbe 2001, 28-29.
- ²¹ Zu diesem Gefässtypus s. Stibbe 2000, 163-165 (sieben katalogisierte Exemplare).
- ²² Die Nekropole als Ganzes war von der späten Eisenzeit bis in den Hellenismus in Gebrauch. Beim Grab Nr. 8 handelt es sich um ein 'cist grave containing a female burial'. Die Mitfunde sind nur z.T. ausgestellt; sie umfassen: u.A. drei attische Gefäße (darunter eine Sianschale), drei korinthische Gefäße, drei plastische Gefäße aus ostgriechischen Werkstätten, ein rot gefirnisstes Karchesion (eine recht seltene Form, die sich namentlich im Raum der nordöstlichen Ägeis findet), drei Bucchero Salbgefäße und Goldschmuck. S. auch *ADelt*, 532-536 und *AR* for 2006-2007, 62-63.
- ²³ Sie ist gut erhalten, aber restauriert; der Fuss ist nicht am Körper angesetzt, sondern in der Ausstellung darunter geschoben, während der Gefäßkörper eine eigene, ringförmige Stütze bekommen hat.
- ²⁴ Vgl. Stibbe 2000, 163-165.
- ²⁵ Die Hydria aus Trebenishte in Sofia erreicht eine Höhe von 46,8 cm, ohne den nicht zugehörigen Fuss (Stibbe, 2000, 163 N. 1). Die Hydria aus Trebenishte, Grab IX, in Belgrad hat eine Höhe von 48,0 cm (Stibbe 2000 164 Nr. 3). Die Hydria aus Paestum in Paestum hat ebenfalls eine Höhe von 48 cm. (Stibbe 2000, 165 Nr. 7).
- ²⁶ Nach Rolley 1982, 21-28; 83-86 weist diese Technik auf eine Herstellung in Süditalien hin.
- ²⁷ Stibbe, 2000, 163-165 Nr. 2, 7.
- ²⁸ Zum Typus der Palmette s. Stibbe 1997, 44-45 ('snake palmettes'). Die Hydria aus Trebenishte in Belgrad (Stibbe 2000, 164 Nr. 3) hat allerdings nur neun Blätter in einem Halbkreis, während unsere Hydria elf aufweist.
- ²⁹ Für die Fussformen vgl. Rolley 1982, Abb. 90-94.
- ³⁰ Stibbe 2000, 165-167, Nr. 1-7.
- ³¹ Rolley 1982, 81-100.
- ³² Stibbe 2008b, von der Akropolis von Athen Nr. 6.
- ³³ Stibbe 1992, 48 Nr. N1. Stibbe 2000, 72, 163 Nr. 1. 107, 165 Nr. 1. Zum Henkelpaar in Princeton s. auch Stibbe, in Padgett 2004, 315-318, Nr. 85.
- ³⁴ S. die Hinweise in Stibbe 2008b (Anm. 32)
- ³⁵ Stibbe 1997, 44-45, 60: 'Subgroup VC: snake palmettes'.
- ³⁶ So Stibbe, 2000, 68-69, 167-168, Nr. 1-4.
- ³⁷ Bieg 2002, 112-128.
- ³⁸ Nach Filow 1927, 51-53, wäre die Bronzestatuetten einer hockenden Sphinx, die 'ganz in der Nähe' eines 'Henkellosen Kraters' (hier 'Dinoskrater' genannt) in Grab VI von Trebenishte zu Tage gekommen war, als Zierat jenes Kraters aufzufassen (darauf würden 'Lotspuren' hinweisen). Diese Auffassung halte ich eher für unwahrscheinlich; s. Stibbe/Vasić 2003, 138-140.

- ³⁹ Bieg 2002, 112-113, Abb. 135a-c.
- ⁴⁰ Bieg 2002, 168-173, Nr. Z1 bis Z 39.
- ⁴¹ Bieg 2002, 112. mit Abb. 136.
- ⁴² Dazu Stibbe/Vasić 2003, 73.
- ⁴³ Er blieb bisher unveröffentlicht. Dazu Stibbe/Vasić 2003, 94 mit Anm. 51a.
- ⁴⁴ Zur korinthischen Produktion s. Bieg 2002, 116. Zu den lakonischen Prototypen Stibbe 2000, 68-71. Die Frage, woher die Spartaner die bauchige Form übernommen haben, ist nicht leicht zu beantworten. Vielleicht bildeten Transportamphoren eine Inspirationsquelle.
- ⁴⁵ So schon in *BCH* 63 (1939) Chron. 288-289 und Phaklari 1991, 175. Letzterer meint, es könne sich um einen Behälter aus Leder handeln.
- ⁴⁶ Zuletzt Stibbe 2008b, Nr. 1, mit weiteren Hinweisen.

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‘Liebesleid’

Eine singuläre Darstellung von Hephaistos und Athena in der etruskischen Kunst

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Zusammenfassung

Die bislang sehr umstrittene Gravur auf einem Spiegel in Berlin (Abb. 1-3) wird als die erste etruskische Darstellung des griechischen Mythos von der gewaltsamen Annäherung des Hephaistos (Sethlans) an Athena (Menвра) gedeutet, die im Schema einer ‘Liebesentführung’ wiedergegeben ist; neben einer sitzenden Figur sind auch Aphrodite (Turan) und Ares (Laran) anwesend, so dass alle Protagonisten des Mythos versammelt sind. Das Bild des Spiegels fügt sich als singuläre Gestaltung zu anderen Spiegeln mit Paaren des griechischen Mythos.

Die fünffigurige Szene auf einem etruskischen Spiegel der Berliner Antikensammlung,* die im folgenden als die einzige Wiedergabe eines in Etrurien noch nicht belegten und in der gesamten antiken Kunst nur äußerst selten dargestellten griechischen Mythos gedeutet wird, hat in ihren bisherigen Besprechungen keine einheitliche Interpretation erfahren (Abb. 1-3).¹ Mit den Schwierigkeiten der Deutung ist dabei sicher verbunden, dass die häufig abgebildete Zeichnung aus Eduard Gerhards grundlegendem Werk ‘Etruskische Spiegel’ die allgemeine Figurenkomposition zwar getreu wiedergibt, jedoch Ungenauigkeiten oder Flüchtigkeiten enthält, die mitunter in die Irre geführt haben (Abb. 3); gleichwohl wird die Zeichnung auch hier wiederholt, da die Gravur des Spiegels wie so oft nicht mehr vollständig zu sehen ist (Abb. 2).²

Der in frühhellenistischer Zeit entstandene Spiegel zeigt auf dem Ansatz des Griffzapfens eine männliche Büste mit geflügelter phrygischer Mütze, in der man Hermes (Turms) erkennen wird; der Götterbote kann auch sonst mit dieser Kopfbedeckung gezeigt werden und ist bei Spiegeln an derselben Stelle mehrfach bezeugt.³ In der von einem Mäandermuster gerahmten Szene des Spiegels sitzt links eine Figur in orientalisch anmutender Tracht, also einem Gewand mit langen Ärmeln, einer phrygischen Mütze sowie Schuhen; sie hält in der Linken eine Lanze, in der Rechten ein rundes Objekt, von dem in der Zeichnung bei Gerhard zwei Wellenlinien nach unten geführt sind (Abb. 3). Daneben hat ein nackter bartloser Jüngling die Göttin Athena (Menвра) mit beiden Armen umschlungen; er trägt einen prächtigen Halsschmuck. Die von ihm umfasste Athena ist in den bisherigen Deutungen als einzige Figur

unstrittig, da sie außer ihren Schuhen, dem Peplos, einem phrygischen Helm und reichem Armschmuck vor allem auch eine Ägis trägt, auf der ein Gorgoneion des ‘schönen Typus’ zu erkennen ist.⁴ Die Göttin berührt nur mit den Zehenspitzen des rechten Fußes den Boden, während ihr linkes Bein leicht angehoben und nach hinten gebeugt ist; in gegensätzlicher Entsprechung dazu ist der linke Arm nach unten geführt, der rechte Arm über die Schulter nach oben genommen; in der rechten Hand hält Athena einen flachen Gegenstand, der eine Schale sein wird.⁵ Es folgt ein nach links blickender Jüngling mit langem Haupthaar, der nur Schuhe trägt und am Oberarm einen Armreif angelegt hat; sein herabhängender rechter Arm ist nur im Ansatz sichtbar, die linke Hand in die Hüfte gestützt. An die Schulter des Jünglings lehnt sich eine ebenfalls bis auf ihre Schuhe nackte Frau mit langem Haar, über deren linken Arm ein Mantel herabhängt; sie trägt mit Diadem, Halskette und Armband reichen Schmuck.

Der gegenüber Athena so zudringlich werdende Jüngling ist von Gerhard in seiner grundlegenden Besprechung des Spiegels als Herakles (Hercle) gedeutet worden; dass Herakles damit ohne ein Attribut wie Löwenfell oder Keule dargestellt wäre, wollte Gerhard wie den Halsschmuck als Hinweis darauf sehen, dass dieser als Gott verstanden sei. In der Gruppe daneben erkannte Gerhard sicher zu Recht Ares (Laran) und Aphrodite (Turan), in der links sitzenden Figur Artemis (Artumes).⁶ Den Ausgangspunkt für Gerhards Deutungen bildeten dabei mehrere Spiegel, auf denen Herakles eine Frau mit beiden Armen hochhebt, die auf einem Reliefspiegel in London mit Mlacuch benannt ist (Abb. 4);⁷ für einen anderen,



Abb. 1 und 2. Etruskischer Spiegel, Antikensammlung Staatliche Museen Berlin. Hephaistos (Sethlans) und Athena (Menvra), rechts Ares (Laran) und Aphrodite (Turan).

heute verschollenen und nur aus einer Beschreibung bekannten Spiegel werden als Inschriften HERCLE, MENVERVA sowie CHUSAIS angegeben.⁸ Nun hatte bereits Gerhard vermutet, dass einige Spiegel dieser thematischen Serie Fälschungen sein könnten. Tatsächlich handelt es sich auch abgesehen von dem Spiegel in London (Abb. 4) bei allen anderen noch vorhandenen Spiegeln um moderne Arbeiten, die auf das Londoner Stück zurückgehen. Vor diesem Hintergrund müssen auch die heute nicht mehr zugänglichen Exemplare zumindest als unsichere Zeugnisse gelten, so dass der Spiegel mit den drei genannten Namensinschriften als Argument nur sehr bedingt zu verwenden ist; zudem wurde die Lesung der Inschrift MENVERVA auch aus anderen Gründen angezweifelt.⁹ Die Grundlage für Gerhards Deutung muss also fraglich erscheinen.

Eine Interpretation als Herakles mit Athena wurde auch von S.J. Schwarz und A.A. Carpino vertreten, die allerdings in dem nackten Jüngling mit Schuhen und Armschmuck Apollon (Aplu) erkennen wollen.¹⁰ Dieser Gott kann in der etruskischen Kunst zwar durchaus neben einem mythi-

schen Liebespaar erscheinen, doch ist Apollon in Verbindung mit einer sich an ihn schmiegenden Frau kaum vorstellbar; die Deutung dürfte in der Hauptsache ohnehin auf der von Gerhard vorgeschlagenen Benennung der sitzenden Figur als Artemis beruhen.¹¹ N.T. de Grummond vermutete in dem mittleren Jüngling ebenfalls Herakles, falls in dem geschwungenen Bildelement unterhalb der Füße des Jünglings ein Bogen zu erkennen sei.¹² Die entsprechende Partie in der Zeichnung bei Gerhard (Abb. 3) mag zwar an einen Bogen erinnern, doch zeigt der Spiegel an dieser Stelle in Wirklichkeit nur die Angabe von Bodenlinien, die unvollständig erfasst wurden (Abb. 2). In ihrer Bildunterschrift fasste de Grummond den aktuellen Stand der Überlegungen dann recht aporetisch zusammen: 'Menvra walks to the right, aided and embraced by a naked youth. Three other figures (unidentified) look on.'¹³

Gerhard dürfte mit seiner grundsätzlichen Einordnung des Geschehens als zudringlicher Annäherung des Jünglings mit Halsschmuck zweifellos Recht behalten. Die Spiegelgravur (Abb. 1-3) lässt sich eindeutig an die verbreitete Bildformel



Abb. 3. Etruskischer Spiegel (Abb. 1. 2). Zeichnung nach der Publikation durch Eduard Gerhard (1845).

der 'Liebesentführung' anschließen, für die auch die etruskische Kunst recht unterschiedliche Arten der Wiedergabe kennt:¹⁴ So können die begehrten Frauen in dem auch in der griechischen Kunst bekannten Bildschema fortgetragen werden oder sich wie bei der Flucht der Thetis vor Peleus (Peleis) in wilder Verfolgungsjagd befinden.¹⁵ Dem Berliner Spiegel verwandt ist das an sich Ziehen und Hochheben einer Frau, so etwa wenn Herakles auf dem bereits erwähnten Londoner Spiegel Mlacuch umgreift (Abb. 4) oder wenn Poseidon (Nethuns) eine ihm zugewandte Frau zu sich heranzieht.¹⁶ Die beste Parallele zu der Berliner Darstellung (Abb. 1-3) stellt indes ein Spiegel in La Louvière dar (Abb. 5), auf dem ebenfalls eine Frau - nun aber weitgehend nackt und mit reichem Schmuck sowie einem Diadem versehen - von einem Jüngling umfasst und in die Höhe gehoben wird; ihre Beinhaltung erinnert sehr an diejenige der Berliner Athena. Eine danebenstehende Frau dürfte der Entführten beistehen, während ein sitzender Jüngling nur seinen rechten Arm erhebt, ohne weiter einzugreifen; die Deutung der Szene scheint noch nicht gelungen.¹⁷

Herakles und Athena sind nun im etruskischen Bereich zwar eng verbunden und können als gleichberechtigtes Paar gezeigt werden, eine derart gewaltsame Szene wie auf dem Berliner Spiegel ist für diese beiden Götter aber nicht bezeugt und auch nur wenig wahrscheinlich.¹⁸ Eine solche Zudringlichkeit gegenüber Athena ist aus der antiken Mythenüberlieferung jedoch durchaus bekannt: Es handelt sich dabei um Hephaistos, der sich Athena gewaltsam näherte, von dieser jedoch abgewehrt wurde. Die Erzählung wurde in der griechischen und römischen Bildkunst wie in der antiken Literatur nur sehr selten aufgegriffen.¹⁹ Die älteste Darstellung der griechischen Kunst ist in der Beschreibung des Amykläischen Throns bei Pausanias bezeugt:²⁰

... καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἐστιν Ἥφαιστον.

... und da ist die fliehende Athena, die von Hephaistos verfolgt wird.

Die einzige erhaltene griechische Wiedergabe der Verfolgung findet sich vielleicht auf einer frühklassischen Amphora des Providence-Malers in Bologna: Athena flieht vor einem bärtigen Mann, der jedoch keine weiteren Attribute aufweist, so dass er nicht mit letzter Sicherheit zu benennen ist.²¹ Sicher begegnet die Episode dann auf einer hadrianisch datierten Sigillata in Jena und auf dem bekannten antoninischen Fries in Ostia mit Szenen aus dem Leben des Hephaistos (Vulcanus).²² Und schließlich ist noch das Gemälde in einem prachtvollen, vielleicht aber nur imaginären Saal zu nennen, dessen 'Beschreibung' unter den Werken Lukians erhalten ist:²³

Εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος αὕτη γε, ἀλλὰ γραφὴ πάλιν: Ἥφαιστος αὐτὴν διώκει ἐρῶν, ἢ δὲ φεύγει, καὶ τῆς διώξεως Ἐριχθόνιος γίνεται.

Nach dieser gibt es eine andere Athena, diese jedoch nicht aus Stein, sondern wiederum ein Gemälde: Hephaistos verfolgt sie in Liebesverlangen, sie aber flieht, und aus der Verfolgung geht Erichthonios hervor.

Bei dieser Zusammenstellung wird auffallen, dass stets das Moment der Flucht hervorgehoben wird, während der Berliner Spiegel - wie bereits bemerkt - einer anderen Gestaltungsweise folgt. Fraglich muss in diesem Zusammenhang allerdings bleiben, ob sich Darstellungen von Athena und Hephaistos im Kontext einer Werkstatt auf diese Sage beziehen lassen, oder ob hier nicht vielmehr wie in anderen Bildern einfach die beiden Gottheiten des Handwerks vereint sind.²⁴



Abb. 4. Etruskischer Spiegel London, British Museum. Herakles (Hercle) und Mlacuch.



Abb. 5. Etruskischer Spiegel La Louvière. Jüngling ergreift Frau.

Die Flucht der Göttin wird auch in den meisten antiken Texten betont, die ansonsten vor allem die Entstehung des attischen Urkönigs Erichthonios hervorheben. Dies ist sogar bei einem so kurzen Text wie auf der *Tabula Borgia* der Fall, aber auch bei Apollodor, auf den noch zurückzukommen sein wird:²⁵

[Ἀθηνᾶς δὲ φευγούσης τὸν]
Ἥφαιστον καὶ μὴ προσδ[εξα]-
μένης τὸ λέχος. τῆς γον[ῆ]ς
ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν πεσοῦσης [ἐπὶ
τὴν] γεννᾶται Ἐριχθόνιος.
Πρὸ τῆς ἔριδος Ἀθηνᾶς πρὸς
Ποσειδῶνα πρόκειται τάδε.

Als Athena vor Hephaistos floh und ihm den Beischlaf verweigerte und der Samen auf die Erde fiel, entstand Erichthonios. Vor dem Streit der Athena mit Poseidon ereignete sich dies.

Doch spielt die Flucht etwa in der ausführlichen Schilderung des Hygin keine Rolle; die Sage wird in den Zusammenhang der Rückführung des Hephaistos in den Olymp eingefügt, nachdem der Gott zuvor seine Mutter Hera auf einen Zaubersessel gebannt hatte:²⁶

quem cum Liber pater ebrium in concilio deorum

adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit; tum optionem a Iove accepit, si quid ab iis petiisset impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum Minervam petere in coniugium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iouis virginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram decidit natus est puer qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit; quem Erichthonium ideo nominaverunt quod ἔρις Graece certatio dicitur, χθών autem terra dicitur.

Doch als ihn Dionysos betrunken in die Götterversammlung brachte, konnte er sich gegen die Sohnespflicht nicht sträuben, worauf ihm Zeus die Wahl freistellte, wenn er irgend etwas von ihnen wünsche, solle er es bekommen. Da stachelte ihn Poseidon auf - als erbitterter Gegner der Athene - Athene zur Gattin zu begehren. Sie wurde ihm zugestanden, doch als er mit ihr das Schlafgemach betrat, verteidigte sie auf Rat des Zeus ihre Jungfräulichkeit mit den Waffen, und aus seinem Samen, der sich während des Ringens auf die Erde ergoß, entstand ein Knabe, der unten die Gestalt einer Schlange hatte; sie gaben ihm deswegen den Namen Erichthonios: *eris* heißt im Griechischen Streit und *chthon* Erde.

Auf dem Berliner Spiegel (Abb. 1-3) versucht also Hephaistos, Athena in erotischer Absicht zu überwältigen. Die Deutung mag angesichts des nackten Jünglings vielleicht zunächst überraschen, doch wird Hephaistos anders als in griechischen Darstellungen in der etruskischen Kunst häufig als unbärtiger Jüngling wiedergegeben, dem auch alle Hinweise auf die Behinderung des Hephaistos fehlen; der Gott kann dabei einen Pilos tragen, jedoch auch ohne die Kopfbekleidung dargestellt werden.²⁷ Zu Hephaistos paßt schließlich auch der schon von Gerhard als Element der Deutung herangezogene Halsschmuck besonders gut: Unter den berühmten Arbeiten des Gottes finden sich zahlreiche Schmuckstücke, zu denen auch der Halsschmuck der Aphrodite oder der Harmonia gehören.²⁸

Für die Deutung des neben Hephaistos und Athena stehenden Paares kann auf die Ausführungen von Gerhard zurückgekommen werden, der überzeugend Ares und Aphrodite erkannt hat, die nach seinem Verständnis 'als schadenfrohe Zeugen eines Aergernisses gemeint sein mögen, demjenigen ähnlich welches nach der bekannte Erzählung der Odyssee sie selbst den seligen Göttern gegeben haben'.²⁹ Dass dabei die nackte und reich geschmückte Frau Aphrodite meinen kann, muss - auch wenn der Figurentypus in der Spätklassik für unterschiedliche Göttinnen verwendet wird - kaum ausführlich begründet werden.³⁰ Bei Ares mag man vielleicht einen gerüsteten Krieger erwarten, doch begegnet er in der etruskischen Kunst ebenso als nackter Jüngling: So etwa auf einem Spiegel in Berlin mit der Rückführung des Hephaistos in den Olymp durch Dionysos (Fufluns), auf dem der mit Stiefeln bekleidete, ansonsten aber nackte Jüngling neben der Mittelgruppe inschriftlich als Laran benannt ist; weiter ist noch der Gott Maris anwesend (Abb. 6).³¹

Das so vertraut wirkende Paar Ares und Aphrodite hat jedoch wohl nichts mit der von Gerhard vermuteten 'Schadenfreude' zu tun. Die Liaison von Aphrodite und Ares konnte in der antiken Überlieferung vielmehr als Ausgangspunkt für den Annäherungsversuch des Hephaistos verstanden werden, wie die Überlieferung bei Apollodor bezeugt:³²

τοῦτον οἱ μὲν Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς Κραναοῦ θυγατρὸς Ἀτθίδος εἶναι λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, οὕτως: Ἀθηνᾶ παρεγένετο πρὸς Ἡφαιστον, ὅπλα κατασκευάσαι θέλουσα. ὃ δὲ ἐγκαταλειμμένος ὑπὸ Ἀφροδίτης εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ὤλισθε τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, καὶ διώκειν αὐτὴν ἤρξατο: ἡ δὲ ἔφευγεν. ὥς δὲ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς ἐγένετο



Abb. 6. Etruskischer Spiegel Antikensammlung, Staatliche Museen Berlin. Rückführung des Hephaistos (Sethlans) durch Dionysos (Fufluns) in den Olymp. Links Maris, rechts Ares (Laran).

πολλῇ ἀνάγκῃ (ἣν γὰρ χολός), ἐπειρᾶτο συνελθεῖν.

(Erichthonios) soll ein Sohn des Hephaistos und der Tochter des Kranaos, Atthis, gewesen sein, nach andern jedoch des Hephaistos und der Athena, und zwar hatte es damit folgende Bewandnis: Athena kam zu Hephaistos, um Waffen von ihm zu bekommen. Da er von Aphrodite verlassen war, empfand er Gelüste nach Athena und wurde zudringlich, worauf sie die Flucht ergriff. Als er sie mit vieler Not - er war ja lahm - einholte, versuchte er sie zu umarmen.

Und auch wenn die Spiegelgravur nicht im Sinne eines solch kausalen Zusammenhangs angelegt sein muss, bleibt die grundsätzliche inhaltliche Verbindung der beiden Paare unverkennbar. Diese wurde in der Antike auch durchaus genutzt, um kultische Gegebenheiten zu erklären; so führt Plutarch in seinen *Quaestiones Romanae* eine der möglichen Begründungen für die Anlage eines Heiligtums des Hephaistos durch Romulus außerhalb der Stadt Rom an:³³

„Διὰ τί τὸ Ἡφαίστου ἱερὸν ἔξω πόλεως ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἰδρύσατο;“ Πότερον διὰ τὴν μυθολογου-

μένην πρὸς Ἄρη ζήλοτυπίαν τοῦ Ἡφαίστου δι' Ἀφροδίτην υἱὸς εἶναι δοκῶν Ἄρεος οὐκ ἐποιήσατο σύννοικον οὐδ' ὁμόπολιν αὐτόν;

‘Weshalb errichtete Romulus das Heiligtum des Hephaistos außerhalb der Stadt?’

Wie eine Erklärung lautet, weil er, der als Sohn des Ares gilt, aufgrund der im Mythos überlieferten Eifersucht des Hephaistos gegenüber Ares wegen Aphrodites, ihn nicht zum Mitbewohner oder Mitbürger machen wollte?

Die neben Hephaistos und Athena sitzende Figur des Berliner Spiegels (Abb. 2, 3) wurde von Gerhard als Artemis gedeutet, für die entsprechende Darstellungen in der etruskischen Kunst belegt sind. Gerhard vermutete weiter, dass sie sich angesichts der zwei Paare ‘der Liebesqual mit Endymion’ entsinne.³⁴ Folgt man der Deutung auf Artemis, so wäre die Göttin wohl eher als Gegenbild zu dem ‘erotischen Inhalt’ der beiden Gruppen aufzufassen; ähnliche Gegenüberstellungen sind in der etruskischen Kunst auch sonst bezeugt.³⁵ Doch bleibt die sitzende Figur, bei der im übrigen bereits das Geschlecht nicht mit letzter Sicherheit bestimmt sein dürfte, der Spiegelgravur als ‘sehr rätselhafter Gegenstand’ vorerst erhalten.³⁶

Mit Hephaistos und Athena sowie Ares und Aphrodite sind auf dem Berliner Spiegel (Abb. 1-3) die Protagonisten einer berühmten Episode der *chronique scandaleuse* des Olymp in bislang singulärer Weise versammelt.³⁷ Der vergebliche Annäherungsversuch des Hephaistos erweitert die mit diesem Gott verbundenen Themen auf etruskischen Spiegeln wie die Rückführung in den Olymp (Abb. 6), die Befreiung der Hera (Uni), die Geburt der Athena, Hephaistos mit Aphrodite und göttlichen Begleitern sowie die Arbeit an einer Statue des Pferdes Pecse um ein neues Sujet.³⁸ Mythen mit Hephaistos mögen dabei für die Etrusker auch deswegen besonders ansprechend gewesen sein, weil der griechische Gott eng mit der Insel Lemnos verbunden wurde, deren Ureinwohner als Verwandte der Etrusker galten.³⁹ Die erotische Thematik des Berliner Spiegels lässt sich aber vor allem an weitere etruskische Spiegel mit der Wiedergabe von Paaren des griechischen Mythos anschließen, die dessen Vorgaben folgen - wie im Falle von Admetos (Atmite) und Alkestis (Alcestei), Ares und Aphrodite, Meleager (Meliacr) und Atalante (Atlenta), Peleus (Peleis) und Thetis, Eos (Thesan) und Tithonos (Tithun) sowie Zeus (Tinia) und Hera⁴⁰ - oder auch eigenständige Varianten darstellen: So bei Anchises (Anchas) und der Liebesdämonin Thalna oder Dionysos und Vesuna.⁴¹ Da nun weder Aphrodite und Ares noch gar Hephai-

stos und Athena ein glückliches Ende ihrer - sehr unterschiedlich angelegten - ‘Beziehungen’ beschieden war, mag in diesem Zusammenhang aber vor allem an die zahlreichen Spiegel mit Adonis (Atunis) und Aphrodite erinnert sein.⁴² Hephaistos bei der gewaltsamen Werbung um Athena bildet indes eine jener Darstellungen auf etruskischen Spiegeln, die eine Charakterisierung der Gattung durch J.D. Beazley bestätigen:⁴³ ‘There is much repetition, but much also that is individual, and in our experience unique.’

ANMERKUNGEN

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¹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Fr. 137 (Misc. 2971). Der Spiegel stammt aus dem Besitz von Emil Braun, weitere Angaben sind nicht bekannt. Maße: Höhe 28 cm; Durchmesser 14,7 cm. Bisherige Behandlungen: Carpino 2003, 15; Gerhard 1845, Taf. 161; de Grummond 2006, 75, 79 Abb. V.8; Schwarz 1990, 233 Nr. 351.

² Vgl. etwa die Brustmuskulatur des rechts Stehenden, die auf dem Spiegel sehr viel detaillierter ausgeführt ist als auf der Zeichnung des 19. Jahrhunderts. Wesentlich für die bisherigen Deutungsvorschläge wurde die ebenfalls vereinfachte Zeichnung der Partie unterhalb der Figuren, dazu vgl. u. 34. Zur Notwendigkeit der Anfertigung neuer Zeichnungen bei der Beschäftigung mit etruskischen Spiegeln, aber auch zu der Bedeutung von Eduard Gerhard für die Etruskologie vgl. Zimmer 1997.

³ Vgl. Harari 1997, 99-100 Nr. 7. - Besonders deutlich wird dies auf dem Spiegel Emmanuel-Rebuffat 1988, 34-56 Nr. 4 mit Hermes bei Parisurteil und dem spiegelbildlichen, aber ansonsten dem der Hermesfigur völlig entsprechenden Kopf am Ansatz des Griffzapfens.

⁴ Athena mit phrygischem Helm in Etrurien: vgl. Colonna 1984, 1074. - Gorgoneion: vgl. Krauskopf 1988a, 336-338.

⁵ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 150.

⁶ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 151.

⁷ London, British Museum GR 1772.3-4.74; aus der Sammlung Hamilton. Vgl. Bonfante, Swaddling 2005, 37; Carpino 9-16 Nr. 1; de Grummond 2006, 188 Abb. VIII.16; Gerhard 1845, 148-149; van der Meer 1995, 43-46; Mavleev 1992, 627 Nr. 1; Swaddling 2001, 26-28 Nr. 20. - Zum Fundkomplex vgl. Jenkins/Sloan 1996, 214-215 Nr. 124-125.

⁸ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 149; Mavleev 1992, 627.

⁹ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 147-148, 150; Mavleev 1992, 627; Swaddling 2001, 28; van der Meer 1995, 46 mit Vorschlag für eine andere Lesung.

¹⁰ Carpino 2003, 15; Schwarz 1990, 233 Nr. 351: ‘(Hercle) abducts? Menvra. Artumes? Aplu? Woman stands near’.

¹¹ Apollon: Carpino 2003, 15; Schwarz 1990, 233 Nr. 351. - Neben Liebespaar: vgl. de Grummond 2006, 195 Abb.

- VIII.24 (Lasa, Apollon, Aphrodite, Adonis, Athena); Simon 2006, 51 Abb. IV.6 (Turnu, Apollon, Aphrodite und Adonis).
- ¹² de Grummond 2006, 78.
- ¹³ de Grummond 2006, 79 zu Abb. V.8.
- ¹⁴ Der Begriff der 'Liebesentführung' wird hier als geläufige Bezeichnung eines ikonographischen Schemas verwendet, soll aber nicht in einem bewertenden Sinne verstanden werden; vgl. zur Problematik Stewart 1996. Zur Thematik auf etruskischen Spiegeln vgl. zusammenfassend van der Meer 1995, 33-50; zu den griechischen Darstellungen vgl. auch den Überblick bei Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1979.
- ¹⁵ Entführung auf den Armen: vgl. van der Meer 1995, 39-40. - Peleus und Thetis: vgl. van der Meer 1995, 33-39.
- ¹⁶ Poseidon: Spiegel Museo Profano della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana 5340; Lambrechts 1995, 20-22 Nr. 5; de Grummond 2006, 143 Abb. VI.37. - Herakles und Mlacuch: vgl. o. Anm. 7. Auch wenn Mlacuch und damit die zugrundeliegende Erzählung nicht bekannt sind, wurde zu Recht bemerkt, dass sie keine Gegenwehr leistet, was als Hinweis auf ein Einverständnis zu werten sein mag; vgl. Carpino 2003, 14; van der Meer 1995, 43.
- ¹⁷ La Louvière, o. Inv.-Nr. Lambrechts 1987, 54-56 Nr. 31 (Peleus und Thetis); zu weiteren Parallelen und zur Deutung vgl. Jucker 1991, 184 (Helena und Paris?).
- ¹⁸ Zu Herakles und Athena als Paar vgl. de Grummond 2006, 75, 78 Abb. V.7; Pfiffig 1975, 30-31; Schwarz 1990, 213-214 Nr. 128-134.
- ¹⁹ Vgl. Brommer 1978, 25-26; Hermary/Jacquemin 1988, 648 Nr. 213-215; Schefold/Jung 1981, 273; Simon/Bauchhenss 1997, 290.
- ²⁰ Paus. 3.18.13 (Übersetzung Verf.); vgl. Hermary/Jacquemin 1988, 648 Nr. 215.
- ²¹ Amphora Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico 158; vgl. Beazley 1963, 636 Nr. 19: 'A, uncertain subject: Athena and (Hephaistos?)'; Brommer 1978, 25; Hermary/Jacquemin 1988, 648 Nr. 213; Kaempf-Dimitriadou 1978, 73 Anm. 408.
- ²² Fragment einer Sigillata Jena, Universität O 321: vgl. Simon/Bauchhenss 1997, 290 Nr. 75. - Ostia 18853; vgl. Simon/Bauchhenss 1997, 290 Nr. 74.
- ²³ Luk. *de domo* 27 (Übersetzung Verf.); Hermary/Jacquemin 1988, 648 Nr. 214; vgl. Borg 2004, 48-49.
- ²⁴ Vgl. Hermary/Jacquemin 1988, 961-964. Den Zusammenhang macht es besonders deutlich, wenn auf Medaillons des Antoninus Pius eine Statuette der Athena in der Werkstatt des Hephaistos wiedergegeben wird; vgl. Zedelius 1990, 6.
- ²⁵ *Tab. Iliac.* Neapel, Nationalmuseum 2408; vgl. Brommer 1978, 48; Text nach Valenzuela Montenegro 2004, 265; Übersetzung Verf. - Zu Erichthonios vgl. Kron 1988, 923, 928-932 Nr. 1-28.
- ²⁶ Hyg. 166 (Übersetzung L. Mader).
- ²⁷ Zur Wiedergabe des Hephaistos in Etrurien vgl. de Grummond 2006, 133-138; Krauskopf 1988b, 658. Ohne Pilos: de Grummond 2006, 136-137 Abb. VI.30-31; zur gefälschten Gravr des Spiegels Princeton University y1959-44 mit demselben Motiv vgl. jetzt de Puma 2005, 64-65 Nr. 48. - Der Gott kann auch ganz unkonventionell gezeigt werden, so in einer Gestaltung, die eher einen Hermes vermuten lassen würde; vgl. dazu einen Spiegel in Civita Castellana, Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco; vgl. hier Anm. 37.
- ²⁸ Vgl. Canciani 1984, 71. - Halsschmuck der Aphrodite: vgl. Bielefeld 1968, 5-6. - der Harmonia: vgl. etwa Apollod. 3.26.
- ²⁹ Gerhard 1845, 151; zur Gestaltung der berühmten Episode im Lied des Demodokos (*Odyssee* 18.266-366) vgl. Burkert 1982.
- ³⁰ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 151 sowie zur Ikonographie der Aphrodite in Etrurien Bloch 1984; de Grummond 2006, 85-98; zum Schmuck der Aphrodite, mit dem auch magische Vorstellungen verbunden sind, vgl. Mastrocinque 2005, 223-224 m. Lit. - Figurentypus: vgl. Simon 2007, 48 m. Anm. 8.
- ³¹ Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung Fr. 51; vgl. de Grummond 2006, 135 Abb. VI.29; Krauskopf 1988b, 656 Nr. 13; zu den Darstellungskonventionen für Ares in Etrurien vgl. de Grummond 2006, 76-77, 138-140. - Zu Maris vgl. Cristofani 1992; de Grummond 2006, 140-144; Simon 2006, 58 m. Lit.
- ³² Apollod. 3.187 (Übersetzung L. Mader).
- ³³ Plutarch, *quaest. rom.* 276 B (Übersetzung Verf.).
- ³⁴ Vgl. Gerhard 1845, 151; zur entsprechenden Darstellung vgl. Krauskopf 1984, 778 Nr. 18.
- ³⁵ Vgl. Steinhart 2004, 108 m. Lit.
- ³⁶ Zitat: Gerhard 1845, 151.
- ³⁷ Auf die Verbindung von Hephaistos und Aphrodite ist vielleicht auch ein Spiegel in Civita Castellana (Museo Archeologico dell'Agro Falisco, früher Rom, Villa Giulia 6617; vgl. Ambrosini 1995; de Grummond 2006, 165-166; Lambrechts 1981, 215 Nr. 6; Pfiffig 1975, 302) zu beziehen, dessen Deutung allerdings noch fraglich sein dürfte. Ares und Aphrodite sind auf Spiegeln mehrfach bezeugt; vgl. van der Meer 1995, 231 Nr. 19-23.
- ³⁸ Vgl. Ambrosini 1995, 189; de Grummond 2006, 133-138; Krauskopf 1988b. - Rückführung in den Olymp: Krauskopf 1988b, 656 Nr. 13. - Befreiung der Hera: Krauskopf 1988b, 656 Nr. 15. - Geburt der Athena: Krauskopf 1988b, 655 Nr. 6. - Mit Aphrodite und Begleitern: vgl. hier Anm. 37. - Arbeit an einer Statue des Pecsé: Paris, Cabinet des Médailles 1333; zur umstrittenen Deutung vgl. Ambrosini 1995, 189 (Pegasos); Bonfante/Swaddling 2005, 43 Abb. 27 (Trojanisches Pferd); de Grummond 2006, 137-138 (Verbindung unterschiedlicher Mythen, Pegasos); Krauskopf 1988b, 657 Nr. 17; Lambrechts 1988 39 Nr. 1 (Pferdestatue); Massa-Pairault 1985, 106-107 (Trojanisches Pferd mit Benennung Pegasos); van der Meer 1995, 219. Bei Pecsé handelt es sich sicher um eine Statue, worauf mit de Grummond insbesondere die von Sethlans gehaltenen Tonklumpen hinweisen; für diese ist an die Athena zu erinnern, die auf dem bekannten Chous in Berlin eine Pferdestatue modelliert und ähnliche Tonklumpen hält (Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Antikensammlung F 2415; Beazley 1963, 776,1; vgl. jüngst Cohen 2006, 110). Weiter dürfte auch die Deutung als Statue des Pegasos schlüssig sein; vgl. de Grummond 2006, 137-138. - In anderen Gattungen sind weitere Beispiele und auch andere Themen belegt.
- ³⁹ Wie Cic. *nat. deor.* 3.55 überliefert, lokalisierte man die Werkstätten des Hephaistos auf Lemnos; vgl. Nilsson 1967, 528. Lemnos und Hephaistos: vgl. Burkert 1977, 260; Nilsson 1967, 528; Simon 1998, 187-190. - Etrusker: vgl. zusammenfassend Prayon 1996, 30-44; zur Sprachverwandtschaft vgl. Steinbauer 1999, 363-367.
- ⁴⁰ Vgl. van der Meer 1995, 185; hier Anm. 37; van der Meer 1995, 224-226, 33-39, 39-42; de Grummond 2006, 59-62. Zum Phänomen des in solchen Darstellungen auftretenden 'konzeptuellen Vergleichs' vgl. van der Meer 1985, 72-83.
- ⁴¹ Vgl. van der Meer 1995, 196, 196-199. Zur Beliebtheit von Götterpaaren in der etruskischen Kunst vgl. jetzt auch Bonfante/Swaddling 2005, 50-52. Auf die Frage der Be-

- deutung derartiger Bilder auf Spiegeln und in anderen Gattungen kann hier nicht näher eingegangen werden.
- ⁴² Vgl. Bloch 1984, 170-171 Nr. 8-12; de Grummond 2006, 94-97.
- ⁴³ Beazley 1949, 17.

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The Skill of the Etruscan Haruspex A Biological Basis for Successful Divination?

Jean MacIntosh Turfa and Sarah Gettys

Abstract

A better understanding of the everyday realities of ancient life, for instance sheep-herding, could improve our study of such disparate fields as Etruscan religion and urbanism. The information acquired by participants in animal sacrifice, specifically haruspicy, the examination of sheep livers, could have given warning of hazardous situations and threats to the human community such as parasitic infection. The cultic response to such discoveries could also have led to the improvement of the human condition. We suggest some details of one such phenomenon, associated with artifacts such as the Piacenza model liver, an emblem of Etruscan divination.¹

INTRODUCTION

The Etruscans' famed skill in the art of divination may have had some factual basis even though they would not have expressed this in modern, empirical terms. Haruspicy, divination using the liver of a sacrificed victim, continued in Italy from the Iron Age (at least) to the very end of the Roman Empire, when Etruscan *haruspices* offered to call down thunderbolts to destroy the army of Alaric in 410 AD.² The *haruspex* interpreted a variety of omens, from lightning and monsters to the entrails of victims, and wore a costume that reflected the antiquity of his craft, imitating the garb of shepherd ancestors (fig. 1).³ So venerable an activity must have been perceived as a valid means of revealing the mood of the gods and a prognosis for human society.

We identify a physiological basis to the phenomenon and suggest that the reliance on *sheep* livers in particular may, at a crucial time in the development of Etruscan culture, have been the key to the efficacy of Etruscan haruspicy. Mesopotamian haruspicy, well documented since the 2nd millennium (and attested as early as the mid-3rd millennium), but distinct from Etruscan practices, constitutes a separate study, although some veterinary-medical explanations have also been identified for it.⁴ Extispicy, the examination of the organ(s) of a sacrificial victim to determine the state of the kosmos, the mood or messages of the gods, as they cared to relate them to mere humans, was of course

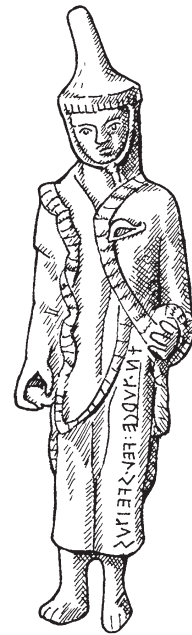


Fig. 1. Bronze figurine of costumed haruspex, dedication of Vel Sveitus, 4th century BC, Museo Gregoriano Etrusco (after Pfiffig 1975, 48 fig. 6).

only one facet of Etruscan religion, albeit a prominent one in the eyes of ancient commentators. The social and political implications of the *etrusca disciplina* were far more extensive than the single phenomenon implied here. But a practice that could potentially offer material advantages such as forewarnings of sickness or famine would surely have been respected and propagated. Zoonoses (diseases infectious to both animals and humans) affecting both sheep and humans were endemic in Italy. Basic Mediterranean cult practices such as animal sacrifice and seasonal ceremonies, including the technique of haruspicy could have served to expose otherwise 'hidden' conditions (in sheep) that also would have infected humans.

ANCIENT AUTHORITIES AND VIEWS

Classical authorities acknowledged the link between climate/terrain/ecology and human health. The 5th-century Hippocratic *Airs Waters Places* shows the perception that conditions of terrain and climate (temperature, winds, and soils) exerted a direct influence on the quality of human life and health. Late Republican authors such as Cato, Varro (*Rust.* 2.2.1-20) and Columella (*Rust.* 7.3.20) noted that geographic conditions affected farm animals including sheep. Vitruvius (1.4.9) claimed

to tap into ancient Italian customs for town-siting and urged a return to the old modes of determining the most healthful site:

Maiores enim pecoribus immolatis, quae pascebantur in is locis, quibus aut oppida aut castra stativa constituebantur, inspiciebant iocinera, et si erant livida et vitiosa primo alia immolabant dubitantes utrum morbo an pabuli vitio laesa essent. Cum pluribus experti erant et probaverant integram et solidam naturam iocinerum ex aqua et pabulo, ibi constituebant munitiones; si autem vitiosa inveniebant, iudicio transferebant idem in humanis corporibus pestilentem futuram nascentem in his locis aquae cibique copiam, et ita transmigrabant et mutabant regiones quaerentes omnibus rebus salubritatem.

For the ancestors, having sacrificed sheep which were grazing in those places where towns or permanent camps were being established, used to examine the livers, and if they were pale and infected the first time, they would sacrifice another group, wondering whether they were injured because of disease or because of spoiled fodder. When they had tested many animals and demonstrated the whole and solid nature of the livers [that resulted from good] water and fodder, there they established their fortifications; if however they found [the livers] tainted they thus confirmed the judgment that a future pestilence would grow in the bodies of humans in these places even though there was ample food and water, and so they would move elsewhere and change area, seeking good health in all particulars. (Translation JMT)

Vitruvius was thinking of the availability of clean water and high quality fodder, since the complete set of minerals required by sheep may not be found in all pastures (hence the need for transhumance). He continued (1.4.10) with the story of an undated discovery in Crete where people observed that the spleens of cattle in one area were enlarged (so they must have been examining multiple victims and communicating the information they gleaned). Physicians (*medici*) made the association between healthy animals and a prophylactic herb that grew only in their pastures. Only cultic sacrifice would have produced enough victims to provide such raw data. In his last remarks on livers, Vitruvius (1.4.11-12) noted that wetlands and marshes required special scrutiny before settlements could be sited there. Prevalent among Classical authors was the assumption that swampy environments could breed disease, as exemplified in the ‘plague’

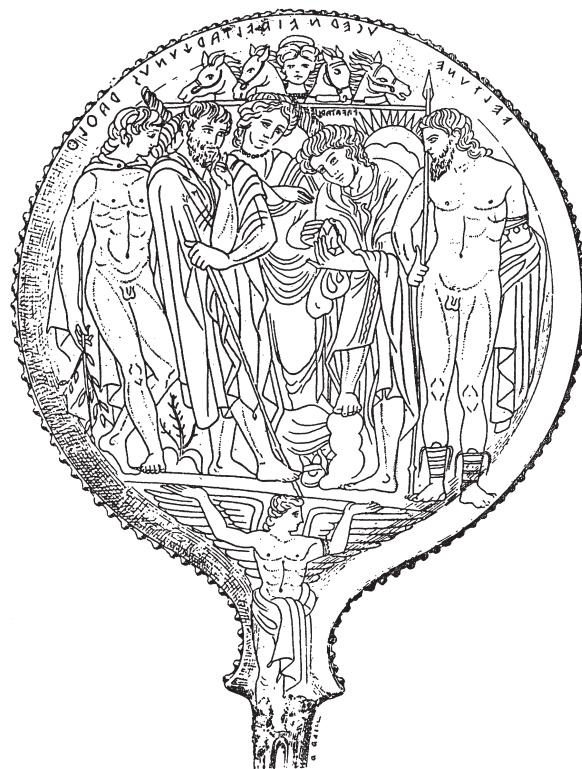


Fig. 2. Engraved mirror with scene of divination (Tuscania, ca 300 BC, Florence, Museo Archeologico Nazionale) after L.A. Milani, *Il R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, vol. II, Florence, 1912, tav. XXXIX.

that ended the Carthaginian siege of Syracuse in 396 BC.⁵ The Etruscan *Brontoscopic Calendar*, a document translated into Latin by Nigidius Figulus (1st century BC) but preserved only in a Byzantine Greek translation from Johannes Lydus' *De ostentis*, links severe climatic events with the health of flocks and human societies.⁶

THE ETRUSCAN HARUSPEX

The haruspex was a respected, and probably (in Etruscan culture at least) aristocratic member of society.⁷ Most evidence for the early periods is artistic, especially votive figurines and funerary portraits, while a very few late Etruscan inscriptions, all epitaphs, name haruspices of the noble families. An engraved mirror from Tuscania (fig. 2) depicts gods observing a costumed youth who stands barefoot on a rock/the earth as he examines a liver; he is either the legendary Tages who dictated the Etruscan scriptures, or an aristocrat in a coming-of-age ceremony.⁸ At 4th-century Volsinii (Orvieto), the haruspex Laris Vercnas was also a

zilaθ meχl rasnal (*praetor Etruriae*, a high office).⁹ The effigy of Laris Puleas, on his sarcophagus buried in the family tomb at Tarquinia, proclaims, on a scroll held in his hands, that he *ancn zix netšrac acasce* 'wrote this book on haruspicy'.¹⁰ At Pesaro, the *netšvis* ('haruspex' according to his parallel Latin epitaph) Lars Cafates also read lightning/weather.¹¹ An Italic inscription from Crecchio, dated after 450 BC, refers to consulting a goat's liver concerning land tenure.¹² The office of haruspex continued under Roman state religion, and is commemorated in numerous inscriptions. For the period of Roman domination, Haack (2006) has identified 122 haruspices in various locales from the 2nd century BC through the 4th century AD. The costume of the haruspex retained its original link to the shepherds of prehistory, long after society at large had changed fashions. The images show a fringed mantle perhaps imitating fleece or wool and fastened with an archaic form of fibula, and also a pointed (presumably felt) hat held on with a strap under the chin.¹³

PRACTICAL HARUSPICY?

The victims were *hostiae consultatoriae*, domesticated animals that were healthy and free of blemish.¹⁴ In *Roman* practice, victims were supposed to be calm and well behaved, and there was a specific order to the procedures leading up to a stunning blow to the skull and exsanguination, but we lack evidence for these details in Etruscan ritual. After the killing, the liver was excised (in contrast to Roman practice which left organs in the body for 'reading') and held in the haruspex' left hand, visceral side up, carefully oriented according to compass points (thus no longer in the same orientation it occupied within the live animal). Diviners are depicted standing with one foot on the rocky earth and gesturing with the right hand, like the supernatural character Chalkas engraved on a mirror from Vulci (fig. 3).¹⁵ As in the siting of temples, orientation by cardinal points was crucial to the process; the universe was full of gods prepared to communicate with the devout, and the liver was its microcosm.¹⁶

What did the haruspex see when he scrutinized the liver of a sacrificed sheep? Why was this organ the preferred pathway into the minds of the gods? Vitruvius, alluding to the observation of victims at sacrifice, was aware that even if an animal did not appear bedraggled, it could be harboring disease. The condition of a sacrificed/butchered victim could often foreshadow conditions that would later appear in other livestock and even humans. Sheep,



Fig. 3. Engraved mirror: the diviner 'Chalkas' (Vulci, ca 400 BC, Vatican Museo Gregoriano Etrusco), after E. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, Berlin, 1843, 2:223.

widespread in Italy since the Neolithic, have a shorter period of growth and maturity than cattle (or humans). Butchering a young animal could expose the raddled condition of its liver before symptoms became evident, so flocks would constitute an accurate barometer for the health of other species in the same regions. Because humans have a different physiology from their livestock, the same parasitic infections would take longer to affect them. Human health would show impairment several weeks after the sheep was 'diagnosed' by haruspical technique, thus ensuring the success of the divination ritual - the timetable is quite elegant, due to the intricate life cycle of certain parasites. To recognize early the danger to human lives, in such manifestations as the signs of parasitic infestation in sheep would have been of great help in forecasting a community's future. We offer a sample scenario, based on available information about one specific parasite: any number of similar parasites, infections or symptoms could have developed in the environmental conditions, and with the traditional patterns of agriculture and cuisine that were present in ancient Italy. We do not claim that priests or populace deliberately developed scientific or philosophical theories that linked lesions in sheep livers with specific human disease, but we do suggest that, over time, the pooled experience and informed intuitions of priests and other observers would have led them

to judge their environment as auspicious or unhealthy/requiring expiation.

FASCIOLA HEPATICA: KEY CHARACTERISTICS

The sheep liver-fluke *Fasciola hepatica* is one of the largest fluke parasites, with adults measuring 20-30 mm long and 8-15 mm wide (fig. 4). The body of an adult is flattened and leaf-like with an anterior oral sucker. This fluke is globally distributed, surviving and reproducing wherever the semi-aquatic snail species *Lymnae* exist; its final hosts include sheep, cattle, goats, pigs, horses, humans, rabbits and rats. The life cycle begins in a mammalian host's liver, when adults in the bile ducts produce eggs that are passed in the feces. The eggs hatch only in wet areas under optimal conditions when they become separated from the fecal material. The first larvae (*miracidia*) invade lymnaeid snails in which they develop and multiply through the stages of sporocysts, *rediae* and *cercariae*. The cycle within the snails takes two or three months under favorable conditions. The tadpole-like *cercariae* leave the snails and swim until they encyst on vegetation, forming *metacercariae*, the infective stage of the fluke. If ingested by sheep or other mammalian hosts, the *metacercariae* excyst in the animal's small intestines. The immature flukes then penetrate the intestinal wall, invade the abdominal cavity and migrate to the liver; in six to seven weeks they enter the bile ducts where they reach sexual maturity and commence egg production at 8 to 10 weeks after infection. Once implanted in the liver, the flukes can survive in the mammalian host for up to eleven years and can lay from 20,000 to 50,000 eggs in one day.¹⁷

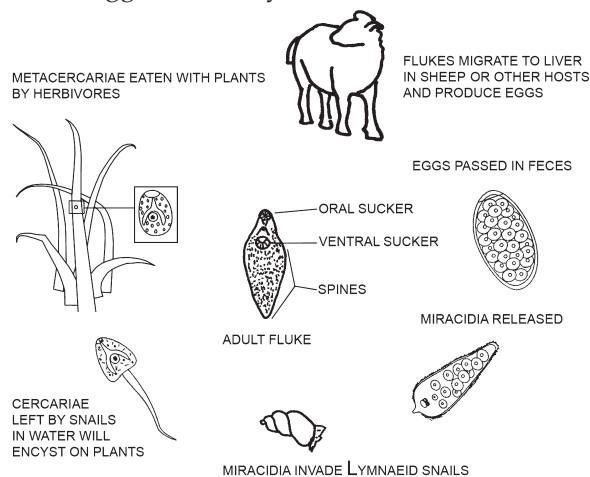


Fig. 4. The *Fasciola hepatica* cycle, simplified illustration. After Andrews 1999, figs. 1.1 and 1.3.

There are two major forms of infection, acute and chronic fascioliasis, also known as 'liver rot.' Acute fascioliasis is most common in sheep, and is usually attributed to consumption of a large amount of *metacercariae*, as from grazing a badly contaminated pasture: the massive invasion of the liver can result in traumatic hepatitis and death. Fever is often present and the liver may even rupture causing peritonitis or major blood loss. Chronic fascioliasis, following ingestion of relatively few *metacercariae*, is more common. This form is not usually fatal but the productivity of infected animals is severely inhibited, as they become anemic, jaundiced, and lose appetite and weight. A secondary bacterial infection known as 'black disease' (a form of hepatitis) can begin in the lesions left by burrowing flukes and is often fatal.

INFECTION IN HUMANS

Humans can be infected by drinking contaminated water, eating the livers of infected animals or, most commonly, by eating uncooked aquatic plants like watercress. Until recently, the modern medical community believed *Fasciola hepatica* to be a non-contagious veterinary problem. Since 1980, however, studies by the World Health Organization show that epidemics of fascioliasis have affected significant numbers of people.¹⁸ Fecal matter can carry the fluke from person to person and recent outbreaks have been identified in England, France, Belgium, Germany and Italy.¹⁹ Because *F. hepatica* is less adapted for life in the human body, ectopic infections in the lungs or under the skin are more likely to occur. Other symptoms include nausea and vomiting, prolonged high fever, abdominal pain and hepatic tenderness. The outcome is less often fatal than with sheep.²⁰

Behm and Sangster have charted the progress of the disease: until 6 to 8 weeks after ingestion, clinical symptoms are rare.²¹ From weeks 6 to 10 or 12, animals who ingested huge numbers of *metacercariae* can die suddenly, hemorrhage, or show weakness and infections. Others who have ingested less will sicken during weeks 10 to 40 as flukes enter the liver and begin releasing eggs. By 20 weeks flukes have entered the bile ducts and then subacute and chronic conditions ensue, including anemia, swollen bellies, weakness, and decrease in weight, milk production and quality of wool.

In humans, the process usually takes longer, with a 12-16 week prepatent period followed by another month before eggs are released.²² Humans normally ingest fewer *metacercariae* and thus have fewer lesions and secondary infections, so both in

duration and severity of symptoms, the deterioration in human health will parallel but develop later than in the flocks. Further, humans who walk upright on two legs constitute a different migration route for the larvae - it takes them longer to navigate through the body to the liver than in a sheep or other quadruped. Chen and Mott noted the first clinical symptoms at 6 weeks after people in the Haute-Loire ate infected watercress; the number of cases diagnosed peaked at 8-10 weeks after exposure.²³ In England symptoms appeared 8-12 weeks after patients ate wild watercress.

RELEVANCE TO ANCIENT ITALY

Gastrointestinal parasites probably afflicted most ancient populations in Europe, the Mediterranean and Near East. Whipworms were found in the Chalcolithic 'Similaun Iceman'²⁴ and roundworm and tapeworm show longer pedigrees.²⁵ Today, *F. hepatica* is endemic in cattle and sheep in central and southern Italy.²⁶ It has already been detected in Mesolithic and Neolithic contexts in Germany and France.²⁷

The original host species, *Galba trunculata*, remains a source of infection in the Mediterranean and North Africa,²⁸ and various lymnaeid snails are common in Italy.²⁹ Greens such as watercress and dandelion, implicated in the transmission of *metacercariae*, were eaten in Italy even before the Roman period, when they were favored for fine dining.³⁰ Unfortunately, it is rarely possible to identify such parasites in the archaeological record due to difficulties of preservation. The same wetland conditions that support the *Fasciola* cycle are conducive to other parasites and diseases (e.g. malaria) that affected ancient populations.³¹ The liver preserved in a young victim of Vesuvius at Herculaneum seems not to be infected, but since other fugitives there harbored parasites like lice, this would be an interesting issue to pursue.³²

MODELS OF INTERNAL ORGANS IN ETRURIA

Etruscan religion has provided a rare form of documentation of internal organs and medical understanding, in the form of models of sheep livers used for reference or to symbolize skill in liver divination, and also in the form of representations of human organs. The few Etruscan models of sheep livers are clearly allusions to sacrificial divination. Models intended to represent human organs were made in large numbers, usually in terracotta, during the 3rd century and later, and have been found in votive deposits at major sanc-

tuaries including Caere-Manganello, Tarquinia-Ara della Regina, Veii-Campetti/Porta Caere, and Vulci-Tessennano.³³ No isolated human liver models have been identified, but several types of polyvisceral plaques are known, which include the (highly stylized) liver along with all the other major internal organs. These polyvisceral depictions take the form of oval or tear-drop shaped plaques in types that probably were developed at Caere and Veii respectively.³⁴ Figurines, full and half-statues also exist with these polyvisceral compositions appearing in relief over the torso or abdomen.³⁵ At Tessennano, a different, more three-dimensional rendering of the internal organs looks as if the organs were piled up; as in the plaques, the organs are stylized, simplified and rendered symmetrically; they are arranged in an approximation of their order within the body, with the lungs and perhaps liver draping softly over heart and intestines.³⁶ Apart from models depicting an uterus, the simplified organs show closer correlation to the viscera of sheep, cattle, pigs or poultry than of humans.³⁷ Today, we are accustomed to see such sights in butcher shops, but of course in the Classical world, most meat would have come from cultic sacrifice, and would have been subjected to haruspicy.

All these models, along with votive hands, feet, heads, etc., seem to have been intended as thank-offerings for human healing - and none of the livers represented in the polyvisceral votives shows any sort of pathology - in fact, all the models show a sort of rationalization in which anatomical features have been reduced to symmetrical or ornamental geometric shapes and outlines. So we cannot detect any evidence from the votive or artistic material of parasitic or other infection, although the offering of models implies that some pathological condition did once exist and has now been cured or ameliorated.

IECUR PLACENTINUM

Discovered in 1877 at Settima di Gossolengo near Piacenza, the *Iecur Placentinum* or Piacenza Liver is a stylized bronze model of a sheep's liver inscribed with 42 Etruscan words, corresponding to the names of gods (fig. 5).³⁸ Inscribed in the region Siena-Cortona ca 100 BC, it may have been buried during the Social War, although the exact circumstances of its deposition are not known.³⁹ The way in which regions of the liver's visceral surface are boldly cordoned off, with 16 cells around the edge mirroring the 16-fold division of the kosmos as used by Etruscan augurs, makes it clear that the

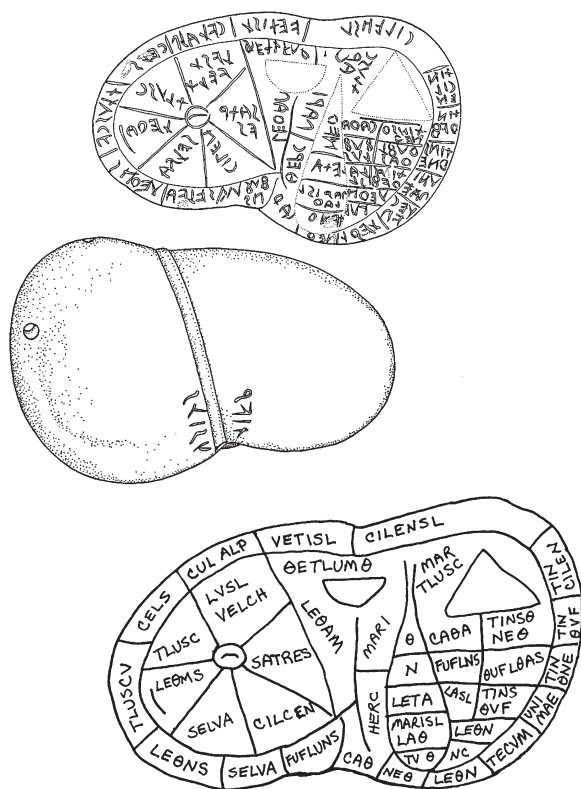


Fig. 5. Piacenza model liver, after Bonfante & Bonfante 2002, 173-174; Van der Meer 1987, 10-12.

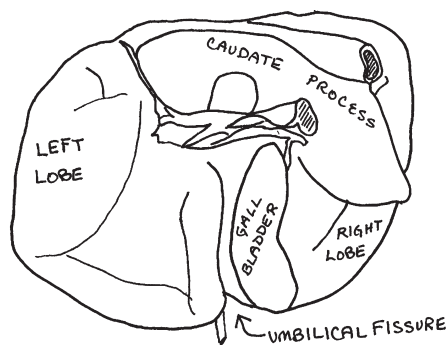


Fig. 6. Main segments of sheep liver.

universe and terrestrial geography were equated with the microcosm of a creature's body.⁴⁰ Its interpretation may be augmented by the 5th-century AD treatise of Martianus Capella, commonly known as *The Marriage of Mercury and Philology*, which has preserved portions of an older list of Etruscan gods in the sky.⁴¹ Scholarship is divided over the exact correlation of the liver's 16 'cells' to the universe of Capella, but the most likely interpretation

is that of Van der Meer (1979), deduced from the orientation of livers held in the hands of priests like Aule Lecu of Volterra on his 2nd-century urn.⁴² In this schema, the 'north pole' of the kosmos falls between the gods Tins One (or probably Tinsθ Ne[thuns]) and Tin Thvf[ltha] on the edge of the right lobe.⁴³ Clearly, the theoretical, 'celestial' 16-part division and the obscure (to us) gods' names on the model betray an extremely complex world-view. We wish here only to suggest one physical aspect of the process of divination as being potentially useful and likely to foster credence in this unique system. It may be that the cosmic nature of the gods, whether aquatic, chthonic, infernal or celestial, was associated with the category of prognosis or apodosis. It seems reasonable to suppose that the involvement of infernal deities, for instance, would predispose to dire predictions such as illness or death.

THE CONNECTION OF *FASCIOLA HEPATICA* AND ETRUSCAN DIVINATION

In 1379 Jean de Brie (in the work called *Le Bon Berger*) wrote of the link between certain pastures and the seasonal infection of sheep with liver fluke.⁴⁴ In 1969, Ollerenshaw ushered in the now-sophisticated technique of creating predictive models for outbreaks of fascioliasis based on weather conditions crucial to the fluke cycle. His theoretical scenario for the region 'Genova-Roma-Ancona' shows a seasonal temperature regime close to that of 1st-millennium BC Etruria.⁴⁵ The hot, dry summers impede development of the parasite, although autumn rainfall allows eggs to continue hatching into November. *F. hepatica* can overwinter in snails and emerge early in Spring: sheep grazing on contaminated pastures during April and May will begin to show symptoms 6 to 8 weeks later. Humans consuming infected salad that was gathered around the same time will appear to sicken in 12 to 16 weeks, a time lag of at least 4 and possibly more than 10 weeks. By weeks 16 to 18, heavily infested sheep will be obvious as eggs are released by the mature flukes in their livers; but in humans the flukes may not release eggs for another 10 weeks.

Sheep sacrificed in April-May-June-July could appear outwardly whole, yet show diseased livers weeks before humans experienced serious disease. A priest could predict from the portents in the sheep livers that the human community would soon be afflicted by the gods, and then in June-July-August, people would begin complaining of fever, abdominal pain and weakness.⁴⁶ There can be infections at other times of the year, but this

period would see the most concentrated set of events. If expiation were made (or even if not?) there would be no new cases for several months after the late Summer outbreak, because the fluke cycle would have completed its infectious stage for mammals for that year.

RELEVANT GEOGRAPHY OF THE 'SHEEP MODEL'

The smaller the animal and its liver, the more rapidly fluke infestation develops. 'In sheep there appears to be little disease associated with penetration of organs apart from liver', while 'it is common for one or more lobes of the liver to be infected more intensely than others: usually the lobe closest to the small intestine (i.e. the left, or ventral, lobe) is the most heavily infected. A compensatory hypertrophy of the less-affected lobes occurs...'⁴⁷

In the Piacenza liver, the left lobe has been identified with the *pars hostilis* (as opposed to *pars familiaris*).⁴⁸ In Etrusco-Roman divination, this carried a negative/dangerous connotation and was equated with the underworld or earth as opposed to the sky/air. Note that the liver must be excised and rotated in order to expose the left lobe. The gods named there include Tiur (Moon, parietal side), and, in the visceral-side border, Cul alp (Culsans, equated with Janus), Cel (Earth), Tluscv, Leθn, Selva (Silvanus), and Fufluns (Bacchus). In the center of the left lobe are Selva, Leθa, Tlusc, Lusl Vely (a goddess of nature, associated with Vulcan), Satres (Saturn) and Cilen ('God of the Night').

Some of these names recur elsewhere on the model, notably Cilen, the chthonic or infernal Lethn and Fufluns. Although Tinia (Jupiter) appears in 5 compartments, neither he nor Uni (Juno) are named on the *pars hostilis*, nor are Maris (Genius? who appears 3 times) or Hercle (Hercules). In other words, celestial gods like Tinia and Uni are not involved with the portions of the liver most likely to show lesions from flukes. Of the gods prominent on the left lobe, most are associated with the underworld/earth, like Mother Earth (Cel) and the enigmatic Tluscv: the chthonic gods control the land and the health of the creatures that inhabit it.⁴⁹ Lack of the *caput* or caudate process was an ill omen,⁵⁰ but this portion would have hypertrophied in an infected sheep, which the priest could have interpreted as a ray of hope.

Mesopotamian inscribed liver models, which range in date through the 2nd and 1st millennia BC, may offer some parallel data on modes of interpretation, although they are by no means

identical to Etruscan models.⁵¹ The Near Eastern liver models and/or tablets recording predictions were archived and thus available for memory and consultation. The tablet texts have an 'historical' outlook, with portions of the organ inscribed to record an actual event, a time when a specific liver looked a certain way and predicted a certain outcome for the person commissioning the sacrifice. (We cannot know the exact responses of the Etruscan haruspices, since none of the preserved religious 'literature' attributed to the tradition of the prophet Tages is as immediate and specific as such a liver-reading would have been.) We might extrapolate the general tone and types of responses from Mesopotamian texts such as the *Multābiltu*, a Babylonian extispicy tablet series of the 1st millennium with older antecedents.⁵² One *Manzāzu* tablet (no 3 in the series established by Koch-Westenholz), states: 'If a Hole lies between the Presence and the Path: Death of cattle, sheep and donkeys; alternatively a mortally ill person in the man's circle of acquaintances will die.'⁵³ Most *apodoses* (predictions) are not so 'epidemiologically' oriented, but draw upon the same categories as used in celestial or other forms of divination, for example: 'If the Liver is upside down: Someone who has no right to it will claim the throne', or 'If the Liver is full of white filaments in the Thin Place of the Gall Bladder: There will be famine of both people and cattle or it will hail.'⁵⁴

Mesopotamian divination offered the option of performing specific rituals, the *namburbi*, to avert or cause remission of evil predicted by the liver.⁵⁵ We have no such textual evidence to attest this in Etruscan cults, but comments by Roman authors imply that the haruspices were to advise on means of expiation, as in the famous episode of 56 BC when Etruscan haruspices were summoned to Rome to advise on the omen of a loud noise heard in the sky over Latium.⁵⁶ One Babylonian prediction is intriguing: 'If in the Liver the Presence and the Path are present and they are placed to the left: The city will get up and move to another place.'⁵⁷ While the Mesopotamian text can have had no direct link to any Etruscan finds known to date, the option of moving away from an infected area would have been a good plan to follow.

RESPONSES TO OMENS

If an ill omen was recognized, some of the general cult practices of the Classical Mediterranean might have served to break the parasitic cycle or improve

environmental conditions. Some forms of standard Roman expiation no doubt had Etruscan forerunners: making offerings, ritual cleansing, fasting, or seclusion.⁵⁸ Since the interval from ingestion of flukes to the evident sickening of flocks is about three months, some level of sanitation or abstinence from foods such as meat could still have improved conditions for the community. Priests who simply handled the infected livers would not have been adversely affected, since direct contact, apart from consumption, is not infectious.

Lustratio, purification of the city or of farmers' fields, included sacrifices and reading of entrails, and may have involved cleaning or fumigation. At *feriae*, festivals in honor of an offended god, any activity that brought farmers away from wet fields and into dry city streets or offered cooked rather than raw foods would at least impede the fresh infection of humans. Once the arid summer began, most fluke larvae would die off, and transhumant flocks could return from the summer high pastures to a safer environment.

Evidence is growing for the details of Etruscan ritual practices. The texts of the Capua 'tile' (early 5th century) and later Zagreb *liber linteus* (3rd-2nd century) refer to ceremonies some of which included sacrifices, as prescribed for specific days of the year. Both contain terminology that probably relates to the sacrifice: the verb root *θez-* (command, *θezeri*), 'kill/offer' and nouns such as *zúšleva*, which may mean 'victim' or a specific species, such as 'pig', and *fler* ('offering/victim').⁵⁹ Both documents refer to festivals or ceremonies that require sacrifice, although we cannot be certain of the species of victims; dates preserved in the texts cover the months of March through June or July.⁶⁰ There is no reason to doubt the seasonal sacrifice of sheep throughout the period of Etruscan and Roman culture - and probably long before, given the common tradition of pastoralism throughout the Italian peninsula since the Neolithic period.

The famous Chalkas and Tages mirrors, as well as the effigy of Aule Lecu and the votive bronze figurines of Vel Sveitus (fig. 1) and Arnth Alitle Pumpu,⁶¹ depict the excised organ held in the hands of a diviner: the relative size of the liver looks small, appropriate to the scale of a lamb of perhaps six months of age or less.⁶² Since lambs are all born around the same time of year, in Italy from late December through January, the slaughter would have occurred around May-June, but could have been slightly earlier or later. The Etruscan calendar, from which the festival calendar would have derived, was a predecessor of the eventual Roman system, although it seems to have pro-

gressed to a 12-month division earlier than the Roman calendar. The Brontoscopic Calendar follows the 'Mesopotamian Standard Calendar' of 12 months of an arbitrary 30 days, beginning in Spring/June, and may have been adopted as early as the Late Iron Age. Unfortunately, it does not offer details on religious ceremonies, although the start in June must mean that the Spring-early Summer season was particularly important in the agricultural, civic, and thus the cultic year. In the absence of Etruscan literature, and for theoretical consideration, we suggest extrapolating from the well known Roman festival calendar, known to have been deeply influenced by the *etrusca disciplina*.

Sheep were sacrificed in several Roman events with early, presumed Etruscan origins, such as the Agonalia (January 9) for Janus (equivalent to Etruscan Culsans). For Terminalia (February 23) a lamb and piglet were killed and their blood sprinkled on the boundary stone(s). For the Robigalia (April 25) to placate the Spirit of Mildew, the Flamen Quirinalis killed a dog and a sheep in Rome and carried their entrails to a grove on the Via Claudia.⁶³ Spring and Summer are prime seasons for festivals, and the Ambarvalia of May 29 sacrificed suckling sheep (and other species) when farmers made lustration of fields and crops.⁶⁴ This would be an excellent time for divination to have exposed disease in the flocks. Cato records the prayer intoned for the Ambarvalia: *uti morbos visos invisosque, viduertatem vastitudinemque, calamitates intemperiesque prohibessis defendas averruncesque ...* ('that you keep away, restrain and avert diseases seen and unseen, barrenness and destruction, ruin and stormy weather', *Agr.* 139-141.) Although we have no direct evidence of an Etruscan version of the Ambarvalia, it seems likely that similar seasonal rituals would have been practiced in any of the cultures of central Italy. Bones of sheep (or ovicaprid) have been identified in numerous sanctuary deposits in Etruria and Latium, including one of the special offering pits at Tarquinia Pian di Civita (9th-2nd century), and in deposits at Graviscae, Pyrgi, Veii Portonaccio, and a *mundus* at Marzabotto.⁶⁵

Modern ecologically safe techniques to combat fluke infestation include some practices that equate to ancient agronomy, such as control of snail vectors by barnyard fowl. Ducks and geese (also some rodents and reptiles) will eat snails and infected greens, and can digest and thus eliminate the parasites from the environment.⁶⁶ Ducks (and to a lesser extent lizards and mice) feature prominently in early Etruscan art, as fixtures of daily life, and felicitous symbols for the tomb; their ubiquitous

activity, which we tend to read superficially as an index of domestic prosperity, must have cut down on snail infestations. Drainage innovations like the *cuniculi* that supported Veii's healthy air,⁶⁷ or the Cloaca Maxima of Etruscan Rome, stemmed some sewage-related problems and drained snail and helminth habitats, and the fine water-supply and drainage systems constructed at Marzabotto and Prato are further evidence of urban practices that could control infestations.⁶⁸ We do not yet have sufficient evidence of the details of Etruscan city-founding, that skill *quo ritu fundantur urbes* (Festus 285) that was prized by the Romans. Many of the well known historical cities, like the planned site of Marzabotto, were laid out atop a plateau that would have remained dry and safe from fluke infestation. Earlier, Bronze Age and Iron Age hut villages may have been closer to pastures and flocks,⁶⁹ but we cannot know if any were deliberately abandoned on the advice of early haruspices or shepherds.

CONCLUSIONS

There is little chance of finding evidence that would prove conclusively that Etruscan haruspices actually made the scientific connection between lesions in sheep livers and human infection with parasites: we lack Etruscan literature and letters, and forensic evidence such as soft tissues is seldom preserved in the soils of Etruria. Ethnographic and anthropological studies of unrelated cultures that practice divination furnish valuable models for honing a critical approach to the phenomenon,⁷⁰ but they cannot adequately speak to classical cultures or to the vanished system of Etruria. Cato's *Ambarvalia* prayer to avert diseases both seen and unseen is telling. 'Recognizing' an outbreak of *Fasciola hepatica* by inspecting the livers of sheep could account for the successful mystique of Etruscan haruspicy. Festivals in Italy, as known from the Roman calendar, were well timed for the success of this scheme, and reinforced the association of land, flocks and human welfare, controlled by the chthonic and underworld gods as on the Piacenza model.

NOTES

- ¹ We thank Jeannette C. Fincke (Leiden), Adrian Harrison (Copenhagen) and L. Bouke van der Meer (Leiden) for invaluable advice.
- ² Cf. Haack 2006.
- ³ Roncalli 1981; Maggiani 1989; De Grummond 2006, 27-30; Turfa 2006a and 2006b; Briquel 1997 and 2005; Pfiffig 1975, 44-49, 115-27. Steuernagel 2005 interprets this as the costume of the wandering, rural *haruspices vicani*.

- ⁴ See Leiderer 1990; Meyer 1987, 74-79; Maul 2003-2005.
- ⁵ See Villard 1994; cf. Varro *Rust.* 1.12.2; Sallares 2002, 55-114.
- ⁶ For English translation and discussion, see Turfa 2006c, 2002-in press, 2007 (with references to previous scholarship), and 2008-in preparation. A new Italian translation of Lydus' *De ostentis*, in which the Brontoscopic Calendar is preserved, is that of Domenici/Maderna 2007, 81-98 (text), 7-43 (discussion and references).
- ⁷ Haack 2006, 93-94 no 68, records the inscription of an Etruscan freedman named Arruns at Narbonne in the 1st c. AD (he had been manumitted by Sextus Parrius, a Celt). See Haack 2006 for several other freedman-haruspices under Rome.
- ⁸ De Grummond 2006b, 23-27; Torelli 1988. For brief survey of sources and references, see Haack 2005.
- ⁹ See Turfa 2006c.
- ¹⁰ Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 149-151.
- ¹¹ Haack 2006, 38-40.
- ¹² Van der Meer 1987, 163 n. 22.
- ¹³ See Roncalli 1981; de Grummond 2006a, 35-38.
- ¹⁴ Donati/Rafanelli 2004, 140-141, 157-159, 174; Thulin 1906, 11-16.
- ¹⁵ De Grummond 2006a, figs. III.4,8,15.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Aveni/Romano 1994; van der Meer 1979 and 1987, 22-29, 147-152.
- ¹⁷ Boray 1999, 2; Andrews 1999; Behm/Sangster 1999; Fairweather et al. 1999; Acha/Szyfres 2003, 115-124; Krauss et al. 2003, 317-320; Ollerenshaw 1973.
- ¹⁸ Mas-Coma et al. 1991, 1999a, 1999b; Chen/Mott 1990.
- ¹⁹ Mas-Coma 2005; Acha/Szyfres 2003, 117; Torgerson/Claxton 1999, 115; Poglayen et al. 1995.
- ²⁰ Behm/Sangster 1999, 190.
- ²¹ Behm/Sangster 1999, 188-189 table 6.1.
- ²² See Krauss et al. 2003, 319.
- ²³ Chen/Mott 1990, R12-R13.
- ²⁴ Aspöck et al. 1996; Dickson et al. 2000.
- ²⁵ Patterson 1993; T-W-Fiennes 1978, 129-130; Aufderheide/Rodríguez-Martín 1998, 222-246.
- ²⁶ Arru/Deiana 1973, Balbo et al. 1973, Euzeby 1973, Ollerenshaw 1973, Restani et al. 1973; Mas-Coma 2005, Cringoli et al. 2002 and 2004.
- ²⁷ Dittmar/Teegen 2003; Aspöck et al. 1999; Bouchet 1997.
- ²⁸ Mas-Coma 2005, 207; Mekroud et al. 2004.
- ²⁹ Torgerson/Claxton 1999, 118 table 4.3.
- ³⁰ Dalby 2003, 347; Brothwell/Brothwell 1998, 121-124.
- ³¹ Cf. Sallares 2002.
- ³² Capasso 2001, 48-52 fig. 50d-f, 876-882 fig. 1343; 470-471 figs. 649-650.
- ³³ Turfa 2004, 361-362; Turfa 1994.
- ³⁴ Comella 1982, pl. 93b; Costantini 1995, pls. 45c-46; Turfa 1994, 226 fig. 20.1A and C; Pensabene et al. 1980, pl. 96; the Veientine type is disseminated through Latin sanctuaries like Nemi.
- ³⁵ Turfa 2004, 366 no 327; Turfa 1994, 225-226.
- ³⁶ Costantini 1995, pls. 45a-b; Comella 1982, pls. 91c, 92, 93a.
- ³⁷ See Tabanelli 1962; Turfa 1994.
- ³⁸ ET Pa 4.2. The definitive study is that of van der Meer 1987; additional interpretation was suggested by Colonna 1993.
- ³⁹ Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 59, 172-175; Pfiffig 1975, 121-127.
- ⁴⁰ See Edlund-Berry 2006, 118.
- ⁴¹ See de Grummond 2006b, 44-51; van der Meer 1987, 175-176.
- ⁴² Van der Meer 1987. Urn: van der Meer 1987, 161 fig. 74, Volterra Museo Guarnacci inv. no 136, ET Vt 1.128, 1.129, Cristofani et al. 1977, 146-147 no 192.

- ⁴³ Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 174 divide the circuit directly between the right and left lobes, between *Vetisl* and *Cilensl*. *Tinsθ neθ* should be read as *Tinsth Neth[uns]* (Maggiani 1982, Colonna 1993). An association of Nethuns with water is intriguing (cf. van der Meer 2007, 125), but the relevant parts of the liver in fluke infestation seem to be on the left lobe rather than the right.
- ⁴⁴ Grove 1990, 103-126.
- ⁴⁵ Ollerenshaw 1973, 109-112.
- ⁴⁶ Torgerson/Claxton 1999, 135 table 4.6; Malone/Yilma 1999.
- ⁴⁷ Behm/Sangster 1999, 185-187.
- ⁴⁸ Cf. Maggiani 2005 and 1982, 56-59. The *hostilis-familiaris* distinction occurred in Mesopotamian divination: see Meyer 1987, 89. Mesopotamian hepatoscopy texts cite omens from 'holes in the liver' and these and other types of lesions have a striking appearance and can be produced by fluke infestation (and other parasites). See Leiderer 1990, 159-188 figs. 3-69 for illustrations; 160-162 figs. 6-9 for *Fasciola hepatica* lesions. For sample texts, see Biggs 1974 and Starr 1978-1979, Meyer 1987, Koch-Westenholz 2000, Koch 2005.
- ⁴⁹ For gods, see van der Meer 1987; Pfiffig 1975, 231-360; Bonfante/Bonfante 2002, 192-211; de Grummond 2006b; Simon 2006; Krauskopf 2006.
- ⁵⁰ Thulin 1906, 30-37.
- ⁵¹ For basic background and translated texts of Mesopotamian haruspicy, both models and tablets, see Koch 2005, Koch-Westenholz 2000, and Meyer 1987.
- ⁵² See Koch 2005, 90-95, 172-209, selections from tablets 1, 12-13 and 14.
- ⁵³ Koch-Westenholz 2000, 95. The *manzāzu* or Presence is the *impressio reticularis*; the *padānu* or Path is the *impressio abomasalis*, both on the left lobe of the liver. See the drawing of Koch 2005, 74-75. Note that the left lobe is where the greatest evidence of fluke lesions would be expected.
- ⁵⁴ Koch 2005, 191 no A8; 198 no A54.
- ⁵⁵ For the Mesopotamian *namburbi* rituals, see Maul 1994.
- ⁵⁶ This prompted Cicero's speech *De haruspicum responsu*. He actually quotes (in Latin) parts of the cryptic statement of the haruspices, interpreting them as denouncing the profanation of religious rites and games, the assassination of Egyptian ambassadors, etc., and indicates that most issues could be expiated by punishing his enemy Clodius Pulcher - but such politics are far from individual liver consultations.
- ⁵⁷ Koch 2005, 192 no A12.
- ⁵⁸ McBain 1982, 82-106; Pfiffig 1975, 138-146.
- ⁵⁹ Donati/Rafanelli 2004, 179-182.
- ⁶⁰ For a sample of texts relating to sacrifice, see Cristofani 1995, 71-82; van der Meer 2007, 76, 88, 126, 129-130.
- ⁶¹ Pumpu appears in simple mantle, without hat etc., but his now-headless figurine holds a liver in the left hand: see Turfa 2006d, 106 fig. VI.17. The votive is from Paterno di Vallombrosa in the region of Arezzo.
- ⁶² Ancient literary references indicate a preference for young animals that had already cut at least two teeth, see Donati/Rafanelli 2004, 151, 157-158. The literature on livestock and foods in Bronze and Iron Age Italy is growing rapidly. Excavations throughout the peninsula tend to show a steady or growing trend to sheep and goat herding, from the Bronze Age through the Archaic period, with ovicaprid bones often approaching 40% of the domestic animals represented. Studies of the bones deposited in caves and rock shelters may reflect cult practices and the results of sacrifice, as well as strategies of milk-, meat- or wool-production. A man-induced 'infant mortality' (slaughter) of 25% is common for the sheep bones. See De Grossi Mazzorin 1995, 167-173.
- ⁶³ Ovid, *Fasti* 4.901; Scullard 1981, 108-110.
- ⁶⁴ The Ambarvalia, 'concerned with the circumambulation of the fields' were marked by a special sacrifice, according to Festus: *ambaruales hostiae appellabantur, quae pro arvis a duobus [or duodecim?] fratribus sacrificabantur* (Paulus, *Fest.* p.5M). Fowler 1899/1969, 124-128; Scullard 1981, 124-125. Some scholars have associated this festival with the Fratres Arvales.
- ⁶⁵ See the list of realia of Donati/Rafanelli 2004, 150-152.
- ⁶⁶ Torgerson/Claxton 1999, 138.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. Dion. Hal. 8.15; pace Sallares 2002, 76-78.
- ⁶⁸ Marzabotto: Colonna 1986, 463-466, 472-474; Prato: Poggesi et al. 2005.
- ⁶⁹ Cf. the goat pen with pregnant animals discovered in the Bronze Age village at Nola-Croce del Papa, where a 2nd-millennium BC eruption of Vesuvius also preserved thousands of footprints that show humans and animals (sheep, goats, cattle, pigs) fleeing together from the cataclysm (Albore Livadie 2002 and Mastrolorenzo et al. 2006, 4367-4368). The numerous finds of animals such as cows, goats, equines, sheep, and pigs, sheltered in houses and villas at Pompeii and Herculaneum at the time of the Plinian eruption of 79 AD attest to the continuation of such practices over millennia (cf. King 2002, 409, 416, 422-425, 438, 444-445).
- ⁷⁰ For instance, Fogelin 2007; Vollweiler/Sanchez 1983.

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No Place for Cult

The sacred landscape of Latium in the Late Republic

Benjamin D. Rous

Abstract

*In this article, an attempt is made to reconstruct the sacred landscape of the region Latium in the late republican period purely based on archaeological sources. The image that emerges from the data is one of numerical decline and spatial concentration of cult places in this period. A religious 'market' model will be proposed to explain this development, based on the assumption that people tend to make rational choices with regard to religious behaviour. This model can be used as a heuristic tool to describe and conceptualise the situation in Latium, with competition between cult places as a central notion. A trend towards generalisation and standardisation of votive religion and a growing (economic) focus on the towns of Latium during the republican period fed into this competitive process and ultimately led to the demise of many cult places. In the end, it was integration into the urban infrastructure and the number and importance of services offered which determined if a cult place would 'stay in business'. Existing data may benefit from the application of the model, providing fresh insights into familiar areas of research.**

INTRODUCTION¹

In the Roman world, the domains of the sacred and the profane are intensely interrelated. The changing nature of cult places can only be understood fully in terms of their cultural, political, societal and economic context. On the other hand, changing functions and symbolism of sanctuaries have been explained as manifestations in the religious material record of changing aspects of society. In the past few decades, we have witnessed an increased interest in the impact on material culture of this socio-religious co-dependency, although most of the research in this field has concentrated on art-historical questions.² In addition, the study of ancient religious monuments has always had a strong philological component. The incomplete nature of the physical evidence, most importantly in Rome, has led to the reliance on ancient texts to fill in missing information.³ Even if we must accept that the picture we are able to paint with archaeological means alone is likely to be an incomplete one, it should be possible to establish general and significant trends. The distinct advantage of using primarily archaeological evidence without automatically supplementing it with literary sources is its relative lack of ambiguity and cultural bias, partly outweighing the problems and limitations of such an approach.⁴ In this article I hope to provide an example of how existing information can be used to provide a fresh angle to look at the problems of religious change

and hopefully gain a better understanding of the sacred landscape of a specific region, in this case Latium. I will try to reconstruct the Latial sacred topography on the basis of recovered votive material (8th to 1st century) and structural remains (6th to 1st century), by using and interpreting existing research, while identifying the possibilities and problems of the approach chosen. I will propose that the specific trends which can be observed regarding number and location of cult places might be understood by applying theoretical principles describing the development and placement of market centres (Central Place Theory). The feasibility of such a reading will then be tested by confronting some of its central notions with the current state of ancient historical and archaeological knowledge and thereby examining the relevance, problems and implications of the proposed model.

Definition of the area

The choice for Latium as a test case was determined primarily by the availability of a more or less all-encompassing body of material evidence which can be used to reconstruct the sacred landscape of the area and the fact that it is arguably the first region in Italy to achieve some sort of homogeneity in the period of the Roman conquest of the peninsula, in a political sense at least, which enables comparison of this body of evidence on a roughly level playing field. From a geographical

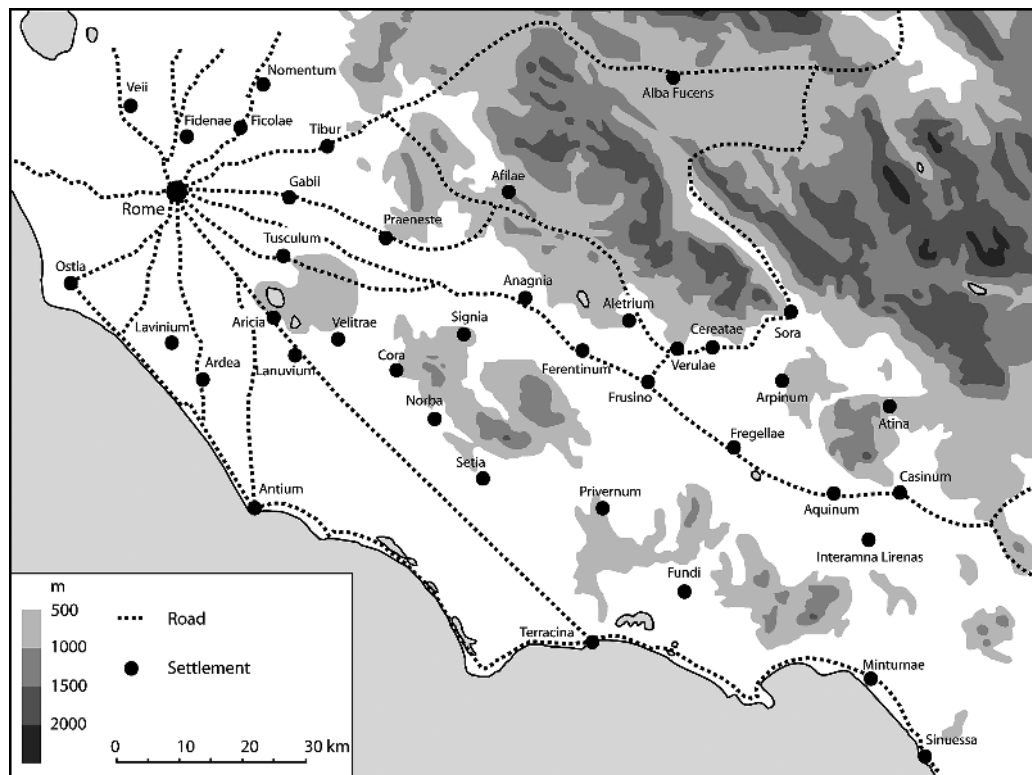


Fig. 1. Map of Latium with important pre-Augustan urban centres.

perspective, there is some justification in defining the area of Latium roughly as it is presented here (fig. 1).⁵ However, it is highly questionable if this particular geographical area was actually regarded at any point in time as officially constituting 'Latium'; natural boundaries must have been important but did not necessarily coincide with political or ethnic ones.⁶ Furthermore, familiar concepts, even geographical ones, may be later rationalisations of situations which never properly existed in a historical sense. Knowledge of the spread and eventual extent of Roman control may have had implications for the reconstruction and definition of the area by both ancient and modern scholars. It is fairly certain that at least up to the 4th century, this geographical area did not form a unified political, ethnic, or even cultural whole. In this early period the region known historically as Latium, area of the Latin people, was much smaller.⁷

It is roughly around the mid-4th century that the contours of a Latium roughly coinciding with the geographical area indicated above begin to emerge. In 338, Rome won a decisive victory over the Latins, making her not only factual but also formal mistress of Latium. The start of Roman

expansion into Etruria ensured Roman effective control over the territory in the north up to the Monti Sabatini in the 4th century, while the founding of a great number of Latin colonies in the southern part of the region under consideration here in the late 4th and early 3rd century established a firm Roman military and political presence in that area. The river Liri is mentioned several times in the literary sources as a boundary line for the sphere of Roman influence in the 4th century.⁸ The 4th and early 3rd centuries BC thus reveal an increasingly secure Roman political presence throughout the area that has earlier been defined here as constituting Latium in geographical terms. This is further illustrated by the embarkation of Rome on several ambitious infrastructural projects in the area from the late 4th century onwards, such as the network of consular roads begun in 312 with the via Appia, *regina viarum*, surely one of the most potent symbolical statements underlining Rome's dominant position in the region.⁹

It is likely that these infrastructural projects, and other actions actually changing the physical fabric of an area such as colonisation and, perhaps to a lesser extent, municipilisation, had a considerable impact on the lives of people. It is less clear what

the effects were of changes in legal status accompanying Roman expansion. Issues such as exactly what status the land had and in which region you lived according to the central authorities was probably important in matter such as the military levy and certain voting procedures, but did not affect day-to-day life all that much.¹⁰ It is important to keep in mind that in general Latium was not a static, clearly defined geographical area and was probably - though not necessarily consciously or intentionally - continuously and perhaps confusingly redefined in the wake of Roman expansion.¹¹ It is quite possible that during the entire period under consideration, even after the great enfranchisement laws of 90 and 89, the situation in Latium was a lot less straightforward, uniform and homogenous than is sometimes suggested.¹² We should therefore keep in mind when interpreting the data that what area we regard as Latium is almost by definition a mental construct, which might not correspond with any real, historic Latium.

THE SACRED LANDSCAPE OF LATIUM

Cult places in Latium: methodological remarks

As stated before, there has been a general lack of large-scale analysis of the spatial distribution of cult places and its implications. Research has tended to be either highly localised or primarily concerned with traditional, formal - mostly stylistic - aspects of sanctuaries.¹³ We are fortunate that for Latium, a more or less all-encompassing catalogue of cult places exists, compiled by Jelle Bouma, on the basis of which it is possible to make a tentative reconstruction of the development of cult places in the region for the period up to the establishment of the Augustan principate.¹⁴ On the basis of the data contained in this catalogue we can establish the number of cult places in Latium over the course of eight centuries, as far as votive material is concerned, and six centuries for religious structures.¹⁵ Two methodological choices made here need explaining: first, the nature of the data used and the way in which they are presented, and second the distinction between cult places identified on the basis of recovered votive material and those identified on the basis of building remains.¹⁶ Regarding the data used, I have 'corrected' some of the information provided by Bouma, excluding from the present inquiry any ambiguous information, such as single finds and material mentioned in older texts but without clear indications of the nature of the material or its context. The find of a single example of votive

material does not per definition constitute a functioning cult place, and mentioned but lost and largely badly recorded and unstudied material has been left out because of the fact that it is ultimately unreliable evidence which cannot be re-studied.¹⁷ The chronological ranges given by Bouma, both in running text and diagrams, have for the most part been adopted here.¹⁸

The data are presented in two sets of bar graphs for each of the categories, one set giving the total number of identified individual sites, to which I will refer as cult *places*, the other set giving the aggregates per territorial 'unit', grouping all cult places within specific (urban) territories, being referred to as cult *areas*. The aggregate graphs thus show areas with evidence for at least one cult place in every given period: the number of areas in which cult activity, regardless of its intensity, has been attested.¹⁹ This is meant as a 'correction' on the totals given, to avoid overrepresentation of sites with a disproportionately large number of cult sites, such as Rome and in a sense giving us a more balanced view of the Latial religious topography. The division made in the graphs between urban and extra-urban is a rather strict one. A cult-place located outside the urban centre is here classified as extra-urban and since the extent of the urban centre is usually (though not exclusively) established by reference to walls it becomes a question of *intra* or *extra moenia*. However, it is possible to - visually - distinguish extra-urban from suburban by using distribution maps. Not only are these maps instrumental in showing us the spatial distribution of the cult places in the Latial landscape, an additional useful feature is their limited geographical discrimination. Places that are very close to one another appear on these maps as a single dot. Thus, every dot on these maps may in fact represent several cult places, especially within urban centres, and represent cult places as a single dot which in the graphs appear separately as urban and extra-urban. If the extra-urban cult place is sufficiently close to the urban centre and is thus rather suburban than truly extra-urban or 'rural' in nature it will be represented with the same dot as the actual urban cult places *intra moenia*. Conversely, cult places that are grouped in the aggregate bar graphs because they are in the same territorial unit may very well appear as separate dots on the distribution maps because there is a sufficiently large distance between them. These maps therefore function as an additional filter, and show us a situation more or less in between the two types of bar graphs. The different types of data visualisation should give us a

	Century (BC)							
	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st
Cult places (total)	15	39	65	42	126	149	82	44
(new)	(15)	(25)	(31)	(6)	(89)	(31)	(1)	(2)
Cult places (aggregate)	10	22	38	26	71	83	58	34
(new)	(10)	(12)	(17)	(4)	(46)	(14)	(1)	(1)
Urban cult places (total)	5	16	31	20	48	62	35	21
(new)	(5)	(12)	(16)	(3)	(30)	(14)	(0)	(1)
Urban cult places (aggregate)	3	5	12	10	25	30	21	14
(new)	(3)	(2)	(7)	(2)	(16)	(5)	(0)	(0)
Extra-urban cult places (total)	10	23	34	21	77	85	45	23
(new)	(10)	(14)	(15)	(3)	(60)	(16)	(1)	(1)
Extra-urban cult places (aggregate)	7	17	26	17	46	53	37	20
(new)	(7)	(10)	(10)	(2)	(30)	(9)	(1)	(1)

Table 1. Number of cult places in Latium identified based on votive material, total and aggregate.

relatively clear and comprehensive image of developments and characteristics of the Latial sacred landscape at various points in time.²⁰

The distinction between the categories of votive material and building remains creates two separate sets of data, each indicating a subtly different aspect of the development and distribution of cult places in the region. On the one hand, votive material can be used as an indicator of ‘basic’ (and private) religious activity.²¹ When datable cult-related material is found which can be connected to specific areas, we can be fairly certain that this area was actually used as a cult place during a certain period of time, with the basic chronology of use being given by the chronology of the finds.²² Sacred structures, while undoubtedly having religious functions, were especially important elements in the ‘symbolic economy’ of communities, ‘demonstrating a city’s piety, power, and wealth to foreigners’.²³ Cult places functioned before religious architecture developed and so-called ‘natural’ cult places continued to exist alongside cult places with permanent structures. The rise of permanent (stone) structures at cult places can therefore be primarily connected to their potential representational qualities. This does not mean that religion or religious sentiments did not play any role in their construction, just that the reasons for building them could very well be extra-religious. The two phenomena, votive material and sacred structures, are obviously closely related, yet are not necessarily co-dependent.²⁴ Thus, when constructing an image of the development of cult places in Latium, votive material will be used to show us the places people actually visited to give offerings, while building remains will be used to indicate sanctuaries that were provided with permanent structures at some point, for reasons that do not have to be primarily religious in nature.²⁵

Distribution of sites with votive material

Material which can be ascribed to a religious context and can therefore be termed ‘votive’ can be traced back securely to the 8th century in Latium.²⁶ The earliest material generally consists of pottery, almost exclusively *impasto*, sometimes in combination with animal bones. Although the majority of these votive assemblages contain miniature pottery, full-sized vessels interpreted as votives are also found at several sites.²⁷ Up to the Archaic period, pottery was to remain the most commonly found material which can be interpreted as being votive. From the beginning of the 6th century onward, the archaeologically attested votive repertoire seems to diversify somewhat, with the appearance of anthropomorphic and animal figurines (mainly in cast bronze or sheet metal).²⁸ Pottery continues to form a substantial part of the votive repertoire, although from the late 6th century onwards there is a detectable shift from miniatures towards full-sized vessels.²⁹ The 5th century has proven to be a problematic period where votive material is concerned: the knowledge about the archaeological material from this period, both ordinary pottery and possible votive assemblages, has suffered from limited research and fragmentary publication, making it harder to correctly identify material as votive. This stands in marked contrast with the following period; in the 4th and 3rd century, we witness an explosion of very visible votive assemblages containing numerous terracotta objects, both anatomical votives and figurines, on which more below.³⁰ Pottery continues to be an important, or even the most important, type of votive offering. From the later 2nd century onwards, fictile votive offerings as well as miniature pottery seem to largely disappear from sacred contexts. At the same time an increasing number of inscribed

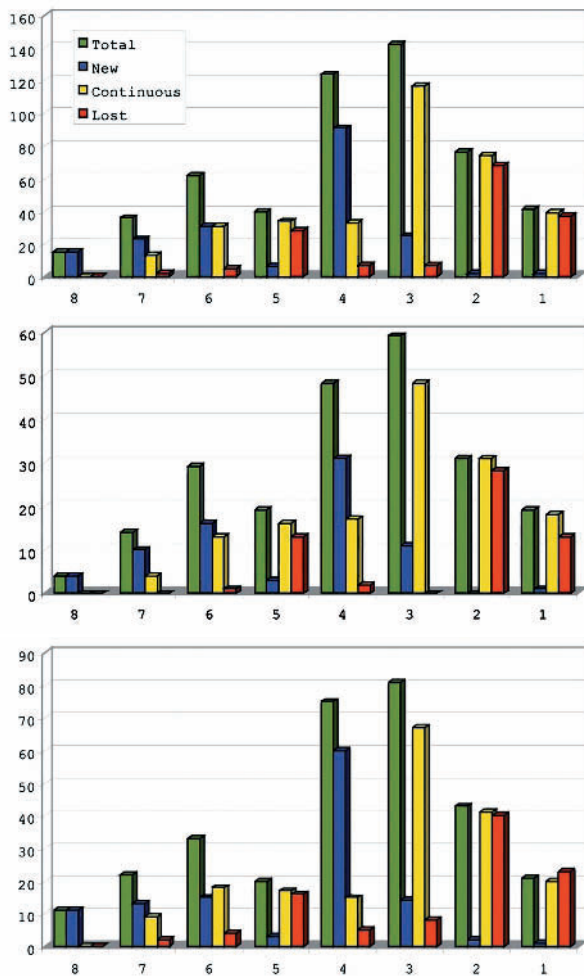


Fig. 2. Number of cult places in Latium, identified on the basis of votive material. Total (top). Urban (middle). Extra-urban (bottom).

dedications are found. In addition, in several late republican sanctuaries considerable quantities of coins, or *thesauri* which must have contained coins at one point, are found.³¹ However, without clear dedicatory inscriptions on the coins or *thesauri* it is impossible to tell if monetary gifts are actual votive offerings or payments for either entering the sanctuary or the use of services offered there.³² In general, votive religion seems to change dramatically in the last century BC, becoming harder to recognise.³³ I shall return to this problem and its implications for the possibility of accurately reconstructing the Latial sacred landscape later.

The first table and two sets of bar graphs representing cult places in Latium identified on the basis of votive material give us a general idea about the quantitative development of cult places

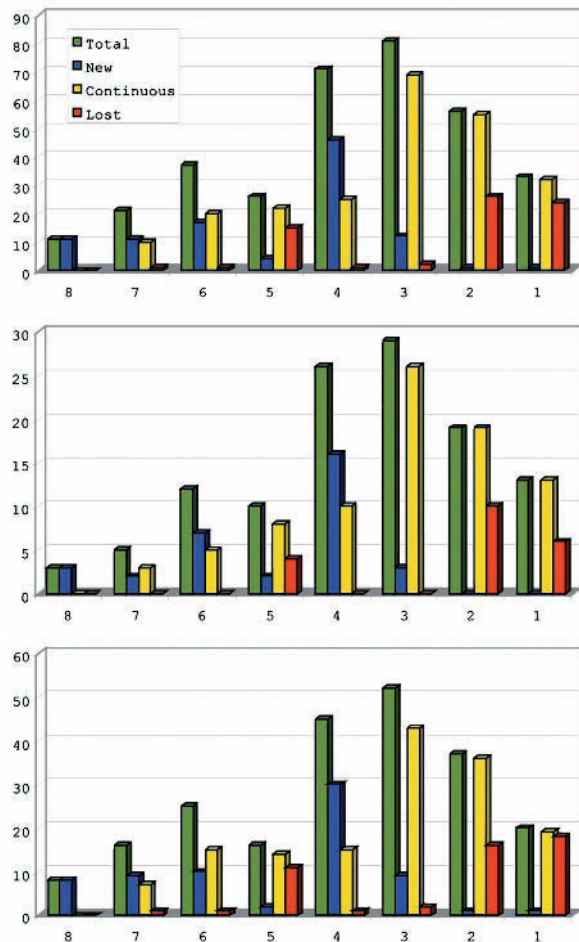


Fig. 3. Aggregate number of cult places, identified on the basis of votive material. Total (top). Urban (middle). Extra-urban (bottom).

in the region (*tab. 1, figs. 2, 3*). What emerges from the figures is a steady rise in the number of cult places up to the 5th century, when the number of cult places identified drops significantly as a result of a very low number of new sites and the discontinuity of about half of the 6th century cult places.³⁴ Considering this 5th century 'crisis', the apparent ubiquity of cult places in the following centuries is all the more remarkable. The vast majority of the sites existing in the 5th century continue into the next and there is an extraordinary number of new sites including a considerable number - about one sixth of the total number of new sites - of 'revived' sites, reoccupied after having been abandoned in the preceding century.³⁵ This rise in the number of cult places continues in the 3rd century, albeit with a less dramatic increase

	Century (BC)							
	8th	7th	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st
Urban : extra-urban (total)	0,50	0,70	0,91	0,95	0,62	0,73	0,78	0,91
Urban : extra-urban (aggregate)	0,43	0,29	0,46	0,59	0,54	0,57	0,57	0,70
Aggregate : total (both)	0,67	0,56	0,58	0,64	0,56	0,56	0,71	0,77
Aggregate : total (urban)	0,60	0,31	0,39	0,50	0,52	0,48	0,60	0,67
Aggregate : total (extra-urban)	0,70	0,74	0,76	0,81	0,60	0,62	0,82	0,87

Table 2. Ratios on the basis of table 1, total and aggregate.

than from the 5th to the 4th century. The 3rd century represents the absolute peak in both total and aggregate numbers of sacred places. Few sites are lost from the 4th to the 3rd century and there are a considerable number of new sites. The 4th and 3rd centuries thus present a veritable explosion of archaeologically identifiable cult places, both urban and extra-urban: the Latial landscape seems to be filled with cult.

There is a dramatic change in the 2nd century. The number of cult places, both total and aggregate, falls well below the level of the 4th century. Particularly striking is the extremely low number of new cult places, the total number of cult places being determined almost exclusively by the continuity of cult places from earlier periods. Contrary

to the 'crisis' of the 5th century, which was only a temporary dip in the number of cult places followed by the religiously thriving middle republican period, the decline of the 2nd century continues into the 1st century. There is still an almost complete lack of new cult places, the only new cult place recorded for this period being a 'revival'. Aggregation hardly has a softening effect on the decline visible in the total numbers. In total, more than 70% of the sites recorded on the basis of votive material for the 3rd century can no longer be identified in the first, while for aggregate numbers this figure is 60%. The importance of using aggregate data here becomes clear; decline could have been caused by the disappearance of a very limited number of cult areas, each with many cult places. If, for instance, Rome would have been destroyed, we would see a drop in the total number of cult places without a significant effect on aggregate

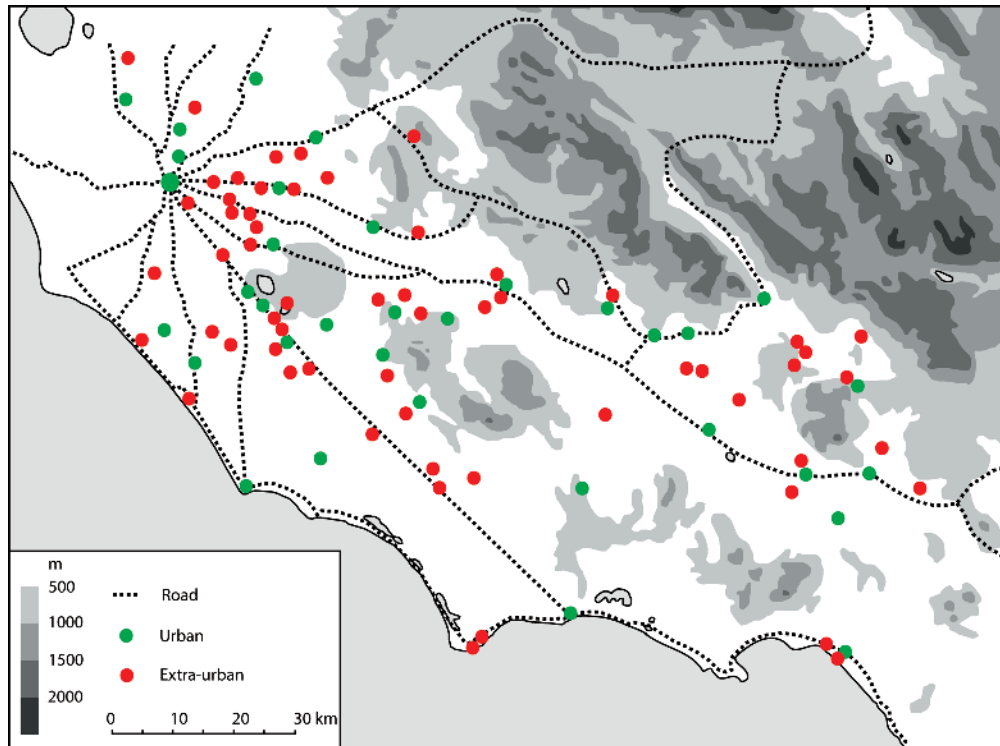


Fig. 4. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of votive material (3rd century BC).

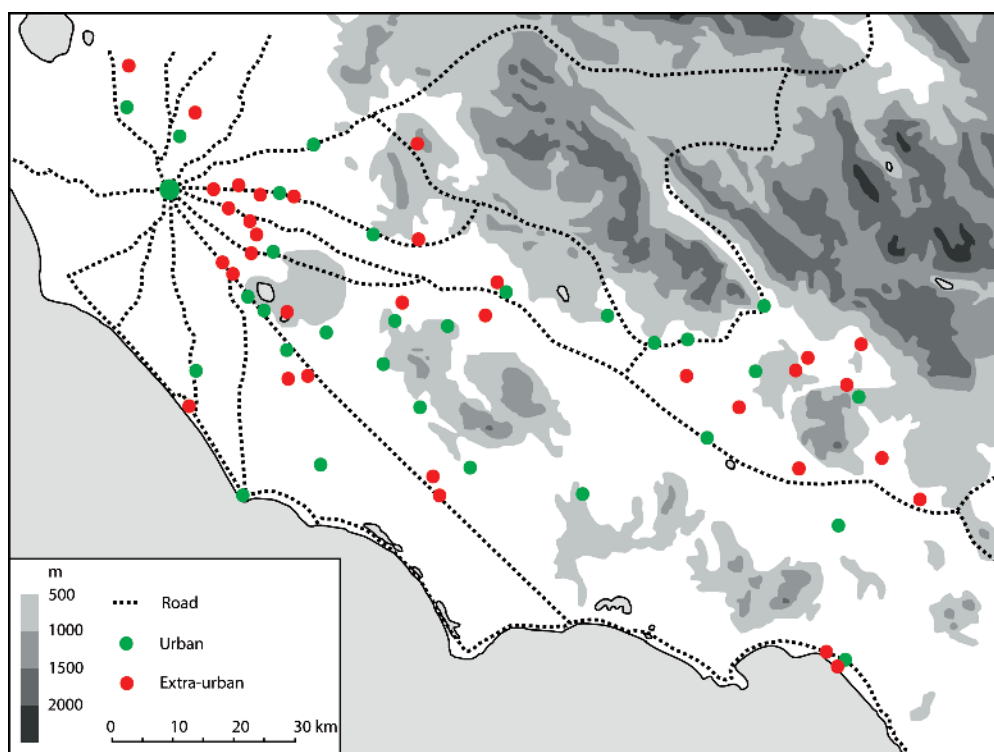


Fig. 5. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of votive material (2nd century BC).

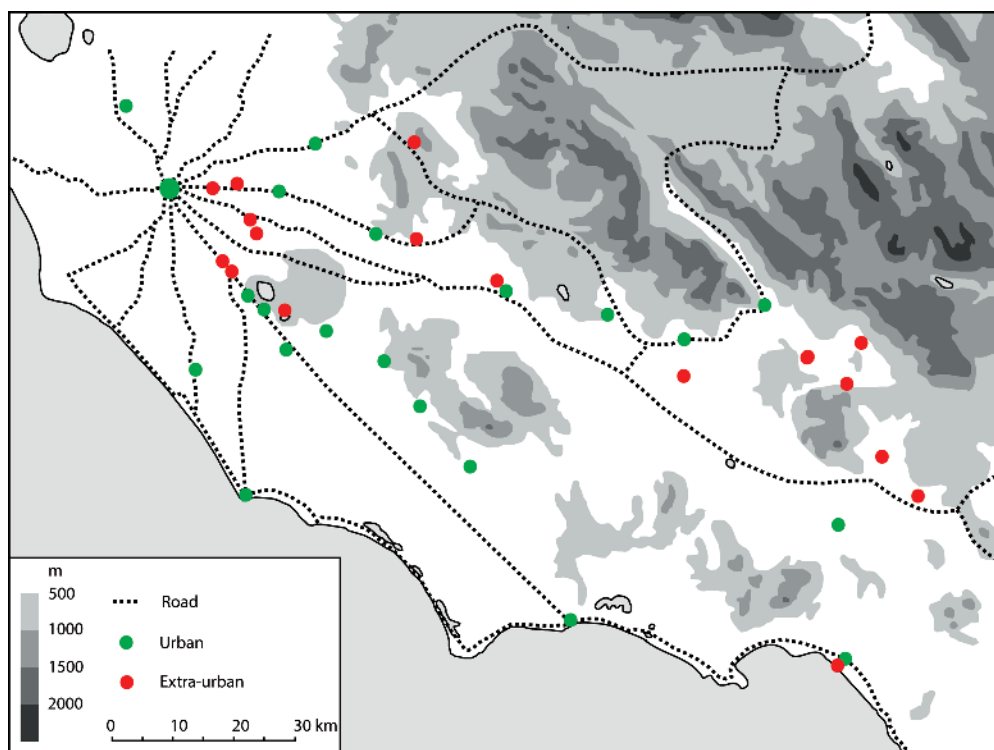


Fig. 6. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of votive material (1st century BC).

	Century (BC)					
	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st
Cult places (total)	21	32	38	47	52	37
(new)	(21)	(15)	(18)	(11)	(17)	(4)
Cult places (aggregate)	13	20	21	25	33	24
(new)	(13)	(8)	(10)	(5)	(13)	(4)
Urban cult places (total)	14	20	25	33	34	25
(new)	(14)	(8)	(10)	(8)	(8)	(1)
Urban cult places (aggregate)	6	10	11	13	16	12
(new)	(6)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(1)
Extra-urban cult places (total)	7	13	13	14	17	12
(new)	(7)	(7)	(8)	(3)	(9)	(3)
Extra-urban cult places (aggregate)	7	10	10	12	17	12
(new)	(7)	(4)	(7)	(2)	(7)	(3)

Table 3. Number of cult places in Latium identified based on building remains, total and aggregate.

cult areas. The fact that the aggregate data also indicate a decline can be seen as a sign that we are dealing with broader developments.

On the basis of the different ratios resulting from the figures of table 1 some interesting aspects of the different categories of cult places can be established (*tab. 2*). From the 8th to the 5th century, for instance, the disparity between the number of extra-urban and urban sites becomes smaller. In the 8th century, extra-urban sites outnumber urban ones by two to one, while in the 5th century there are about the same number of sites of either category. This development is repeated from the 4th to the 1st century. After aggregation, the ratio of urban to extra-urban is more constant, generally in the range of two extra-urban areas for every urban one, with noticeable exceptions in the 7th and 1st century.³⁶ During these two ‘cycles’ then, the total number of cult sites in urban areas increases faster than in extra-urban areas, since the ratio would have remained constant otherwise. In addition, since the aggregated ratios remain more or less the same, it can be concluded that within urban centres multiple cult places can be identified while in the associated territories of those centres, multiple cult places are becoming a less common phenomenon. If the increase of the number of urban cult places was simply caused by more urban areas having identifiable cult places, the aggregate ratio of urban to extra-urban would have risen as well. Since this does not happen, we must conclude that the number of cult places increases within a limited number of urban areas. In other words, the phenomenon of multiple cult places within the same area is a typically urban one. Even in the 1st century, when the ratio of aggregate to total reaches the highest value for the entire period considered here, on average there is still one and a half cult place in every urban area.

We may therefore say that apart from a decline in the number of cult places overall in the Late Republic, there seems to be a relative concentration of cult activity in the urban centres.

To see how these observations can be translated to the spatial plane, we must turn to the distribution maps provided for the last three centuries BC (*figs. 4-6*).³⁷ We can indeed observe a heavily dotted landscape in the 3rd century (*fig. 4*), with many cult places, urban and extra-urban, scattered across the landscape, with a concentration around Rome and the Alban Hills but without a clear pattern in the rest of the region. We can also observe that the extra-urban cult places clearly outnumber the urban ones. In line with the statistical observations above, a lot of dots disappear in the 2nd century and the numerical disparity between urban and extra-urban cult places seems to diminish (*fig. 5*). The decline in the number of cult places is not concentrated in any particular area, although the seemingly least affected area is that of the Liri river valley to the north of the via Latina. A very clear image emerges from the distribution map of the 1st century (*fig. 6*). Urban cult areas (comprising urban and sub-urban cult places) actually outnumber extra-urban cult areas in this period and at least for the western half of Latium there is a clear pattern:³⁸ active extra-urban cult places in this area seem to be largely confined to the area around Rome, concentrated along the important traffic arteries of the via Appia, the via Latina and the via Prenestina. Extra-urban cult places not associated with the road network are rare in western Latium and only seem to exist in the eastern Liri valley mentioned before. The distribution maps therefore seem to confirm the image presented earlier of the Late Republic as a period of numerical decrease and an increasing urban concentration of cult places.

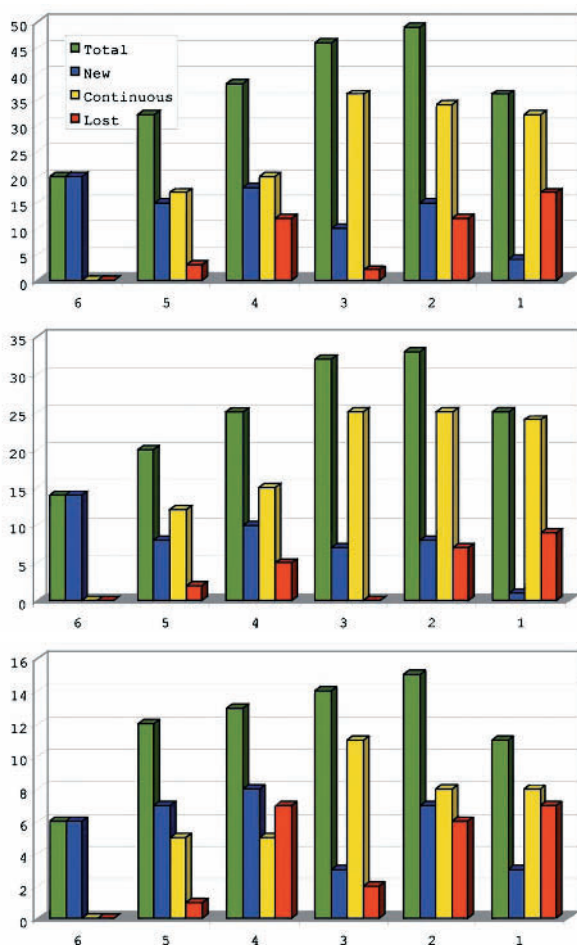


Fig. 7. Number of cult places in Latium, identified on the basis of building remains. Total (top). Urban (middle). Extra-urban (bottom).

Distribution of sites with building remains

We can determine the number of cult places with the remains of permanent structures from the 6th century onwards, although the existence of more or less permanent sacred structures before this period has been postulated.³⁹ The material evidence under consideration here consists of actual structural remains such as temple podiums and parts of the elevation which can often, although not always, be dated on the basis of stylistic or technical criteria.⁴⁰ In addition we can reconstruct the existence of sacred structures on the basis of associated material such as architectural terracotta decoration - for which stylistic typologies exist spanning virtually this entire period - and epigraphical evidence, which in this case has been used if it formed an integral part of the sacred

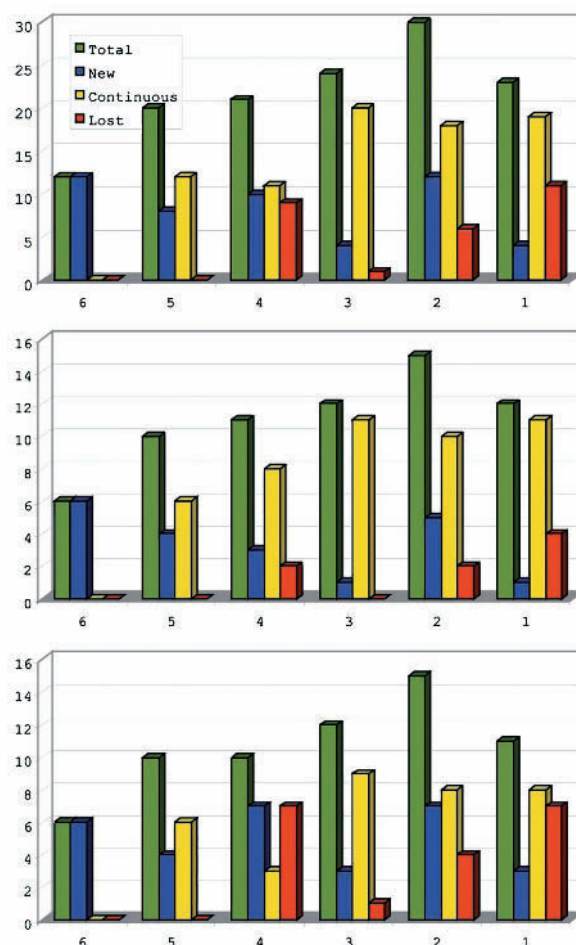


Fig. 8. Aggregate number of cult places in Latium, identified on the basis of building remains. Total (top). Urban (middle). Extra-urban (bottom).

structure or if the information from the inscription could be unambiguously seen as evidence for the existence of a sacred structure.⁴¹ I should point out that dated material evidence is somewhat problematic as an indicator of continuity and abandonment. From the remains, we can only reconstruct alterations or restorations to the building, which are sure signs of continuing existence, yet can never be sure if a lack of such activities indicates actual abandonment. For argument's sake, in the following analysis the continued lack of structural activities at a site with building remains will be interpreted as abandonment.⁴²

The figures as they stand point towards a slightly different development for sites identified on the basis of building remains than for those identified on the basis of votive material. From the 6th century onwards, we see a gradual increase of the total

	Century (BC)					
	6th	5th	4th	3rd	2nd	1st
Urban : extra-urban (total)	2,00	1,54	1,92	2,36	2,00	2,08
Urban : extra-urban (aggregate)	0,86	1,00	1,10	1,08	0,94	1,00
Aggregate : total (both)	0,62	0,63	0,55	0,53	0,63	0,65
Aggregate : total (urban)	0,43	0,50	0,44	0,39	0,47	0,48
Aggregate : total (extra-urban)	1,00	0,77	0,77	0,86	1,00	1,00

Table 4. Ratios on the basis of table 3, total and aggregate.

number of cult places, a trend continuing well into the 2nd century (*tab. 3; figs. 7, 8*). There is no dip in the 5th century, the 'crisis' century as far as votive material is concerned, although its effects are perhaps visible in the 4th century; 13 cult places with structural remains in the 5th century no longer exist in the 4th, or at least do not have datable building remains in this period.⁴³ However, enough cult places continued to exist into the 4th century to ensure, in combination with the number of new cult places, an overall rise in the number of cult places. The aggregate number of constructed cult places reveals a considerable flattening of the upward curve in this period. Only in the 3rd century we see an increase in both total and aggregate numbers, continuing into the 2nd century.

Although there are a substantial number of lost cult places in the 2nd century already, it is only after this century that there is a notable decrease in the total number of cult places. The number of cult places continuing to exist falls and the increase of the 2nd century is due entirely to the large number of new cult places. The decrease of the 1st century is caused by a large number of lost cult places - almost twice the number of the preceding century - and a small number of new cult places. A striking fact is that virtually all discontinuous cult places are older cult places, for the most part dating to the 4th century or earlier. Of the 15 cult places that are newly constructed in the 2nd century, 12 continue to exist in the following century, thus representing about a third of the total number of cult places existing in the 1st century. A relative majority of both new and lost cult places in the 2nd and 1st century is extra-urban;

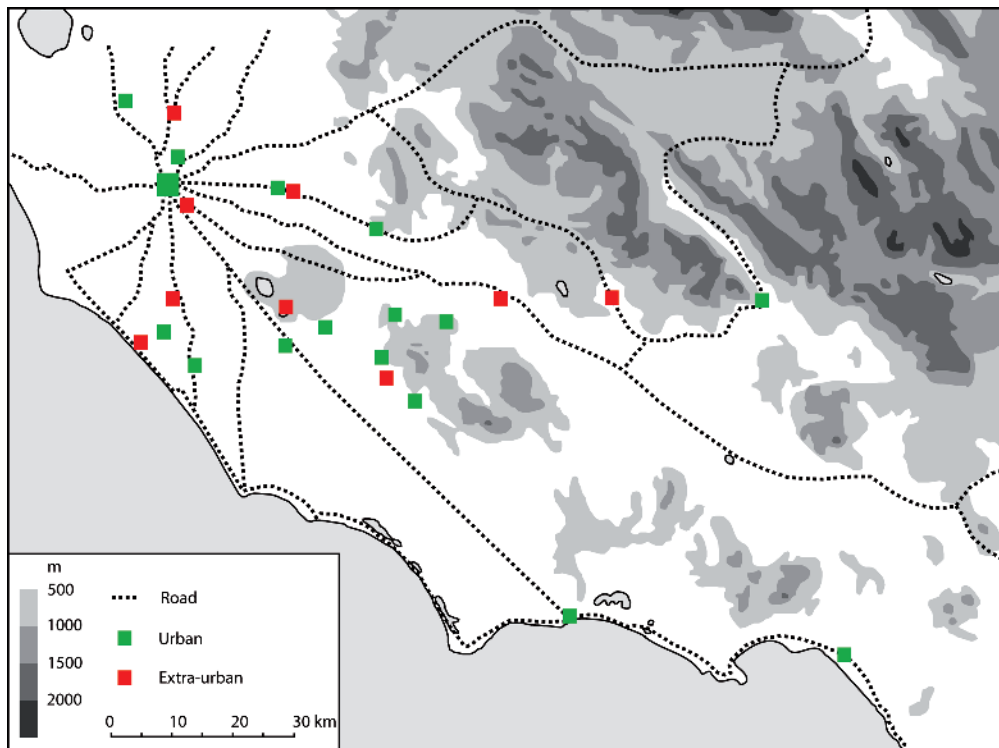


Fig. 9. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of building remains (3rd century BC).

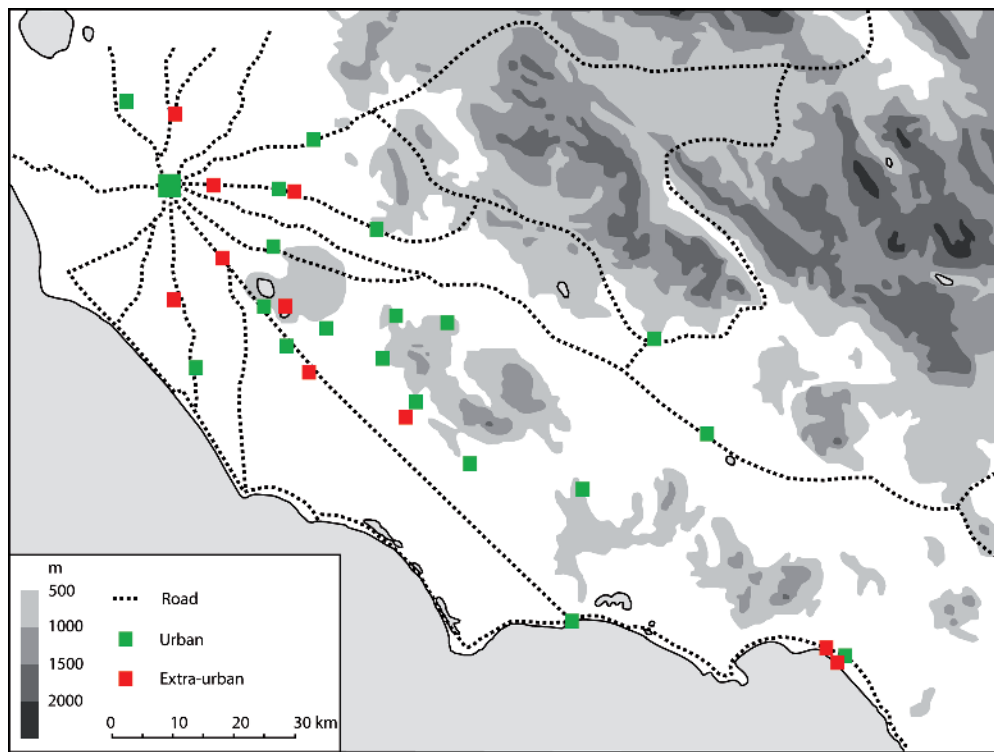


Fig. 10. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of building remains (2nd century BC).

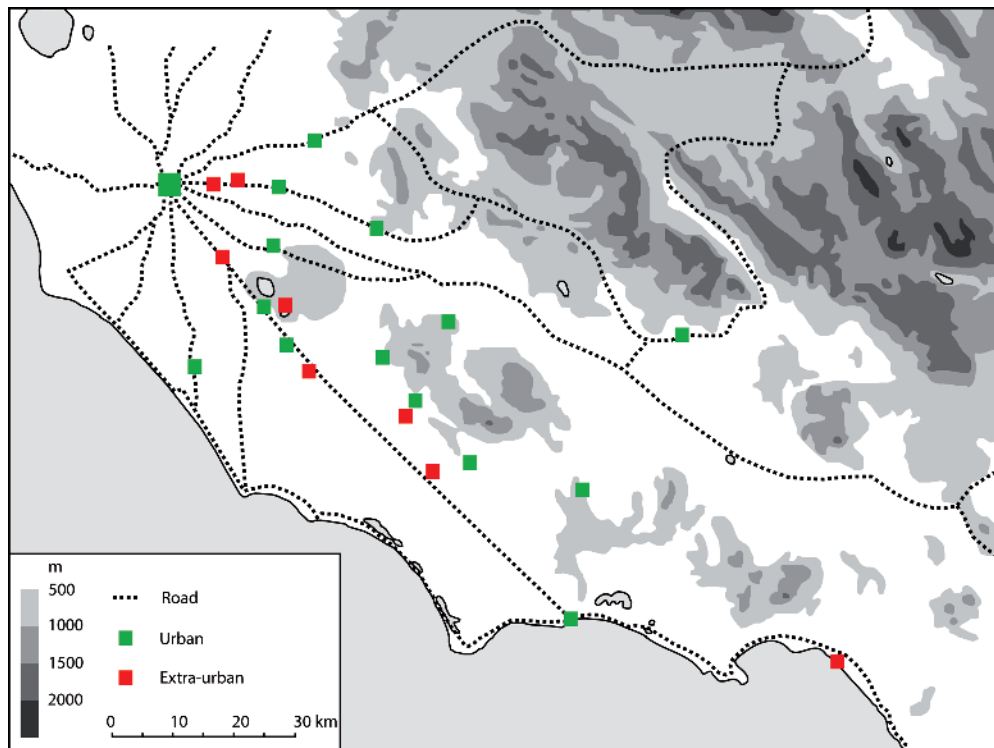


Fig. 11. Distribution of cult places, identified on the basis of building remains (1st century BC).

about half of the extra-urban cult places of the 2nd century are new compared to a quarter for urban cult places. In the 1st century, half the number of extra-urban cult places of the 2nd century is lost, again compared to a quarter of the urban sites. Aggregation lessens this disparity somewhat, but not by much. New aggregate extra-urban cult areas in the 2nd century still comprise half of the total number, compared to a third for urban sites. Aggregation makes no difference in the case of lost cult places. Abandoned extra-urban areas in the 1st century still comprise half those of the 2nd century areas, opposed to a quarter for urban areas. This suggests a somewhat higher 'volatility' for extra-urban cult places: overall it is in this category that we find the highest proportions of new and lost cult places.⁴⁴

Considering the different ratios (*tab. 4*), a far more consistent picture emerges for the sites with building remains than for those with votive material. The ratio of urban to extra-urban sites for the total number of cult places indicates that there are twice as many urban cult places as extra-urban ones in general. Only in the 5th century does this figure drop slightly, indicating that the proportion of extra-urban sites in these centuries is slightly higher, although urban sites are still in the majority. Aggregation results in figures close to one for all six centuries, meaning that there is roughly the same number of aggregate areas with urban cult places as extra-urban ones. As noted above this indicates that multiple cult sites within the same area are a decidedly urban phenomenon during the entire period considered, which is confirmed by the separate aggregation figures for urban and extra-urban cult places. The aggregation effect on extra-urban cult places is almost non-existent. For three out of six centuries it makes no difference at all, and for the remaining three the effect is only small, with a ratio between three-quarters and one. This means that there are very few aggregate areas with more than one cult place in each century. Conversely, the aggregation effect on urban cult places is very strong. It reduces the number of cult places by more than half. In truth, a large part of this effect is to be attributed to the urban area of Rome. For instance, the city provides 12 out of 52 total cult places in the 2nd century and 10 out of 37 in the 1st, which furthermore suggests that the influence of Rome on aggregation figures actually grows larger in these centuries. However, even considering this *caveat*, religious building activity seems to be concentrated in the urban centres of Latium, with non-aggregated figures for urban contexts twice as high as those for

extra-urban contexts during each century.

The spatial representation of the data does not show the same dramatic shifts observed in the distribution patterns of sites with votive material (*figs. 9-11*). There is a rather dispersed pattern for the third century (*fig. 9*), with urban cult areas outnumbering the extra-urban ones, again suggesting that at least some of these extra-urban sites are actually suburban ones, something which does not become apparent from the bar graphs. The map representing the 2nd century is not much different, with a slightly though not significantly larger number of sites, due to an increase in urban or suburban sites (*fig. 10*). The first century has the lowest number of sites, although again not by a very wide margin (*fig. 11*). The dramatic 'disappearance' of cult places observed for sites with votive material seems to be less evident for sites with building remains. Furthermore, the marked shift in spatial concentration is much less conspicuous for sites with building remains. The vast majority of these are already located on major traffic arteries and in or around urban centres in the 3rd century, and possibly even before. The growing concentration of cult places directly along the via Appia does seem to be significant, and probably underlines the importance of that road within the Latial infrastructure. Combining our earlier figures with the distribution maps, it is perhaps more appropriate to typify the Late Republic as a period of reorganisation of the religious topography instead of downright decline as far as sacred structures are concerned. Although a considerable number of sacred structures are lost during the last two centuries BC, the total number of sites does not fall by much, nor is there a significant change in the overall areas in which these structures are found. This reorganisation affects extra-urban sites most, having only limited impact on urban sites.

Crisis: real or imagined?

The interpretation of the data above rests on the assumption that the figures represent actual, *real* changes in the number of cult places. The first objection one might raise against such an assumption is methodological in nature, namely the heterogeneity of the data used, a problem perhaps facing all integrative studies.⁴⁵ The data provided by Bouma are derived from the publications of countless excavations, surveys and fortuitous finds, each with probably widely differing methodologies and research aims affecting the final results. In addition, the *suburbium* of Rome is traditionally one of the better covered areas where archaeolog-

ical research is concerned, and is therefore perhaps over-represented.⁴⁶ However, a similar general phenomenon of decline and concentration is visible in virtually the entire region of Latium, seemingly irrespective of archaeological coverage. This suggests that site density and the absolute numbers of new and lost sites will perhaps vary according to the intensity of research, but that the general conclusions drawn from the data provided by Bouma remain valid.

Another important, related question we need to ask ourselves is if in this case the absence of evidence (the lack of recovered votive material) indeed constitutes evidence of absence (cessation of cult activities previously indicated by this votive material). I have already mentioned that our knowledge of 5th century material culture is perhaps not ideal, raising the possibility that we somehow fail to identify cult places because we do not know what the material indicators for cult activity in this period are.⁴⁷ For the late republican period, we might be dealing with a similar problem. As already mentioned above, there seems to be an important change in the nature of votive material at some point during this period. Categories of clearly recognisable votive gifts, such as fictile objects (anatomical terracottas and terracotta figurines) and miniature pottery, largely disappear from the material record.⁴⁸ Are we then dealing with the simple fact that because votive material can no longer be recognised as such in the 1st century, cult activity only *seems* to disappear from the countryside? I would like to argue that this is too simple an explanation for at least the late republican period.

A first observation concerns the fluctuation observable in the late republican period of construction activities, perhaps without the clear pattern detectable for sites with votive material and without overall signs of outright decline, but still indicating that the 'built' sacred landscape also undergoes changes in this period. However, as indicated above there are problems with the possibility of dated building remains as indicators of continuity and abandonment. I have also argued that while part of the same overarching religious system, sites with votive material and those with building remains should be interpreted in different ways. This means that we should be hesitant in using the changes observable for sites with building remains as evidence - in any case circumstantial at best - for the decline of sites with votive material in both the 2nd and the 1st century. Reasoning from the category of votive material, in the first place there certainly are some sites with material

interpreted as being votive in nature dating to the 1st century, mainly pottery and coins, thereby suggesting that there are possibilities of recovering material manifestations of votive practices in that century. Secondly, there are several sites with a continuity of several centuries where activity ceased in the 1st century. If cult activity *did* continue at those sites, I would expect some small visible sign of it, not even necessarily votive in nature, such as 'normal' pottery or coins. I find it hard to believe that people frequented cult places in the 1st century, arguably performing invisible rituals, without leaving any trace of their presence. To me, in these cases at least the absence of material evidence indeed signals the abandonment of the site as a functioning cult place. Thirdly, the phenomenon of abandonment and (urban) concentration of cult places is not restricted to this problematic 1st century. We must keep in mind that the sites labelled as 'lost' in the 2nd century were actually abandoned during the 3rd, and those of the 1st century during the 2nd. In both the 3rd and 2nd centuries, votive material is recognisable as such. This would mean that the idea that 1st century sites are under-represented because of archaeologists' failure to recognise them as cult places would only have limited implications for the data presented here, namely a possibly higher number of 'continuous' and 'new' sites (including 'revivals'), perhaps tempering the image of continuous decline. I do not contest the fact that the nature of votive religion changes in the last two centuries BC, but I do contest the implication that this change prevents us from making any relevant observations on the basis of the material we have at our disposal. We have to accept that a more profound knowledge of the different forms of votive religion and shifts in the dating of material associated with it could cause shifts in the graphs and distribution maps presented here.⁴⁹ It remains to be seen if such shifts would be so significant as to fundamentally change the observations made in this article. For the moment, I am inclined to assume that the picture painted here is essentially correct and we should therefore explore the observed peculiarities of the late republican period further.

The prolonged nature of the late republican 'crisis', with a situation in some ways even deteriorating in the 1st century, seems to point to a steady development rather than any 'shock' occurrences resulting in temporary disruption of cult activity.⁵⁰ Single historical events cannot fully account for the image emerging from the analysis of the data, which in my opinion is too consistent both chronologically and geographically. While the

Hannibalic war could possibly explain the abandonment of sites, residential and religious, in the late 3rd century, a similar explanation is implausible for the 2nd century. The sites labelled 'lost' for the 1st century were actually abandoned during the 2nd, surely one of the most prosperous periods of the Republic without major military campaigns on Italian soil, thereby practically eliminating armed conflict as a possible cause of abandonment. Although the republican period is certainly characterised by its share of military struggles, both external and internal, much of the Late Republic was also relatively stable and tranquil. Virtually all military operations of the 2nd century took place outside the Italian peninsula. With peace and stability restored and vast amounts of wealth flowing into the peninsula, we would actually expect a revival of sites abandoned during the 3rd century in possible response to the Punic invasion, yet we do not see anything of the sort. Instead, the number of cult places continues to decline and concentrate, without an apparent military reason. Therefore, it is highly unlikely that the developments of cult place distribution can be explained solely by the effects of military interventions. A model should therefore be sought that is compatible with the available evidence and able to explain the demise of cult places in Latium in the Late Republic as the result of long-term developments.

MODELING THE SACRED LANDSCAPE

The next sections will be chiefly concerned with the distinct pattern of sites with votive material in the late republican period, since these sites are the ones which display the most obvious and interesting changes during this period. The significance of sites with building remains and the relationship between the two categories in the Latial sacred landscape will be touched upon in a later part of this article.

Explanations for religious change

Given the intertwinement of religion and society, already remarked upon in the introduction, religious change is often explained by referring to changes in Roman society as a whole. The factor perhaps mentioned most often when trying to interpret specific changes in the distribution and appearance of cult places and certain religious phenomena in the Roman world is 'romanisation'.⁵¹ Religion has been interpreted as both an instrument and an indicator of the expansion of Roman power across the Italian peninsula and the

rest of the Mediterranean. The spread of the intrinsically Roman cult of the Capitoline triad and the associated temple structure of the Capitolium in both colonies and indigenous communities has been seen as a sign of integration, voluntary or forced, in the Roman state.⁵² In general, the foundation of colonies with temples dedicated to divinities of the traditional Roman pantheon, in some cases ostensibly replacing or marginalising traditional indigenous divinities, has been interpreted as the setting up of 'religious staging posts of Roman expansion'.⁵³ Whether as a result of official Roman policy or not, the spread of Roman power across the Italian peninsula and the Mediterranean has often been interpreted as influencing local religious practice. However, these interpretations are often open to criticism on archaeological and ideological grounds, and more importantly, religious 'romanisation' as a model fails to explain both the changes in votive practices in the Late Republic and the disappearance of Latial cult places with which we are concerned here.⁵⁴ As far as votive material is concerned, the appearance of the so-called etrusco-latium-campanian type of votive deposit is linked by several scholars to the spread of Roman power in the Tyrrhenian coastal area, to be interpreted as a 'guide fossil' of Roman influence.⁵⁵ Even if we accept this, in my view, problematic interpretation, the disappearance of this type of votive deposit is hard to explain within the same general framework. The disappearance of the typical deposits would either mean that Roman influence has ceased, or would have to be interpreted as a sign of successful integration in the Roman state, supposedly making both the specifically 'Roman' votive material and the cult places in which they were offered superfluous. Since the start and end of the phenomenon are also observable in the direct vicinity of Rome, happily excluded from any suspicions of 'romanisation' in a cultural sense, I think this suggestion can be safely ruled out.⁵⁶ Chronologically and ideologically, it is difficult, if not downright impossible, to interpret the religious changes in Latium in the late republican period as cultural reactions to changing aspects of Roman rule in the region. While undeniably the result of social and economic developments, the religious change visible in Latium cannot, in my view, be captured under the heading of 'romanisation' in the traditional scholarly meaning of the term: change in indigenous culture as a result of contact with encroaching Roman culture.

Several scholars have indeed related the phenomenon to broader societal developments. Anna-

maria Comella suggests a causal relationship of the disappearance of typical votive material and the subsequent abandonment of Etruscan and Italic sanctuaries with the impoverishment of the middle and lower-middle classes, since according to her these cult places were important reference points for plebeian groups.⁵⁷ Patrizio Pensabene also connects the disappearance of the typical etrusco-latinal-campanian deposit with social changes, namely displacement of the free rural population by large estate holders leading to an impoverished lower class falling below subsistence level moving to and living in the towns.⁵⁸ Both authors therefore link the disappearance of this particular votive practice to a free rural population falling on (financial) hardship, no longer able to make votive offerings and migrating towards the urban centres.⁵⁹ While this would provide an attractive explanation for both the enigmatic problem of change in votive practices and for the urban concentration of cult places, there are some possible objections to this reading. First of all, both Comella and Pensabene seem to place the abandonment of cult places firmly in the 1st century, while the data presented here suggests an earlier date for the start of this process, namely at some point during the 3rd century. Furthermore, in their interpretation the abandoned cult places are explicitly connected with the lower strata of the population, thereby seemingly supporting the often repeated notion that terracotta votive offerings are basically the gifts of the poor. This connection between fictile votive offerings and the lower social classes has become something of a commonplace, but has never been convincingly argued.⁶⁰ This interpretation also seems to imply that terracotta votives were the only offerings made in a sanctuary, thereby ignoring the possibility that gifts of those of higher social status were simply not preserved because they were made of more precious materials, subsequently melted down or otherwise lost.⁶¹ The connection of terracotta offerings and the lower social classes is ultimately untestable, since specific epigraphic evidence is lacking, and in my opinion one should be wary of using fictile votives to prove the connection of sanctuaries as a whole with certain social groups.

Moreover, the broad social developments assumed to be affecting these groups in the late republican period by the model of displacement and impoverishment are themselves open to criticism. Evidence for large-scale decline of the free peasantry resulting in impoverishment and townward migration is hardly conclusive, and the subject is still a hotly debated one among ancient his-

torians and archaeologists.⁶² Since a model of rural displacement in my opinion does not do justice to the chronological and spatial characteristics of the process of decline and concentration of cult places in Latium, its specific pattern would still need explaining. I think that it is possible to construct a different model, partly incorporating the notions put forward by Comella and Pensabene but more general in character, which shows that the specific changes in the Latial sacred landscape are the result of a number of parallel developments 'colliding' in the republican period. The model does not seek to solve the problem of the disappearance of the typical etrusco-latinal-campanian votive deposit *per se*, but is primarily aimed at explaining the changes in number and spatial distribution of cult places without presupposing a displacement of the free rural population or a restriction of the phenomenon to the first century.

The Latial sacred landscape and Central Place Theory

In the model presented below, explaining the decline and spatial concentration of Latial cult places in the late republican period, an economic approach to the functioning of religion during the Republic will be taken. Using economic theory to describe and explain religious phenomena may seem unorthodox, but I am convinced that there are considerable gains to be made by employing it in the study of religion, with stimulating end results. A connection between the functioning of cult places and on-site economic activities has been suggested in existing literature on cult places,⁶³ and the analogy of sanctuaries as part of a religious 'market' is not new. According to Andreas Bendlin a 'market of small religio-economic entities' came into being in the late republican period as a result of developments on both the religious and extra-religious plane.⁶⁴ The underlying assumption in the model which will be presented here is, as it is in Bendlin's case, that people display rational religious behaviour, 'weighing the costs and benefits of religious behaviour and seeking to limit the risk associated with religious choices'.⁶⁵ It is this idea of rationality and market principles affecting the functioning and distribution of cult places that will be expanded upon here, by applying economic anthropological theory on the development and functioning of actual retail markets to the study of cult places in Latium.

Having decided on the market analogy as an interesting option, one of the most obvious theoretical starting points would be *Central Place Theory* (CPT), originally intended by its author, Walter

Christaller, as a theory explaining the size, number and distribution of towns.⁶⁶ Research carried out since has demonstrated that the theory actually fails to predict the development of settlements, its use being limited to the development of service or market centres and systems, which still suits our present purpose.⁶⁷ To keep the terminology neutral, specific reference to towns or market places will be avoided in the explanation of notions derived from *CPT*, instead substituting the more neutral 'central place', while keeping in mind that this label may indicate either of these concepts, or indeed other entities such as cult places. Given the specific characteristics of Latium as an urbanised region in the republican period, I think *CPT* is an appropriate theoretical framework with which to tackle the problem of number and distribution of cult places, since it can conceptually encapsulate both urban centres and cult places as constituent parts of a network of central places and the services on offer there.⁶⁸ From the theoretical framework provided by Christaller, a number of general principles can be distilled which in my opinion are especially pertinent with regard to the development of the Latial sacred landscape during the middle and late republican period. These five principles will be given here first in their most general form, followed by a discussion of their relevance for the situation in Latium.

1 *The definition of range*⁶⁹

The range of a good is the farthest distance the dispersed population is willing to go in order to obtain a good offered at a place. The same good has a different range at every central place, and its range is not the same in all directions from the same central place. It is mainly determined by: (a) the size and importance of the central place and the distribution of population; (b) the price-willingness of the purchaser; (c) the subjective economic distance; and (d) the type, quantity, and the price of the good at the central place. If the distance is too great, the population will not buy the good because it becomes too expensive for them; or they will buy it at another central place from which they can obtain it more cheaply.

2 *The extent of complementary regions*⁷⁰

Lower and upper limits determine the smallest area and the largest complementary region of a central place in regard to a certain central good. The lower limit denotes a range of x kilometres around the central place with enough participants to support a service, the upper limit a range of x kilometres around the central place beyond which

people will no longer travel to the central place to obtain the central good. If the lower limit of the range is very low, then there is the probability that the central good will also be offered at other central places in the region.

3 *The effects of infrastructural change*⁷¹

Better traffic conditions mean a reduction in the economic distance. An intensification of the demand for and offering of goods is generally to be expected when a new transportation line is created. Furthermore, with cheaper and quicker transportation, more types of goods, which formerly were offered only dispersedly or locally, will be centrally offered in all regions.

4 *Central places and consumption*⁷²

The central place of a higher order directly draws consumers away from the central place of a lower order. This is caused to a great extent by the inherent wish of people to limit the number of trips needed to obtain central goods (i.e. limit the subjective economic distance). The central place which offers the greater advantages in respect to its range widens its complementary region at the expense of the other central place.

5 *Competition and viability*⁷³

If two central places lie so close together that their lower limits overlap, they must attract inhabitants from distances greater than the lower limit in order to balance the shortage. If this distance exceeds the upper limit, the good cannot be offered there. A shift to the better or cheaper central place might occur, with the possible result that the central place which loses out in the competition can no longer exist.

These notions can also be applied to the sphere of religion. The various aspects of the religious system as it functioned during the later stages of the Republic, although perhaps also before, are here interpreted as being analogous to that of an economic market system. First of all, religion itself is understood as having a specific range; Christaller himself gave 'spiritual offerings' as an example of a central service,⁷⁴ but I think we will have to be a bit more specific than that. In this context the actual functioning of religion, made visible through the dedication of votive offerings constitutes this particular service. Our starting point for Latium is thus votive religion as the central good on offer in central places, which are in this case the cult places and towns of Latium.⁷⁵ While many of the elements of the first principle, which I shall term

the 'range principle', are self-explanatory, I think the concepts of price-willingness and the actual price of religion as a central service need some additional comments. The price-willingness of a consumer is the part of income that someone is willing to spend on a particular service, determined by the price of the good itself and the transportation costs of obtaining it. For religion, this price is formed by any actual monetary costs incurred in making a dedication somewhere (admission fees for certain sanctuaries, the costs of the actual votive object) as well as the money value of labour wages foregone in order to make the dedication (the compensation for 'lost time'). In addition, the costs of transportation including possible lodging should be taken into account. The 'range principle' in religious terms thus becomes a question of how far people are willing to travel in order to perform certain ritual actions or make a dedication to a particular deity at a sanctuary and how much time this would take.

The idea of *range* is further specified in the second principle, specifying the complimentary region of goods and services. This is the region between the lower and upper limits of the range, with the former specifying the minimal number of clients and the latter the maximum. The area within the upper limit of the range thus contains all possible clients for a particular service at a central place. If we combine this principle with our data on the number of cult places, we can conclude that the complimentary region of the entities offering religious services expands during the Late Republic, following from the simple observation that there are fewer entities offering the service with an equal or larger population demanding the service. The third principle, the 'infrastructure principle', is directly related to an important feature of the Latial landscape in the middle and late republican period, namely the development of the (consular) road network throughout the region, resulting in a reduction in the temporal distance between places, and therefore also in the economic distance.⁷⁶ As a rule, people were able to travel faster and more comfortably because of the construction of these paved roads. Although conclusive evidence to link the two phenomena is not available, it might be possible to suggest that the 'boom' in cult places visible in the 4th and 3rd centuries is partly the result of road construction, as suggested by the first part of the infrastructure principle predicting an intensification of demand. However, it is the second part of the principle, the resulting central offering of goods, in which we find the seeds for the eventual demise of a number of cult places. The stimulation

of central offering of goods must be interpreted as the offering of those goods in central places actually connected by this road network, in this case by definition the towns of Latium.⁷⁷ Since the good in question here, religion, is already being offered in most or all of these central places, the development of the road network will result in an intensification of demand in and towards these places, with market areas or complimentary regions becoming larger.⁷⁸

The infrastructure principle directly affects the fourth principle, the 'principle of attraction'. Central places which have more on offer are more attractive for potential consumers since it allows them to combine activities within the same trip, thereby minimising special travel costs.⁷⁹ As we have seen, the principle on infrastructure predicts that a direct effect of the development of the Roman road network is the increase of central offering of goods. We must also remember that this affects not just the central good 'religion', but other central goods as well, thereby increasing the attractiveness of these higher-order central places even more to consumers inclined to make multi-purpose trips. This aspect of the attraction of central places offering diverse goods and services, combined with the first three principles, results in the last principle, the viability principle. Smaller central places may lose clients to other, higher-order places and ultimately cease to exist as a result of competition. This is also true for religion; people who would have gone to a different 'religious firm' in other circumstances might now go to the one in the higher-order central place or on the way to the higher-order place, thereby increasing the complimentary regions of those sanctuaries, a tendency that was probably stimulated by the fact that rational, risk-averse actors in private religion 'tend not to form exclusive attachments to a single religious firm'.⁸⁰ People are not or no longer willing to travel to the lower-order places if, for instance, religion is the only service on offer.⁸¹ This would imply that those sanctuaries which have important extra-religious functions, for instance on the economic or administrative plane, have a distinct advantage over those who do not have such functions; although probably still of a lower order than actual towns, these multi-functional cult places can be seen as higher-level central places in their own right.

In short, the market model proposed here can be summarised as follows: votive religion, making dedications to the gods at cult places, can be seen as a central service offered in central places, either towns or 'independent' cult places. People make rational decisions with regard to their religious

choices, with competition between cult places as a direct result.⁸² In itself, this fact would not necessarily lead to the demise of cult places. If each cult place receives a sufficient number of worshippers to continue to exist, competition would not have an observable impact on the number and distribution of cult places. However, several developments in the republican period 'activated' and fed into this competitive process, in the first place the growing (economic) concentration on urban centres and the development of the road network, both strengthening the position of towns as central places. Offering a multitude of goods and services, the towns of Latium had an attraction most cult places did not have. Conducting a range of businesses in town, many people would most likely have also fulfilled their religious needs there. Cult places located in towns or close to the roads connecting the towns drew away these 'religious customers' from sanctuaries located in less advantageous areas. This resulted in the abandonment of countryside sanctuaries, which may in turn have further strengthened the 'competitive edge' of the sanctuaries which did achieve integration into the urban network of Latium, attaining an even larger 'market share' than before: concentration of religious activity and resulting abandonment as parts of a self-feeding process.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE MODEL

The religious market model presented implies certain characteristics of late republican Latium which perhaps need to be tested or clarified in order to establish the initial validity of the model. In the first place, it carries the assumption that the practicing of religion in Latium in this period can be understood as a religious service, with a general absence of strong personal loyalties and possibly a certain degree of uniformity, which would have intensified competitive tendencies. Therefore, the nature of the religious 'market' will be assessed to see if there is some truth to these assumptions about religious practices. The main determining factor of the success of cult places is the attendance of worshippers. Secondly, the model implies a growing concentration on the urban centres of Latium, in the first place economically. Therefore, I shall try to reconstruct the religious 'demand', the specific demography and associated migratory and economic flows in Latium. Lastly, I shall assess those entities that are central to this article, the cult places of Latium, the 'suppliers' of the religious service. What different types of cult places are there, how are they affected by competitive forces,

what changes are visible in the Late Republic and how are these to be understood in the context of the religious market?

The religious market: Late Republic religious behaviour

The first thing we need to establish is the nature of the religious service central to the market model outlined above. Can we indeed conceptualise votive religion as a more or less uniform product? Strong disparities in religious behaviour and votive material found would seem to challenge the assumption of religious practice as a market phenomenon. If the differences are too great, one could argue that the various manifestations of religion are not truly part of the same central service, thereby undermining the explanation offered above that market forces were responsible for the decrease in the number of cult places and their urban concentration. In short we need to find out if cult places in Latium offered 'compatible variants on a standard religious culture that offered broadly similar services', as Bendlin has suggested.⁸³ In order to do this, we need to look at the general nature of votive religion and the associated material found in the various cult places and observable changes of that material over time. Although there is some discussion about the precise relationship between man and god in votive religion and what expectations are involved in the act of giving an object to a divinity, it is generally assumed that in the Roman world a votive gift was meant as either a token of gratitude for a divine favour or carried the expectation of a future counter-gift, and might even have been contractual in nature.⁸⁴ Circumstances demanding the consultation and placation of the gods may have been quite diverse, but matters of health and fecundity have probably always ranked highly.

Generally connected to such matters is one of the most characteristic religious developments of the Middle and Late Republic, namely the offering of terracotta objects that take the form of (parts of) the human body, such as feet, hands, eyes, limbs or heads, the so-called anatomical terracottas, found at a great number of sites and often in great quantities.⁸⁵ The phenomenon of anatomical terracottas has often been connected to the growing influence of Rome on the Italic peninsula. The presence of such objects in certain areas would be an indication of their 'Roman-ness' and a good example of 'religious romanisation'.⁸⁶ Recently objections have been raised against the idea that the spread of these votives coincided chronologically, geographically and ideologically with the extension of

Roman political influence from the early 4th century onwards.⁸⁷ Instead of interpreting it as a specifically Roman phenomenon, this specific type of votive offering should be considered in a broader context, being the material demonstration of a certain preoccupation of worshippers with health and fertility (*sanatio*).⁸⁸ However, concerns for health and fecundity are hardly new and existed before the appearance of the anatomical terracotta, attested by the anatomical votive offerings present in earlier contexts.⁸⁹ Above all, it is the massive scale on which these votive gifts are found from the 4th century onwards that is remarkable. Rather than as signs of a new concern altogether, anatomical terracottas should be seen as a new, and highly visible, way of expressing these concerns. A very interesting feature of the phenomenon is the almost complete absence of a discernable one-to-one relationship between the donated object and the individual characteristics of the divinity worshipped at a sanctuary, at least concerning matters of health and fertility.⁹⁰ The anatomical terracottas are dedicated in a great number of sanctuaries that are dedicated to very diverse divinities, and are found in sanctuaries of divinities that, as far as we can determine on the basis of earlier votive material, do not have a traditional connection with these specific concerns.⁹¹ It thus seems that divine power in these matters was believed to be universal, in other words, that 'healing was regarded indiscriminately as being within divine power'.⁹²

The absence of a direct and obvious relationship between the type of offering and the specific traditional responsibilities of the principal divinity of a sanctuary is perhaps also visible in other categories of votive offerings. Large quantities of terracotta figurines, interpreted as votive offerings, have been found in sanctuaries. Although these figurines present their own difficulties of interpretation, some can clearly be identified as specific divinities by their attributes.⁹³ The majority of figurines identified with certainty are depictions of and therefore probably offerings to the main divinity of the sanctuaries, yet there are also figurines that depict other gods not traditionally associated with the principal cult.⁹⁴ To whom then were these figurines dedicated? It is known from the Greek as well as the Italic world that in many sanctuaries secondary divinities were worshipped.⁹⁵ However, it might be conceivable that an even wider range of deities was worshipped within any single sanctuary than is commonly believed.⁹⁶ The fact that figurines representing gods other than the principal cult, so-called 'visiting gods', are found in a sanctuary could be taken to mean that those

gods actually received worship there, albeit incidental, and that these objects are not necessarily gifts to the principal divinity as is usually assumed.⁹⁷ The fact that several cult places were not the exclusive abode of any single deity in the late Republic, in addition to their generalised function in the spheres of health and fecundity, suggests that cult places could, up to a certain point, be seen as 'brokers' between the mortal world and the divine, without being very specific about what members of those divine world were to be contacted there. For many rituals, the identity of the main divinity undoubtedly mattered greatly and had religious significance. However, this need not have been the case for day-to-day votive practices within that sanctuary. In a sense one could speak of different religious layers and should think of a distinction between, or rather coexistence of, a principal cult with associated - perhaps archaeologically untraceable - rituals and a votive practice of which the main divinity could be a possible but not an exclusive recipient.⁹⁸ On the basis of the nature of the votive material, it is possible to detect a certain degree of generalisation or even standardisation of religion or the functioning of religion in the middle and late republican period in Latium.⁹⁹

These observations about the nature of votive religion would seem to justify our viewing it as a religious product or service. Cult places entered a market with a single, relatively uniform product (for lack of a better term, the 'health cult') and a great number of suppliers (every other cult place), many of them lacking the attraction of a unique service only available there.¹⁰⁰ It did not matter in which sanctuary the gods are approached for specific services since these were more or less the same everywhere. It is possible, even probable, that such uniformity existed before the middle and late republican period, but the limited number of cult places ensured their continuing existence; 'competition' at that time was perhaps not as fierce. The high number of functioning cult places in the middle republican period probably meant that not only was the Latial landscape filled with cult, it was probably saturated with it. In this situation we can observe the competitive forces created by uniformity beginning to have an effect, but only under specific circumstances. Had everything remained the same, it is possible that a much higher number of cult places would have continued to exist. However, specific developments in the Latial landscape during the last centuries of the Republic threatened the existence of cult places, especially changes in the infrastructure and an

intensified (economic) focus on the urban centres. The combination of competition, market mechanisms and specific socio-economic developments resulted in the fact that the number of cult places that could durably exist in Latium decreased. The next section is devoted to those developments in Latium setting off or feeding into the market mechanism leading to the demise of many cult places.

The religious demand: demography and urbanisation

The CPT-inspired market model presented above hinges on the argument that people tend to gravitate towards towns in the later stages of the republican period, not necessarily in a residential sense but at least in an economic sense. This aspect of the model, supposing centralising tendencies, should be reflected in the available evidence on demographic and economic developments. An overall decline in the population size, for example, could explain the abandonment of cult places. This does not seem to have been the case. To this day, the reconstruction of the Roman population size is a hotly debated subject, roughly divided into two opposing sides, the so-called 'low' count scenario, which hypothesises a population of Augustan Italy of roughly five to six million people, and a 'high' count scenario resulting in a population of 12-14 million people, more than twice the figure of the alternative scenario.¹⁰¹ Needless to say, the choice between either model is not an arbitrary one, but has major consequences for the interpretation of the history and development of the Roman state in the late republican and early imperial periods.¹⁰² However, for the present inquiry it is important to note that neither scenario envisages massive population decline in the late republican period, including in Latium, thereby ruling changes in population size out as a likely explanation for the demise of cult places in this period.

Another possible explanation is that the settlement pattern changed drastically, with people moving in large numbers to the cities from the countryside, leaving it deserted. Indeed, the dominant scenario assumes the free peasantry of Italy, already diminished in number by the burdens of military service and perhaps also the ravages of the Hannibalic War, to have been displaced from their land by large slave-run estates and to have continued to decline as a result.¹⁰³ As already indicated above, the perceived decline of the free peasantry is important in a religious sense, since several scholars have argued that the phenomenon was the principal cause of religious changes in the

Late Republic.¹⁰⁴ The spatial concentration of cult places could thus be said to mirror the concentration of settlement in urban centres, leaving the countryside empty of people and cult. The main problem with this 'doctrine' of the declining free peasantry is that there does not seem to be much factual evidence for it. Archaeological surveys have shown that the countryside was not nearly as deserted as has sometimes been claimed, thereby challenging the notion of a massive decline in small-holdings in favour of elite villa-estates.¹⁰⁵ Especially in the area around Rome, the so-called *suburbium*, where the villa phenomenon was arguably at its most advanced, surveys document an increase rather than a decrease of the number of sites.¹⁰⁶ It is likely, however, that there was some regional variation and that certain areas did show signs of population decline, possibly as a result of the development of villa estates.¹⁰⁷ I remain unconvinced that the scale of this phenomenon in Latium could have been large enough to account for the observed changes in the sacred landscape.

There is still the possibility that impoverishment of the peasantry was one of the causes of changes in votive practices, as Luuk de Ligt has convincingly argued that an increase of the rural population can be accompanied by or even lead to impoverishment.¹⁰⁸ However, this must also have been subject to regional variance, and the one-to-one relationship between impoverishment and the abandonment of cult places still seems overly rigid to me. The market model proposed here for Latium also incorporates certain ideas about the presence of people and associated cult activity, but one of its attractive features is that it does not assume a declining presence of small-holders in the Latial countryside *per se*. At first glance, it may seem to disregard such people completely, but it actually accounts for them in a slightly different way. The only fundamental assumption in the model is that people as a rule group their activities to avoid extra and unneeded expenditure of time or money. The major change in the Late Republic is not the displacement of the peasantry towards towns on a massive scale, but an increasing economic and perhaps administrative concentration on those towns.¹⁰⁹ The markets, permanent or periodical, where farmers traded their produce were probably located in or near towns, and cult places in those towns or on the way there must have been attractive venues to make offerings, reducing unnecessary expenditure.¹¹⁰

Increased urbanisation is indeed a feature of the Late Republic often recounted by various scholars.¹¹¹ Rome probably took the lion's share of urban

population increase during the last centuries of the Republic, with estimates of the city's freeborn population rising from 150,000 in 200 BC to 600,000 in 50 BC.¹¹² The increase of the population size of the Urbs must be seen in the light of larger scale migratory movements, since according to Walter Scheidel 'in the last two centuries BC...one to one and a quarter million [people] moved from the Italian countryside to Rome and over 400 other cities', while a comparable number of people were resettled in colonies or on *viridane* allotments.¹¹³ This implies a massive - if gradual - demographic shift from the countryside to Rome and the other towns of Latium and Italy. Although the urbanisation rate in late republican Italy is yet another point of debate between 'low' and 'high' counters, strictly speaking neither option contests the claim of urban concentration inherent in the religious market model: both 'high' and 'low' count scenarios suggest a growth in urban populations without a necessary decrease in rural populations.¹¹⁴ Since most of the towns of Latium were so-called 'agro-towns', they depended on the surrounding countryside for their immediate food-supply.¹¹⁵ Growth of these agro-towns therefore implies a growing or intensifying dependence on the countryside, which at the same time constrained expansion to certain margins, thereby perhaps explaining the limited size of Latial towns.¹¹⁶ We should see these towns and the surrounding agricultural catchment areas as parts of the same interdependent system, albeit systems with a well-defined economic, political and administrative core. The migratory movements, voluntary or state-sponsored, of roughly two and a half million people during the last centuries of the Republic must have had a profound effect on these urban-rural systems, probably resulting in an increased importance of urban centres and closer - economic - links with the surrounding countryside. Effectively, this development entailed a strengthening of Rome and the towns of Latium as central places. Voluntary migration increased populations in existing urban centres and thereby the demand and supply of goods and services there, adding to the already strong 'pull' factor of towns. State-sponsored migration either had the same effect in the cases where colonies or *viridane* allotments were added to existing settlements, or created completely new central places in certain areas where colonies were founded *ex novo*. In this sense, mass migration during the Late Republic can be seen as both indicative of the position of urban centres as central places and as actually influencing their position as central places.

The religious supply: status and organisation of cult places

Cult places formed part of an in some important ways increasingly uniform religious system catering to an increasingly urbanised population. How should we then perceive the 'institutions' or 'firms' offering religious services and how should we view their role in this market system? Information in the literary sources about the organisation and administration of cult places is at best fragmentary and generally limited to the city of Rome. Turning to archaeological evidence, we find that it too has its disadvantages. Keeping in mind the limitations indicated above, we can often determine whether cult places were used during certain periods on the basis of votive material. In addition, we can establish if and possibly when restructuring activities took place using stratigraphic excavation. Building inscriptions can sometimes tell us who were responsible for such building activities and sometimes we can establish somewhat firmer chronological ranges on the basis of epigraphic evidence.¹¹⁷ What archaeology generally fails to tell us much about are the day-to-day activities of sanctuaries. Bendlin alludes to cult places with some form of autonomy, organisation and civic responsibilities outside the religious sphere, when he talks about 'small religio-economic entities' with 'cultic and possibly financial as well as administrative responsibilities'.¹¹⁸ Such entities would fit very well in the proposed market model, since sanctuaries as envisaged by Bendlin could be said to be central places themselves, also offering goods and services other than just religious ones. It is very easy to view such cult places as religious 'firms' competing with each other. But do all the sanctuaries of Latium conform to this image of cult places as 'religious entrepreneurs'?

Regarding the origin of many cult places, the general idea is that they sprang up 'spontaneously' at locations where the presence of the divine was felt to be especially strong, such as caves, mountain tops, ancient forests and lakes.¹¹⁹ Such areas were singled out as holy and sometimes, but not always, marked by a permanent object such as an altar.¹²⁰ Subsequently, there are two ways in which a sanctuary can continue to exist. On the one hand, it can remain in use as a 'natural' cult place, existing solely by the grace of people going there and making offerings. Of the total number of sites with recovered votive material in the 2nd century, roughly two-thirds do not have any indication of the existence of permanent structures, either in that particular period or before, and could there-

fore be said to have been natural. In the 1st century, this drops to about one half of the total number of sites with votive material. Of these cult places without any indication for building remains, about 75-80% is extra-urban, supporting the perhaps intuitive connection between 'natural' cult places and a location outside urban centres. The connection of natural cult places to the competitive model is a relatively straightforward one, namely that they cease to exist as recognisable cult places the moment people stop coming there to make offerings. In these cases, the presumed change of recognisable votive practices into invisible rituals signalled as an important problem for the validity of the data is especially relevant. Apparently, some scholars keep the option open that such cult places continued to function without leaving any detectable and dateable trace of the ritual activities being performed. As said before, I find this hard to believe, and retain that natural cult places actually ceased to exist because of changing religious preferences. People chose to go to cult places in or near urban centres and major roads and stopped coming to many of these natural cult places, being 'single-purpose central places', resulting in their abandonment.¹²¹

On the other hand, cult places can become more or less 'institutionalised', with ties to nearby urban centres and administered by magistrates or priests, with possible extra-religious responsibilities of their own. Such sanctuaries would come closest to the religio-economic entities described by Bendlin, although according to Gabriella Bodei Giglioni Italic sanctuaries had only limited autonomy which would seem to clash with his idea of a decentralised system.¹²² In general, it is assumed that the administration of the vast majority of sanctuaries resided with nearby towns or prefectures. Administration of the sanctuary normally was the responsibility of public magistrates, who kept track of the sanctuaries' treasuries and used the funds for the benefit of the sanctuaries. We know that most sanctuaries had special treasuries, the *arca*, to be used specifically for expenses on behalf of the sanctuary.¹²³ Part of the costs for building activities, for instance, must have been paid from these funds. The viability of most enterprises actually depends for a large part on income, and since sanctuaries also depended on financial resources this would seem to be an important factor within a competitive model. We know from the literary sources that several sanctuaries had vast reserves, but know less about how these accrued.¹²⁴ For instance, Bodei Giglioni considers the absence of landed property a characteristic of Latial and Italic sanc-

tuaries.¹²⁵ A possibility is that some of these resources did not actually belong to the sanctuary, but were given to them for safe-keeping. Such bank functions for sanctuaries are attested for different areas of the Mediterranean, including Italy. The monetary gain for Italic sanctuaries perhaps consisted of donations made by those using the sanctuary as a repository, since it is assumed that Italic sanctuaries did not lend money with interest.¹²⁶ It is commonly accepted that many sanctuaries played a role in the economic infrastructure of Italy, primarily as locations for regional markets. However, there is strong evidence that sanctuaries themselves may have had facilities generating economic activities.¹²⁷ Although evidence is less clear about this, it is also possible that sanctuaries were actively involved in trade.¹²⁸ All of these activities may have been important as sources of income for certain sanctuaries, yet the majority of the funds flowing into the *arca* of most must have been the result of payment for the use of the sanctuary's religious infrastructure: access to temple grounds, the making of offerings and the consultation of oracles.¹²⁹ Furthermore, certain sums were paid for entering the priesthood of a certain cult. Thus, it appears that most Latial sanctuaries were dependent on the financial contributions of the visiting faithful.

The administrative aspect is no less problematic, and again attests the close relationship between most sanctuaries and towns. Some sanctuaries at least must have had some personnel that resided on-site with the responsibility for the daily maintenance of the sanctuary. Several sanctuaries include structures that have been or could be interpreted as residences for a permanently present college of priests or other attendants, although Bodei Giglioni claims that Italic sanctuaries did not have extensive crews of temple personnel.¹³⁰ In some cases, it is not even clear if the care of cult places was actually entrusted to a town or village, and sometimes cult places thrive even after the town they supposedly belonged to had declined in importance or vanished altogether. It is even possible that some of the administrative functions previously located in the town itself were relocated to the sanctuary in such cases, which thus developed into the actual central place of the community.¹³¹ This suggests that it was possible for sanctuaries to function more or less independently from urban centres. Indeed, the fact that sanctuaries in Italy could apparently sometimes replace civic structures as (administrative) central places seems to suggest at least the possibility of some form of prior autonomy. Archaeological and literary evi-

dence thus both supports and partly contradicts the traditional image of sanctuaries administered by towns and magistrates. We should therefore at least consider the possibility of a more heterogeneous system in which some sanctuaries enjoyed rather more autonomy than others.

The supply-side of the religious market can thus be said to consist of two formally different categories of cult places. Those where the act of worship, in the form of votive offerings, actually constitutes the cult place, and those cult places which were more or less institutionalised, possibly with their own financial and administrative infrastructure. Considering the fact that most Latial sanctuaries were dependent on either monetary contributions by or the simple presence of worshippers for their continued existence, it becomes clear how far-reaching the consequences for these sanctuaries were of a decline in the number of visitors. The possible results are visible in the complete disappearance from the archaeological record of a large number of natural cult places. The effect on and reaction by more institutionalised cult places is perhaps more difficult to establish. Given their extra-religious functions, many of these institutionalised cult places could be said to have been central places of an order at least higher than those cult places with an exclusive focus on religion, giving them a distinct advantage and offering them the opportunity to remain 'in business' or even thrive. Their success might perhaps be gauged from building activity.

As shown, the decline in the number of cult places with evidence of votive material coincides with a restructuring of the built sacred landscape. In the 2nd and 1st centuries, a considerable number of sacred structures in Latium are being built or ostentatiously monumentalised. A third of the sites with building remains in the 2nd century do not have any evidence for previous building phases, while close to a half of all the first century sites with building remains are dated to either the 2nd or the 1st century. The phenomenon of monumentalisation of public buildings, among which sanctuaries, is often connected to aristocratic propagandistic activity. The notion of elite prestige connected to euergetism and the supposed competition between sanctuaries can be understood very well within a single framework. The extensive building complexes of many Latial sanctuaries constructed during the Late Republic could be seen as a sign that they have come out of the competitive struggle with flying colours. A direct consequence of, or even prerequisite for, the connection of sanctuaries with communal or individual

prestige is the presence of visitors to whom this connection might be shown. Without an admiring public, the (financial) efforts of the elite to win acclaim for their building activities would be quite useless: visual display needs observing eyes. Thus, the nobility will preferably select a cult place that is situated advantageously to ensure a steady stream of visitors. In this sense, a direct connection might be made between euergetism and sanctuary popularity as two sides of the same coin. However, the fact that various late republican sanctuaries did not yield any votive material from either that period or previous ones would seem to undermine the connection between popularity and building activity.¹³² However, virtually all known monumental sanctuaries are located either within or nearby urban centres or alongside important traffic arteries. This seems to suggest that regardless of whether any votive material was found on the site, the general implications of the process of decline and concentration of cult places were perhaps observed and understood and that the choice of sites selected for rebuilding or monumentalisation took into account the importance of an advantageous location for the success of any sanctuary, whether as an actually functioning religious centre or as a showcase for the elite. Taking this idea one step further, it could even be argued that monumentalisation as such can be seen not only as a sign of success in the religious market, but as a method for sanctuaries to maintain or improve their position with the dictates of the religious market in mind. Monumentalisation thus becomes a form of architectural advertisement by the creation of a religious complex that is literally too large to ignore.

CONCLUSION

The Late Republic was a period of profound change in the sacred landscape. The very nature of votive religion seems to be changing, and is accompanied by a numerical decrease and spatial concentration of cult places. Some have suggested that the former change was the cause of the latter one. I would be more inclined to reverse the direction of this causal relationship, urban concentration of cult activity as a catalyst for religious change, although this can only be tentatively suggested and not (yet?) proven here. The central notions of *Central Place Theory* can be used to explain the declining number of cult places as well as their concentration on urban centres and roads a result of competition and selection. The very existence of a degree of uniformity in religious practice created an inherent competi-

tion between cult places, resulting in a religious 'survival of the fittest' in which those sanctuaries that were most successfully integrated into the developing urban economic infrastructure continued to exist and even flourished while others were abandoned. The essential keys to success for any cult place in the late republican period were an advantageous location and the number and importance of the services on offer, in order to ensure a steady stream of visiting worshippers.

The market model can be used to open up new, fresh approaches to traditional research subjects, providing a different angle to familiar themes. Some may perhaps complain that the rational approach to religion taken in this article seems to take the cult out of cult places, but this is not my intention. It just forces us to consider religion and the way in which it functions in a different, perhaps counter-intuitive way, to reconsider our preconceptions about such matters and test their validity and usefulness. One of the main attractions of the model in this respect is its non-exclusive nature. It is compatible with many established ideas about the way in which cult places are used by individuals and society as a whole. It just adds a new conceptual layer which may illuminate aspects that were perhaps under-represented or difficult to explain before, and thus has a predominantly descriptive function: a tool to understand the changes in the Latial religious landscape and the possible factors contributing to these changes. It remains to be seen if the model can be applied more universally, and if it can eventually be used in a prescriptive manner. I hope to have shown that the changing sacred landscape of Latium in the late republican period demonstrates that the presence of people alone is perhaps not enough to guarantee cult activity in a certain area. The fact that people weigh the costs and benefits of their - religious and non-religious - actions, and especially possible combinations of those actions, has a large impact on the distribution of cult places in Latium. In the absence of religious distinctiveness, the non-religious functionality of cult places may not just constitute an added value, but an essential key to success or even existence

NOTES

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after those presentations.

- ¹ Unless otherwise specified, all dates in this article are BC. In some cases, the indication is retained in the text to avoid confusion.
- ² For instance, Augustan cultural policy and its implications for the material aspects of religious life, reference publications being Gros 1976 and Zanker 1987.
- ³ See, for instance, Coarelli 1976 (esp. 21-22) on dedication dates. Coarelli states that for the period 218-167 the precise date of construction or restoration for 22 of the 28 temples in total is known exclusively from Livy's text (books 21-45). For the period 167-68, this figure is even more dramatic: 21 out of 22. Moreover, for the existence of many temples, primarily in Rome itself, we have only textual evidence. However, see Dubourdieu 2003 on the limited usefulness of literary sources (in this case Cicero's *De Signis*) for information on cult places on Sicily.
- ⁴ However, we must keep in mind that for the correct interpretation of this evidence, historical data are indispensable. As Cornell states, there is no such thing as a 'purely archaeological history' (Cornell 1995, 29). Furthermore, the use of archaeology inherently has its limitations. For the study of cult places, these are (Bouma 1996 I, 24-30): (1) the impossibility of complete site recovery because of later construction activities on the site and limited research of the countryside; (2) the fact that the minority of information available to us is from undisturbed contexts; (3) the poor publication of excavation results; (4) the loss after recovery of excavated material precluding its restudying; (5) the problem of the identification of a sacred objects or a sacred place as such.
- ⁵ The area is bounded on the western side by the Tyrrhenian Sea and to the east by the high central Apennine mountain range. The northern side of the area is taken up by the Tiber valley, delimited by the Monti Sabatini, while the lower Liri valley forms its southern border. In short the region consists of a series of coastal plains, the largest of which is the Pontine plain, and an extended fluvial valley system, primarily consisting of the valleys of the rivers Sacco and Liri and the Tiber valley.
- ⁶ See Scuderi 1991b.
- ⁷ For a detailed discussion of the development of Latium as a (geographical) concept, see Solin 1996.
- ⁸ A treaty between Rome and the Samnites, dated to 354, probably indicated the river Liri as the dividing line between Roman and Samnite spheres of influence (see Salmon 1967, 192-3 for a speculative reconstruction of the terms included in the treaty). The founding of the Latin colony of Fregellae in 329, on the left bank of the river and therefore *in Samnitium agro*, set off the Second Samnite War in 327, again underlining the territorial importance of the Liri (Liv. 8.23.6; Dion. Hal. 15.8.5, 15.10.1; Appian. *Samn.* 1.4). Pliny also explicitly mentions the Liri as the southern border of Latium (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.56), and in another passage writes that the town of Sinuessa, located some 15 kilometres to the south of Minturnae, was *extremum in adiecto Latio* (Plin. *Nat. Hist.* 3.59), thereby suggesting that the entire lower Liri valley was part of Latium.
- ⁹ Laurence 1999, 13-19.
- ¹⁰ It is only fair to point out that in religious matters, territorial boundaries were indeed considered important. Distinction was made in the pre-Social War period between Roman and non-Roman *sacra* (De Cazanove 2000, 71-74) and in prodigies reported inside and outside

the *ager Romanus* (Rosenberger 2005; Bispham 2007, 118 n. 21). I am still convinced that such territorial distinctions were of minor importance to the everyday functioning of religion and only became an issue in politically charged situations. One of the best examples to illustrate this point is the fact that in 241 BC, the Roman consul Q. Lutatius Cerco wanted to consult the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, which the Senate forbade, stating as a reason the alien nature of the cult (Val. Max. 1.3.2). However, the material aspects of this and other cults at Praeneste is very similar to what is found in Rome and the rest of Latium, nicely showing the discrepancy between practical and political aspects of cult and religion in Latium.

- ¹¹ It is certainly possible that changes in boundaries had to be accompanied by ritual acts, in any case for such religiously important boundaries such as the Roman *pomerium* (see Scuderi 1991a). It is not clear whether the extension of the *ager Romanus*, particularly relevant for Latium, necessitated such acts as well. Coarelli seems to suggest as much, and indeed confirms that territorial expansion put the religious boundary system to the test, necessitating the creation of new categories (Coarelli 2000b, esp. 289).
- ¹² Mouritsen 2007, 157.
- ¹³ Examples of the latter are too numerous to list. An example for the late republican period is Coarelli 1987. Recent examples of the former are Bruckner 2003, Mezzazappa 2003, Jaia 2004 and Livi 2006, all of which deal with the religious topography of individual towns. An exception to the rule is Rizzello 1980, which deals with a considerably larger area. Classic examples of integrative studies which deal with cult places and their spatial context are Alcock/Osborne 1994 for Greece, and Edlund-Berry 1987 for Etruria and Magna Graecia.
- ¹⁴ Bouma 1996 III.
- ¹⁵ Although a chronological sequence in centuries may seem forced, using the chronologies of the different artefacts would result in a confusing sequence. Besides, most of the objects used for dating purposes can be dated to whole centuries and in some cases even more accurately (for instance, numismatic evidence) while still belonging to the same votive context. Therefore, a century by century approach seems wisest if not completely unproblematic.
- ¹⁶ The categories of material remains included in the terms votive material and building remains as used here are specified below.
- ¹⁷ On the problem of single finds, see Bouma 1996 I, 28 (especially note 157). Bouma relates the problem to the fact that 'pottery...is generally not considered an *ex voto*, i.e. a votive offering proper, indicative of a religious context' (2006 I, 29), thereby suggesting that pottery finds which may very well belong to a religious context are not recognised as such. The inclusion or rejection of single find material in this article is based on the consideration of the wider context when known, including the potential votive character of associated pottery.
- ¹⁸ These chronological data were in turn adopted by Bouma from the various reports and publications on the individual cult sites. Ultimately then, these are the chronologies attributed to the material by individual excavators or researchers. There are bound to be chronological differences which cannot be resolved. Unfortunately, at this point, all I can do is signal the problem and use the data as prudently as possible.
- ¹⁹ For instance, if a certain site yields 10 cult places in a

specific period, this will be counted as one in the aggregate graphs. For this process of aggregation, I have followed the attribution of cult places to specific territories as found in Bouma 1996 III. I am fully aware that many may disagree with the attribution of certain sites to the territory of this or that site. However, Bouma's claims on the whole seem reasonable to me.

- ²⁰ To clarify: if a town 'X' has, in a given century, three cult places located within the city walls, one cult place placed just outside the walls (i.e. suburban) and two cult places located at some distance from the urban centre, these would show up as six cult places, of which three urban and three extra-urban in figure 2a-c, as two cult areas, one urban and one extra-urban in figure 3a-c, and as one urban 'dot' (comprising the three urban and one suburban cult place) and two extra-urban 'dots' on distribution maps. The same rationale applies to sites with building remains.
- ²¹ A working definition of a votive offering is a durable offering to the gods which is a manifestation of personal religiosity and meant as an incentive or gratitude for divine assistance in the future or the past (Van Straten 1981, 65-77). Votive material in this sense is interpreted as gifts to the gods by a variety of people. Some of these are relatively easy to recognise (such as figurines or miniature pottery), others derive their interpretation as votive from the context in which they are found ('regular' pottery may be votive as well). 'Basic' religious activity thus means the dedication of objects to the gods by people, actual votive material, or material that was used in ritual actions which can be recognised as such, which is not strictly 'votive' but is indicative of cult activity.
- ²² However, recognition of an archaeological context as 'sacred' or 'votive' remains problematical: depending on the interpretation of the data, one man's primary votive deposit may be another's dump stratum. For our present purposes, the specific interpretation of deposits of cult-related material as either primary votive deposits or dump strata does not matter that much. Assuming votive objects did not lie around for a century before being dedicated, the presence of such material indicates religious activity in the general area. The only problem is that certain material not easily or immediately recognisable as votive or cult-related may be missed, and thereby important chronological data.
- ²³ Rüpke 2006, 218.
- ²⁴ A clear indication that the two phenomena should possibly, or even necessarily, be interpreted on different levels is given by the many sanctuaries that continue to function as a cult place after the permanent structures such as temples associated with the sanctuary have ceased to exist. One might even think of the temple building itself as constituting a votive gift (Ziolkowski 1989-1990), although this view does not remove the connection of that building to communal and/or elite prestige.
- ²⁵ I have tried to filter out any instances of circular reasoning in the dating of both votive material and building remains. A tendency exists to relate one to the other: if a building is built in a certain century and votive material continues in the next century though no clear indications of restorations or restructuring is documented for the building, its continued existence is often supposed. Or, conversely, if a secure date cannot be attributed to a construction phase, associated votive material is often used to date the structural remains. I have tried to avoid such lines of reasoning as much as

- possible in the data presented here.
- ²⁶ Some material, such as the deposit at Campoverde (Lowe 1978, 142; Kleibrink 1997-1998), possibly dates as far back as the 10th or 9th century, but since the vast majority of the votive material dates from the 8th century onwards, this will form the starting point in this article as far as votive material is concerned.
 - ²⁷ For miniature pottery, see Edlund-Berry 2004, 373. Full-sized pottery found in votive assemblages ranges from 'imported Greek pottery to local coarse ware' (Edlund-Berry 2004, 377). However, full-sized pottery in votive assemblages seems to be the exception rather than the rule in Latium. See also Bouma 1996 I, 215-216.
 - ²⁸ See Comella 2004, with general bibliography.
 - ²⁹ Bouma 1996 I, 216.
 - ³⁰ See Comella 2004, 332-349 (for terracotta statuettes) and Turfa 2004 (for anatomical votives). The custom of dedicating terracotta ex votos seems to have started in the last quarter of the 6th century, with the 4th and 3rd centuries as the period in which this type of votive offering 'comes of age' (Gentili 2005, 367).
 - ³¹ See Crawford 2003 for a general discussion of the phenomenon, including lists of archaeological contexts in which coins and/or *thesauri* have been attested.
 - ³² For the problem of monetary finds and *thesauri* in particular, see Catali/Scheid 1994, esp. 63-65 and Crawford 2003. Mario Torelli speaks of a '*sostanziale monetizzazione del regime delle offerte*', thereby suggesting that the majority of the coins found should indeed be interpreted as offerings (Torelli 2005, 355).
 - ³³ Maria Fenelli suggests that instead of terracotta, votive offerings were increasingly made of other, perishable materials, such as wax, in the late republican period (Fenelli 1992, 132-133; Gentili 2005, 373). Although interesting, the suggestion lacks a secure evidential basis, archaeological or philological.
 - ³⁴ Patrizio Pensabene notes the scarcity of 5th century votive material at Rome, and in Latium and the Faliscan area (Pensabene 1982, 90). However, he does not offer an explanation, historical or methodological, for the phenomenon.
 - ³⁵ Since this phenomenon of revival is mostly limited to the 4th century, I have chosen not to represent this as a separate bar in the graphs.
 - ³⁶ The fact that in the 7th century, there are more than three times as many extra-urban aggregate cult areas as urban ones can be attributed to the fact that nine of the 16 non-aggregated cult places are situated in Rome: the result is an extreme effect of aggregation on urban cult places for this period.
 - ³⁷ The 3rd century has been chosen as the chronological starting point of the distribution maps, since the number of cult places is highest in this century (thus representing the maximum distribution of cult places), and as has been argued above the area under discussion can be regarded as being more or less homogenous in this period.
 - ³⁸ I would like to emphasize that the number of dots on the distribution maps for either category do not necessarily correspond to the numbers in table 1. As already indicated above, cult places located just outside the city walls appear as urban cult places on the distribution maps while being counted as extra-urban in table 1 and its associated bar graphs. As such, green dots on the map may actually signify either fully urban or suburban cult places. In any case, a very close association with the urban centre is supposed for both.
 - ³⁹ Guidi 2000, 236. Alessandro Guidi suggests that the remains of huts, found underneath the foundations of later religious structures at Rome, Satricum, Ardea and Velletri can in fact be identified as 'sacred huts' and thus prove the existence of pre-Archaic, more or less permanent cult buildings. However, his hypothesis is widely contested (see, for example, for the 'sacred hut' of Satricum: Bouma 1996 I, 94-101).
 - ⁴⁰ Stylistically, the form of mouldings and cornices, as well as column capitals, and sometimes decoration in stucco or painting can be used to determine construction date. Sometimes, even the style of the ground plan itself has been used to establish a basic chronology for certain buildings. Technical details such as the facing of *opus caementicium* can be used to determine the chronology of late republican structures.
 - ⁴¹ Starting with Andr n 1940, hundreds of publications have dealt with the systematic study of architectural decoration and roof systems, either dealing with single structures or regional typologies. As a rule, epigraphical evidence forming an integral part of the structure are dedicatory inscriptions, while inscription which can be associated with the structure generally refer to specific parts of the structure and/or restoration thereof.
 - ⁴² It is possible that buildings continued to exist without us being able to deduce it archaeologically. Thus, in this section 'continuous' actually indicates sites for which we have material evidence of continued existence, 'lost' indicates sites for which there is no evidence indicating such continued existence. Effectively, this means that these results present a 'worst case scenario', indicating a minimum for the number of functioning sacred buildings.
 - ⁴³ Most of the 5th century structures have been dated stylistically by their terracotta architectural decoration, which leaves a considerable margin for chronological error. However, current *communis opinio* places most of these structures in the first half of the 5th century, therefore leaving the possibility open that they were constructed early in the century and were abandoned subsequently. The exact date in that century may thus shift with changing interpretations of terracotta typologies and corresponding chronological reappraisals.
 - ⁴⁴ However, we must keep in mind that in the late republican period, cult buildings were increasingly built entirely in stone. This would have an effect on the necessity of repairs, since the material was far more durable than that used in earlier periods. The 'life expectancy' of a cult building after its construction could therefore have been substantially higher. However, the majority of cult buildings interpreted here as having been abandoned do not show any signs of subsequent repairs or other building activities. This would, in my view, still mean that they were indeed abandoned at some point, although possibly somewhat later than indicated here.
 - ⁴⁵ An example is the recent comparative study by Robert Witcher of different regions of Etruria (Witcher 2006). Based on the results of more than thirty surveys, Witcher encounters the same general problem, namely whether the patterns he has detected are genuine or if they reflect changes in the intensity of coverage (Witcher 2006, 106-111). Witcher maintains that in spite of this methodological complication the general patterns observed remain valid, albeit possibly with slightly different relative values.
 - ⁴⁶ For the definition and implications of the concept of a Roman *suburbium*, see Champlin 1982, Marazzi 2001 (concentrating on Imperial and later periods) and Witcher 2005.

- ⁴⁷ I will refrain from presenting a full analysis of the 5th century 'crisis' here, since a) we are dealing with a period in which the historical situation and, perhaps more importantly, the cultural and ethnic boundaries in the area, are far from clear-cut and b) the significance of the chronological differences observed in the data (sites with votive material showing up as 'lost' in the 5th century and thus apparently abandoned during the 6th and the figures for building remains showing this loss in the 4th century) is unclear. Perhaps this may all be connected to the attested presence of Volscians in the Pontine plain in the 6th century and the fact that actual armed conflict probably did not ensue until the fifth (Gnade 2002, 140-143), but in any case the subject is too vast to go into in detail here.
- ⁴⁸ A clear consensus about when exactly this change took place and its implications for our knowledge of votive religion does not yet seem to exist. Previous research claimed a continuity of the phenomenon into the 1st century AD, while current research strongly favours a republican dating (Gentili 2005, 373). Some date this transitional phase to the late 2nd century (Gentili 2005, 367, 373; Glinister 2006, 31), while others maintain that categories such as terracotta votive heads and anatomical terracottas disappear only in the course of the 1st century (Comella 2004, 336: 'Nel corso del I sec. a.C. la produzione delle teste votive cessa'; Turfa 2004, 359: 'Most are dated from the end of the 4th through 1st cent. B.C.'; 360: 'at a few sanctuaries, anatomicals continued to be displayed and ritually buried during the 1st cent. B.C.-A.D.'), perhaps leaving us some chronological leeway.
- ⁴⁹ For instance, it is difficult to date anatomical terracottas in anything other than centuries (Glinister 2006, 20).
- ⁵⁰ Which is not to say that such 'shock' occurrences did not account for the disappearance of individual cult places or entire urban areas, such as the destruction of Fregellae by the Romans after its insurrection in 125 and the mass suicide and subsequent immolation of Norba in 81. However, these instances account for just a small portion of the total number of cult places and fail to explain the developments observed in the long run.
- ⁵¹ Critiques, redefinitions of and substitutions for the concept of 'romanisation' have been appearing non-stop for the better part of a decade now. Some useful, interesting or important contributions, or a combination thereof, are Webster/Cooper 1996; Curti 2001; Webster 2001; Mattingly 2002; Burgers 2004 (in Dutch). In this context, 'romanisation' is used to denote the various changes, interactions and reactions associated with the spread of Roman rule throughout the Italian peninsula.
- ⁵² Barton (1982, 261) clearly states that 'we cannot properly use the term Capitolium of pre-Roman temples in Italy'. This particular temple type is intrinsically connected to the Roman civic cult and should be seen as an architectural symbol of Roman-ness, perhaps even as *the* symbol. However, not every Roman temple with three *cellae* is necessarily a Capitolium, not even in colonial contexts.
- ⁵³ De Cazanove 2000, 74-75. On the role of religious aspects of early Roman colonisation, see Torelli 1999, 14-42.
- ⁵⁴ Please note that as has been argued above, I will sustain the argument presented above that the disappearance of votive offerings at a particular site constitutes the abandonment of said site if other indications of religious activity are absent.
- ⁵⁵ See Comella 1981 and De Cazanove 2000 for this idea regarding anatomical terracottas, often found in these etrusco-latinal-campanian votive deposits. Söderlind 2005, 364: 'new evidence supports the theory...that the etrusco-latinal-campanian type of votive deposit tends to appear in Roman and Latial contexts, whether in the City, in Latium or in the colonies.'
- ⁵⁶ A connection between the end of the phenomenon of typical etrusco-latinal-campanian votive deposits and 'romanisation' is maintained by Maria Donatella Gentili, claiming that an intensification of unifying policies by Rome in this period contributed to the process (Gentili 2005, 373). However, this idea still assumes an inherent connection between 'romanisation' and these votive offerings, which can be contested.
- ⁵⁷ Comella 2004, 336.
- ⁵⁸ Pensabene et al. 1980, 51; Pensabene 2005, 137.
- ⁵⁹ Interestingly, both authors seem to suggest that the disappearance of votive material from sites constitutes abandonment of those sites as cult places, perhaps strengthening my own viewpoint that in these cases, absence of evidence does indeed constitute evidence of absence.
- ⁶⁰ The connection has been called into question in some recent literature, for instance Glinister 2006, 27-28.
- ⁶¹ For the possibility of metal votive offerings similar in form to those in terracotta, see De Cazanove 1991, 205.
- ⁶² The question of late republican settlement patterns and land occupation and regional differences therein will be dealt with when discussing the implications of the model proposed in this article.
- ⁶³ See for instance: Bodei Giglioni 1977; Morel 1989-1990. The economic activity of certain cult places will be dealt with in more detail below.
- ⁶⁴ Bendlin 2000, 134.
- ⁶⁵ Iannaccone 1995, 285. The risk involved in religious behaviour is the uncertainty that religious acts may not have the desired results. In the case of votive religion, the dedication may not result in the good favours of the deity. Greek and Roman votive religion on the whole clearly indicate the expectation of a counter-gift from the gods (Burkert 1987, 47). However, 'gods may just not listen, and man is lost' (Grottanelli 1989-1990, 49).
- ⁶⁶ Christaller 1933 (Christaller 1966: English translation).
- ⁶⁷ On the limitations of CPT, see Smith 1974, 170-171.
- ⁶⁸ Furthermore, CPT has been used successfully in archaeology, for instance explaining patterns of urbanization (Bekker-Nielsen 1989) or questions of supply and demand in the countryside (De Ligt 1991, esp. 42-58).
- ⁶⁹ Christaller 1966, 22, 53-54.
- ⁷⁰ Christaller 1966, 55, 60, 67.
- ⁷¹ Christaller 1966, 47-49.
- ⁷² Christaller 1966, 43, 57. This is a variation on Christaller's assumption mentioned earlier in the text (1966, 40) that 'a central place, at which a certain cost-good of a certain quality is offered more cheaply than at neighbouring central places, increases its selling area at the expense of the areas of the neighbouring central places.'
- ⁷³ Christaller 1966, 55.
- ⁷⁴ Christaller 1966, 20.
- ⁷⁵ If the cult places are located within urban centres, the urban centre or town is the actual central place and the cult places located within it can be conceptualised as establishments offering a specific central service or good. CPT does not allow such notions as central places embedded in other central places.
- ⁷⁶ Laurence 1999, 25; Quilici 2006.
- ⁷⁷ Laurence 1998, 145; Laurence 1999, 25-26, 55, 197-198.
- ⁷⁸ Smith 1974, 194.
- ⁷⁹ Christaller 1966, 42-43.
- ⁸⁰ Iannaccone 1995, 285.

- ⁸¹ King 1984, 78: 'they [the rural population] may bypass a nearby centre in preference for a more distant and usually larger place...The larger centres may provide a wider range of choice in the goods and services sought and also offer the opportunity, because of their greater functional complexity, of satisfying several needs or purposes with one shopping trip...This multi-purpose shopping is far more restricted in the smaller centres...The closest centre may not be the most attractive destination.' In other words, high-level centres extend their ranges because their agglomerated and thus more attractive suppliers capture more than their share of trade (Smith 1974, 172).
- ⁸² These rational decisions can perhaps be reduced to the concept of marginal utility, meaning the extra utility gained by increased consumption by an economically rational agent of a specific good or service. Since this increased consumption will invariably be at the expense of another good or service with a limited income, so choices will be by the agent made to maximize utility. This economic law is probably a social universal (Davies 1998, 232).
- ⁸³ Bendlin 2000, 133.
- ⁸⁴ Belayche 2007, 281: 'From the smallest individual prayers up to the state's safety, however grave or important the request might be, all vows displayed the same structure, which can be summed up by the formula "*do ut des*", give to me and I shall give to you (back).' Instead of the concept of *do ut des*, which implies the actual obligation of a counter-gift, the reciprocal relationship between men and gods might be described in terms of *do et das*, giving it a more balanced and voluntary, albeit uncertain nature (Grottanelli 1989-1990, 48). It is uncertain whether votive offerings are tokens of gratitude for requests already granted or requests for future help (Turfa 2004, 360-361 on this problem for the category of anatomical terracottas. She seems to indicate a preference for the idea of *post factum* offerings).
- ⁸⁵ See Découflé 1964 for a basic introduction of the phenomenon and its possible connection to clinical medicine. Fundamental archaeological publications on the subject are Fenelli 1975 and Comella 1981. Although extremely numerous, the anatomical terracotta does not represent the only form of votive religion in this period, suggesting the persistence of a strong traditional element in votive practices, such as the continued offering of (miniature) pottery. Even in sanctuaries where a large number of anatomical ex votos have been found, they do not represent the only type of offering (Comella 1982-1983, 239). In fact, votive deposits largely or exclusively containing anatomical terracottas are quite rare (Bouma 1996 I, 217 n. 12).
- ⁸⁶ Torelli in *Roma medio-repubblicana* 1973, 138-139, 341-343; Comella 1981; De Cazanove 2000. Torelli goes so far as calling anatomical terracottas 'a striking sign of Roman superiority' (Torelli 1999, 42).
- ⁸⁷ Glinister 2006, 14-27. Chronologically, since these offerings seem to appear first in areas outside Rome, specifically Etruria and certain parts of Latium; geographically, since the distribution of anatomical terracottas does not follow the spread of Roman political power very closely; and ideologically, since anatomical terracottas cannot be interpreted as intrinsically Roman, or even Latin for that matter, which makes the use of anatomical terracottas as 'fossili-guida' (Coarelli 2000a, 200) for a Roman or Latin presence problematic.
- ⁸⁸ Glinister 2006, 33.
- ⁸⁹ Earlier anatomical votive offerings, often in bronze, are found in both Archaic Italic and Etruscan contexts (Turfa 2004, 360; Glinister 2006, 13-14).
- ⁹⁰ It is already very difficult to ascribe votives to any single divinity in earlier periods, while votive offerings are paradoxically often the only indication of the nature of the divinity worshipped at cult places (Hackens 1963, 71). This becomes especially difficult if there are secondary divinities (the *dii accensi*) being worshipped in the same sanctuary: the presence of votives belonging to different divinities in single votive deposits is attested on numerous sites in Etruria and Latium (Fenelli 1975, 213). In general, votive offerings in Latium tell us more about the person offering the object or the divine favour requested than about the character of the divinity (Comella 2005, 51, 55).
- ⁹¹ Glinister 2006, 13. This does not imply that the divinities are exclusively approached for health issues in the middle republican period, simply that for some basic human preoccupations the identity and characteristics of a divinity did not seem to matter much. It is a distinct possibility that such responsibilities were just added to traditional concerns associated with the divinity.
- ⁹² Lowe 1978, 148. See also Fenelli 1975, 213; Glinister 2006, 13. There is some speculation about specialisation of cult places in certain specific aspects of healing based on the predominance of a certain type of anatomical terracotta. Apart from this purely statistical observation there is little factual evidence for specialised healing sanctuaries (Turfa 2004, 360).
- ⁹³ There is much discussion about the interpretation of the more 'generic' types of figurines, especially regarding the question just who is represented by them: the giver, the divinity or an abstract standardized image of the giver?
- ⁹⁴ For example, in the sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis, figurines representing Minerva, Apollo and Bacchus are found next to figurines representing Diana (Blagg 1985, 41). We must also keep in mind that the attribution of some of the more generic types of human-shaped figurines to the main divinity of the sanctuary could very well have been caused by circular reasoning, for example automatically identifying every female figurine found as offerings to or representing the female divinity worshipped in a sanctuary even though conclusive proof of this has not been found.
- ⁹⁵ For example, Hygieia in sanctuaries dedicated to Asklepios and Salus in sanctuaries dedicated to Aesculapius. For the most part, these secondary divinities are connected in some way to the main divinity of the sanctuary, either by familial ties or legendary associations.
- ⁹⁶ Without inscriptions making firm identifications possible, this must unfortunately remain a mere suggestion.
- ⁹⁷ See, for the Greek world, Alroth 1987 and 1989-1990. Brita Alroth interprets figurines representing other gods as offerings to the principal divinity, which is the traditional view. Interesting in this respect is Maule/Smith 1959; they have identified no fewer than 11 individual deities within the same Caeretan votive deposit. In my opinion, they leave open the distinct possibility that some of the deities who were not part of the official cult were worshipped here in their own right (see especially Maule/Smith 1959, 106-107). Pensabene suggests that these 'visiting' divinities perhaps represent particular stages in the human life, but retains the idea that they were dedicated to the principal deity of the sanctuary (Pensabene 2005, 136; votive offerings connected to initiations and certain life stages are attested for Greek contexts; see Van Straten 1981, 88-90).

- ⁹⁸ Although a problematic dichotomy in itself one could use the terms public versus private for these religious layers, for lack of a better characterisation. The private character of (anatomical) votive offerings has been stressed by others (Van Straten 1981, 65; Glinister 2006, 29).
- ⁹⁹ This would seem to fit in well with observations about the increased standardisation during the Late Republic in the production of certain votive objects, such as terracotta votive heads (Comella 2004, 336) and terracotta statuettes (Comella 2004, 341).
- ¹⁰⁰ 'The very lack of one divinity's monopoly, and the absence of any general monopolisation, must have created competition regarding the services on offer' (Bendlin 2000, 133).
- ¹⁰¹ The debate centres on the interpretation of several figures mentioned in the literary sources for Roman and allied manpower and the Roman census (for manpower, see Polyb. 2.24; for the available Roman census figures and the corresponding sources, see Brunt 1971, esp. 13-14). For an overview of the debate on the Roman population size, see Scheidel 2004, 2-9. The most prominent exponents of the 'low' count scenario are Karl Julius Beloch and later Peter Brunt (Beloch 1886; Brunt 1971, 113-120). The 'high' count scenario is based mostly on the writings of Tenney Frank and Elio Lo Cascio (Frank 1924; Lo Cascio 1994).
- ¹⁰² 'The size of the population has implications for military activity (the size of the pool of potential recruits), economic structures (the availability of labor, the degree of poverty and inequality, the level of malnutrition) and social relations (the relative numbers of slaves and masters, elite and masses)' (Morley 2006, 318).
- ¹⁰³ Morley 2001, 50. However, both the scale and the chronology of the development of villas has been called into question. On scale, see the illuminating demonstration by Willem Jongman that far fewer slaves were needed to work vineyards and olive groves than is normally assumed (Jongman 2003, 113-114). Nicola Terrenato believes that there is little evidence for the existence of slave-run estates on a truly large scale before the beginning of the 1st century (Terrenato 2001, 24). For a brief overview of the use of archaeological evidence in the debate on slave production and the free peasantry, see De Ligt 2006, 597-599. Scheidel presents a reversed view of the villa - rural displacement causality, suggesting that migration towards the cities opened up opportunities for larger-scale agricultural enterprise without 'aggressive dispossession of smallholders' (Scheidel 2004, 19).
- ¹⁰⁴ See the articles by Comella and Pensabene cited above, n. 57 and 58. *Contra*: Glinister 2006, 30-31.
- ¹⁰⁵ Important surveys in this respect in Central Italy have been the South Etruria Survey, the survey of the territory of Cosa and the Biferno Valley Survey. Most recently, the Tiber Valley Project has provided important data on the settlement pattern of the northern Roman *suburbium*. The Pontine Region Project has shown that in the region to the south of the Alban Hills, sizeable residential villa estates are relatively rare and are usually found in areas close to Roman colonies (Attema/de Haas 2005, 109-110).
- ¹⁰⁶ Carafa 2004, 55: 'from the sixth up to the 2nd century the number of sites increases at a light but constant rate to reach its highest value in the course of the 1st century AD.' At the same time, the suburban region of Rome seems to have been one with a high density of villas. For instance, no fewer than 133 villas have been attested in the territory of Tibur and 153 in that of Praeneste (Champlin 1982, 102). We also know the area of the Colli Albani to have been a favourite location for the construction of villas. Although these figures represent all villas and not just Republican ones, I think it is safe to say that the density of villa estates was already high in the areas closest to Rome in this period, without major adverse effects on more modest estate holders (on the popularity of Tibur and Praeneste as locations for villas among the elite in the republican period, see Bodei Gigliani 1977, 62).
- ¹⁰⁷ For instance, Graeme Barker notes a 40% decline in the number of sites in the late republican period (Barker 1995, 224) and Robert Witcher observes a decline in the inland areas of Etruria in the same period (Witcher 2006, 99-106). However, Witcher also notices an increase in the number of sites in the coastal area and the *suburbium* of Rome, thereby illustrating regional differences.
- ¹⁰⁸ De Ligt 2004; De Ligt 2007.
- ¹⁰⁹ Since Latium was a region with a dense urban network, a higher intensity of contact of peasants with the urban market is suggested. For a general discussion of this and other aspects of the urban-rural relationship, see De Ligt 1991, esp. 45-48. According to Luuk de Ligt, 'in regions where urban density is high, the marketing pattern will approach a "central place system"' (De Ligt 1991, 48).
- ¹¹⁰ The hypothesis on rural impoverishment put forward by De Ligt would actually support a growing concentration on urban centres of that part of the rural population that was able to trade without actual displacement or migration, since economic opportunities for these farmers in the countryside must have been rather limited, with the presence of those struggling to make a living.
- ¹¹¹ Gabba 1972, 79; Gabba 1976, 316 (although Gabba is sceptical about a phenomenon of general '*inurbamento*' in the 2nd century); Gros 1990; Lo Cascio 1994, 38; Paterson 1998, 163; Morley 2001, 50 and 57; Scheidel 2004, 18-19.
- ¹¹² Scheidel 2004, 14.
- ¹¹³ Scheidel 2004, 19.
- ¹¹⁴ The only difference is that supporters of the 'high' count scenario use the urban population growth as an argument for a larger population size for Italy overall. Supporters of the 'high' count scenario have claimed that the urbanisation rate resulting from the 'low' count is implausibly or even impossibly high, suggesting that it necessarily implies the desertion of the countryside which archaeological evidence contests (Lo Cascio 1994, 38-39; Morley 2001, 50). Scheidel maintains that the high late republican urbanisation rate of the 'low' count scenario could have been possible without contraction in the countryside (Scheidel 2004, 18-19).
- ¹¹⁵ Gabba 1972, 77-78, 111; Lo Cascio 1994, 39.
- ¹¹⁶ With the exception of Rome, with the possibility of grain imports from the provinces overseas able to maintain a large population without a necessary growing dependence on the surrounding countryside (Gabba 1972, 78; Lo Cascio 1994, 39), most Latial towns seem to have been of rather limited size, with estimates ranging from 1.500-2.000 inhabitants (Jongman 2002, 29; Scheidel 2004, 15) to slightly more differentiated population estimates, with some towns falling in the category of 500-3.000 inhabitants while several others fall within a range of 3.000-10.000 inhabitants (Witcher 2005, 128, Table 2). However, such estimates are highly speculative, offered on the basis of deductions of indirect evidence (Duncan-Jones 1982, 259-277).
- ¹¹⁷ Although there are methodological problems with connecting inscriptions to the visible archaeological remains.

- On this subject, see Fagan 1996. Although mainly writing about the (late) imperial period, his general observations are also valid for republican times.
- ¹¹⁸ Bendlin 2000, 134.
- ¹¹⁹ In Latium, water especially seems to have been connected with divine beings (Lowe 1978, 148).
- ¹²⁰ Edlund-Berry 1987, 35.
- ¹²¹ There is a possibility that such places were the focus of regional markets or were used as gathering places of some sort, but on the basis of the material they are not recognisable as such.
- ¹²² Bodei Giglioni 1977.
- ¹²³ The complexity of 'sacred treasures' as indicators of the possible independence of cult places is illustrated in Gatti 1996: the article deals with epigraphic evidence demonstrating urban officials spending financial resources of the sanctuary (*aere Fortunai*) on (re)construction activities in that same sanctuary. Clearly, such resources were meant to be spent for the benefit of the sanctuary only, but management of the funds was in the hands of magistrates.
- ¹²⁴ After the Battle of Filippi in 42 both Marc Anthony and Octavian needed money and land to pay their troops and reward their veterans. For this purpose, Octavian turned to several Latial sanctuaries for loans (App. *B. civ.* 5.22.87, 5.24.97), suggesting that at least some of them had no doubt considerable sums of money at their disposal.
- ¹²⁵ Bodei Giglioni 1977, 42-43. Land could be consecrated by the state to gods or priestly colleges, but this remained essentially part of the *ager publicus* (Bodei Giglioni 1977, 39). There is at least some epigraphical evidence which does support the idea of land ownership by Italic sanctuaries. For instance, for the 4th and 3rd centuries we know of at least two sanctuaries with estates in Campania, and one on Sicily (Ampolo 1992, 25). However, such evidence does not (yet) exist for Latium, and may indeed have been the exception rather than the rule.
- ¹²⁶ Bodei Giglioni 1977, 57-58.
- ¹²⁷ See Morel 1989-1990 for an example at Teano (ancient Teanum Sidicinum), in the direct vicinity of Latium.
- ¹²⁸ Active involvement in trade in the East has been suggested recently for the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste (Calò 2003, 63-64).
- ¹²⁹ Bodei Giglioni 1977; Bendlin 2000, 134.
- ¹³⁰ Bodei Giglioni 1977, 41-42. It is archaeologically impossible to deduce permanent occupation simply from the existence of structures. It may have been true for most cult places that personnel did not permanently reside on or near the premises. See Egelhaaf-Gaiser 2000, 407-425, for a contrary view of cult personnel.
- ¹³¹ In regions outside Latium, the administrative function of sanctuaries has been frequently stressed. See, for example, Letta 1992; Bispham 2007.
- ¹³² One fifth of the sites with building remains dated to the 2nd and 1st century do not have any evidence of votive material, either in this period or before. Furthermore, about one half of the sites with building remains of this same period only produced evidence of votive material dating to the period before the 2nd century. Bouma also noted the curious discrepancy between the absence of votive material and the presence of sacred structures (Bouma 1996 I, 217 n. 9).
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Investigating the impact of Roman urbanisation on the landscape of the Potenza Valley: A Report on Fieldwork in 2007

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Abstract

This paper reports on a set of intensive interdisciplinary field operations by a Belgian team of Ghent University in 2007 in the Marche region of central Adriatic Italy. Most of the interventions, comprising geophysical prospections, geomorphologic observations, aerial photography, surface artifact surveys, excavations, topographic surveys and pottery studies, aim at a better understanding of the developing Romanisation of this part of Picenum and the rapid urbanization of the area from the late Republic onwards. Quite spectacular are the results of combined remote sensing work on such towns as the coastal colony Potentia and the interior municipium Trea, with unusually detailed mapping of the majority of public and private town structures. In Potentia these intra-site and peri-urban surveys are now also being checked in the field with focused excavations on a town gate and an amphora workshop. Also important are original contributions towards a better comprehension of the town-landscape nexus, involving the discovery of roads, cemeteries, aqueducts and quarries discovered near the four Roman cities. Finally new observations concerning the pre-Roman situation of centrally organized settlement and its links with the establishment of more Roman style towns, add much to the debate about the relatively late urbanization of this Adriatic region.

INTRODUCTION (FV)

Since 2000 a team from Ghent University¹ actively investigates the occupation history of the valley of the river Potenza in the central part of the Italian region Marche. Main objectives of this multi-disciplinary archaeological research are the study of settlement change and of the evolution of complexity of society during the Picene (Iron Age), Roman and early Medieval periods (ca 1000 BC-1000 AD). During the first years of fieldwork most activities were concentrated on a diachronic approach of the rural areas within this 80 km long valley between the Apennines and the Adriatic Sea.² In 2006 a second phase of intensive fieldwork started, now with a clear emphasis on the Roman period and on the development in space and time of the four Roman towns in the valley, their late Iron Age precursors and their systematically exploited hinterland.³ Different aspects of Roman town formation and of the impact of Romanisation and urbanisation on the Potenza valley landscape will be studied, in close relation with the Central Italian background and developments between the 3rd century BC and the end of Roman dominance.

In this report the PVS team wishes to present the main results of a wide range of field activities deployed in the valley of the Potenza during 2007.⁴ They were partly obtained thanks to intensive collaboration with invited teams of geophysical and topographical experts from the Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton, the British School at Rome, the Katholieke Hogeschool Gent and the University of Ljubljana.⁵

As is reflected in the present report this year's geo-archaeological field investigations generally centred on the lower and middle valley of the Potenza. All four towns located in these parts from East to West, namely *Potentia*, *Ricina*, *Trea* and *Septempe*, were systematically monitored from the air, with aerial photography missions in spring and summer. In the lower valley, the coastal town of *Potentia* was the object of much attention. Several remote sensing operations were conducted here and excavations, partly to control the survey results, started in a western part of the town area. Some of the preliminary results of these digs are also presented here. Furthermore, a trial excavation was initiated on an amphora production site in the suburban area of the colony, on the territory

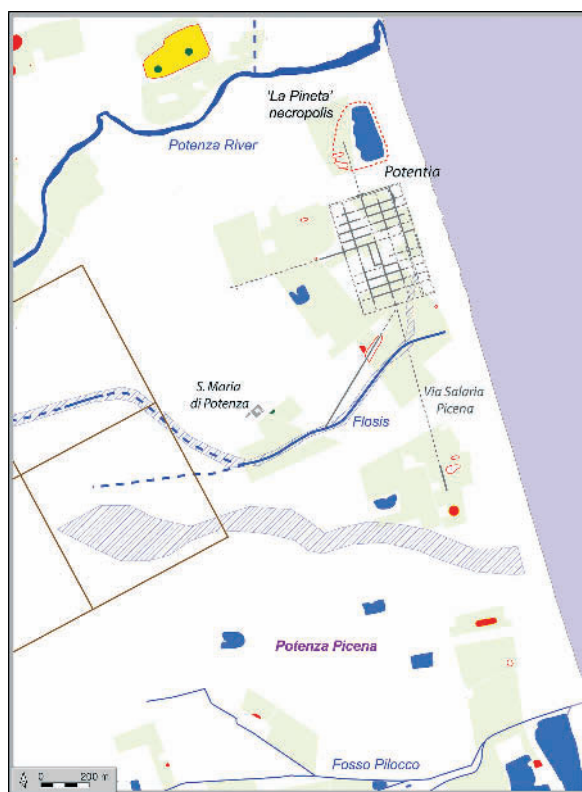


Fig. 1. River mouth area in the lower Potenza valley during Roman times with integration of the most important geo-archaeological data: the colony of Potentia, the road network, suburban settlements and cemeteries and the Roman course of the river Potenza (ancient Flosis).

Recanati developed. Through a combination of surveys by the PVS-team,⁶ involving extensive aerial photography, studies of archive aerial photographs and systematic intensive surface collection survey, and punctual excavations undertaken in two areas by the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche*,⁷ much is now known about the layout of the town (fig. 1). The aerial photographs have predominantly revealed the road layout of the colony and the evidence confirms that *Potentia* has a regular street grid layout oriented on a NNW-SSE alignment. The wall, enclosing the circa 18 ha large rectangular town, has also been identified in most areas and the position of at least three (north, south and west) gates is now known. Some internal structures are visible in the aerial photographs and the excavations in the monumental centre unearthed a Republican temple complex bounded by a portico and surrounded by other buildings. Excavations in the vicinity of the temple complex revealed shops fronting onto the *decumanus maximus* and various other structures, some with mosaic flooring. The excavations indicated that the town centre had been partly rebuilt in the late 3rd and 4th century AD, while the intensive surface collection survey and study of materials confirmed a chronology dating from the Late Republican to the Late Imperial period, with a gradual abandonment from the 6th century onwards.

New topographic observations (FV, GV, SDS)

Previously⁸ we have demonstrated that active aerial photography from a low flying aircraft, taking oblique (digital) images, is one of the major survey techniques being applied with success in the Potenza valley. New material, from monitoring flights in 2007 over *Potentia* concerns a number of traces, mostly crop marks, observed west and south of the ancient town area. In the central western area of the urban core, the much stressed growth of grass and crops during the period April-July gave away a very clear and more than 100 m long trace of the incoming *decumanus maximus* (fig. 2). Revealed from the air is an almost 10 m wide linear strip of crop marks indicating the road bed, before and after entering the west gate (see further). *Extra muros* it displays a central darker feature to

of present day Potenza Picena.

In the middle valley we focused our activities on the two towns positioned on a *diverticulum* of the *Via Flaminia*, connecting Nocera Umbra with the harbour town Ancona. Both Roman *municipia*, known as *Trea* and *Septempeda*, and the Iron Age hilltop site of Monte Pitino, located in an intermediate position between the Roman towns, were subjected to different degrees of surface survey. In this report we present the most important results from this first campaign of integrated geophysical, geomorphological and artefact surveys on these three sites that are crucial for understanding the evolution of grouped and complex settlements in this part of the valley.

THE ROMAN COLONY OF *POTENTIA* AND ITS HINTERLAND

The colony of *Potentia* (founded in 184 BC) is situated about 100m from the present Adriatic coast on a beach ridge near the original mouth of the river Potenza, south of the modern town of Porto Recanati. Its valley bottom site is now mostly taken in by agricultural land, as the city was abandoned in early medieval times for locations on nearby hilltops, where the towns of Potenza Picena and



Fig. 2. Detailed aerial view from the north of the wide linear crop mark in grassland (upper left) and grain (right) of the decumanus maximus in the extramural area near the W-gate of Potentia.



Fig. 3. View from the northwest of the crop marks associated with Roman and post-Roman river beds of the Potenza at its ancient mouth, south of the colony. Some features are probably associated with harbour facilities.

be interpreted as the drainage system, which later on, at a considerable distance from the town wall, changes into a lateral ditch. Along this important extra mural road, connecting the town with its *centuriatio* system and ultimately along the Potenza plain with the *Via Flaminia*, we remarked at least three probable traces of large funeral monuments. As is the case with the so-called 'Toraccio', a still standing *opus caementicium* core of a Roman funerary monument at several hundred meters west of town, this new information clearly confirms the presence in this area of a major cemetery, logically bound to the outgoing road (fig. 1).

Immediately south of the urban centre, crop marks in grain fields showed clearer than ever the position of several ancient flood streams of the river Potenza (fig. 3). As was demonstrated through

earlier geomorphologic research (Goethals et al. 2006), they represent several phases of the Roman and post-Roman river bed. Some indications on the 2007 photographs point towards the presence of harbour facilities in this area, quite close to the southern gate of the town. If confirmed by further fieldwork we would have proof for the existence of a harbour area at the river mouth in direct connection with one of the main entrances to the town and with the road leading towards an attested stone bridge over the Potenza at Casa dell'Arco (fig. 1).

This river mouth area clearly delineates the southern edge of town, a phenomenon which is also reflected in the micro-topography of the beach ridge on which *Potentia* was erected. The geology of the sandy beach ridge shows the presence of local gravel beds lying under a thin layer of alluvial clay. To understand the exact topographic setting of the urban area we finalised during the 2007 field season a detailed micro-topographic map of the site.⁹ This image (fig. 4) shows very clearly the configuration of the beach ridge on which the rectangular town plan was imposed. It is an oblong, almost oval area, only centrally connected to the slightly higher interior land of the Potenza plain west of the city. Interesting is also the remarkable central depression, which as we know from earlier geophysical prospections coincides with the area of the forum. The possible relationship of other small anomalies in the beach ridge topography with archaeological structures needs to be investigated further.

Geophysical surveys on Potentia (SH, LV)

Magnetometer survey (SH)

Between the 6th and 15th September 2007, a magnetic survey was undertaken by the Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton (APSS) and The British School at Rome.¹⁰ The survey aimed at locating and mapping the remains of sub-surface archaeological features in the southern and eastern parts of the town, which were the only remaining intra-mural areas still to be surveyed with this technique.¹¹ For this survey, grids of 30 m by 30 m were set out. They were orientated to ensure that the survey traverses crossed the line of potential archaeological features known from aerial photography at an angle of approximately 30 degrees.¹²

The results of the 2007 magnetometer survey were successful in developing and expanding upon the information gleaned from the 2004-2005 survey and extended our knowledge of the town's

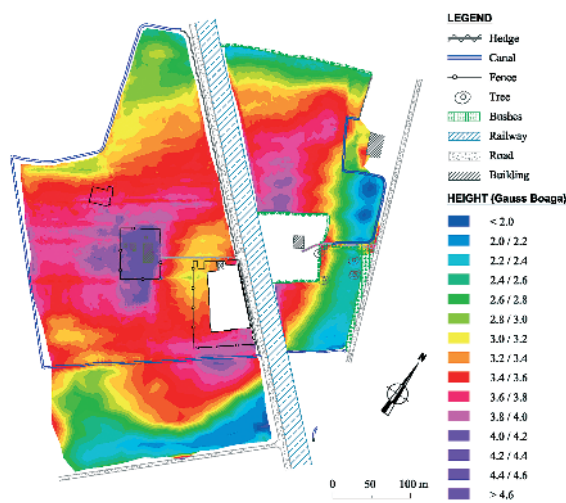


Fig. 4. Digital elevation model of the microtopography in the urban area of Potentia.



Fig. 5. Magnetometer results of three prospection campaigns in and around Potentia.

layout to the east of the railway line (fig. 5). The layout of the town clearly emerges from the survey results and a number of buildings, streets and open areas can be identified that in many instances add clarity to the findings from the previous season's work (fig. 6).

Overall, the street layout in the eastern half of the town conforms to the grid system defined by aerial photographs and the magnetometer survey of the western half of the town. The *insulae* located between the streets lack clarity with regard to the definition of individual buildings but some structures can be seen. It is thought that the effect of ploughing and the presence of vast quantities of building material within the soil mask the detection of buried structures. In some areas the magnetometer survey has successfully confirmed the presence of roads missing from the aerial photographs. The southern edge of the town to the west of the railway clearly demonstrates the destructive forces of the flooding river. This quadrant of the town has simply been washed away and the flood line is clearly visible. This phenomenon can also be seen in the southeast corner of the survey as the roads, buildings and general 'noise' or urban remains stop abruptly in this area.

The presence of a linear positive anomaly (fig. 6, m145 and m146) running parallel to one of the *cardines* appears to confirm the observation of a wide ditch and bank that would have originally demarcated the eastern extent of the primary phase of the town dating to its initial construction in 184 BC. This feature was supplanted, according to Livy, by the construction of the town wall



Fig. 6. Interpretation of the magnetometer survey in Potentia.

in 174 BC further to the east, thereby expanding the urban area of the colony.¹³ The continuation of the town wall in the eastern part of the survey area is much more distinct than in the west. The northern course of the circuit wall (fig. 6, m111 and m112) is marked by a strong positive anomaly that becomes wider to the west suggesting that this section of the wall may have been dismantled. The eastern course of the town wall (fig. 6, m113 and m114) is clearly visible although the possible (but still unproven) east marine gate is not evident in the results.

Perhaps the most pertinent discovery is the

area	excavation area	NE area	area near temple
antenna frequency (MHz)	250 and 500	500	250 and 500
traverse direction (parallel)	NE-SW (250 MHz) NW-SE (500 MHz)	W-E	SE-NW
operation mode	odometer (automatic distance measuring)		
inline distance between traces	0.05 m		
crossline distance between the profiles	0.5 m (250 MHz) and 0.25 m (500 MHz)		
sample interval within a trace	400 ps (250 MHz) and 200 ps (500 MHz)		
time window	100 ns (250 MHz) and 80 ns (500 MHz)		
number of stacked traces	8		
prospected surface	1200 m ² (250 MHz) 345 m ² (500 MHz)	2500 m ²	1140 m ² (250 MHz) 330 m ² (500 MHz)
prospection time	4 days	5 days	3 days

Table 1. Methodology of the GPR prospection at Potentia.

presence of a semicircular anomaly (fig. 6, *m144*) immediately east of the deserted farm building that occupies some space in this eastern part of town. The anomaly is presumed to be the trace of a theatre or *odeon*. The potential natural syncline of the landscape may account for its position and slight distortion to the alignment of the rest of the towns' layout. Comparative evidence derives from sites such as *Herculaneum* where the theatre clearly lies on slightly different orientation to the neighbouring streets. Measuring 30 m in length and about 28 m wide, the *Potentia* theatre would be relatively compact in size, but Roman theatres and *odeons* vary in proportions, and the well known *odeon* in Pompeii is just a little over these dimensions (de Vos 1988, 63).

Finally, a strange curvilinear anomaly in the northeastern part of the city (fig. 6, *m147*) presents an interesting dilemma. Usually, geophysical survey results can reveal very little about the chronology of structures (Keay et al. 2000, 9). However, in this instance it appears as though this feature postdates the layout of the town since it does not respect the alignment and appears to cut through the rigid orientation of the city grid.

Testing the georadar in Potentia (LV)

From 26 June until 14 July 2007, a ground-penetrating radar (GPR) survey was carried out by the PVS-team on three zones of *Potentia*. The first area had been identified as the possible location of the west gate of the colony on the basis of previous magnetometer and resistance surveys and aerial photographs. The aim of the GPR survey was to provide complementary information to the magnetometer and resistance surveys and to plan the excavation of the gate (see below). In the sec-

ond and the third area, respectively north and east of the presumed forum square, relatively clear building plans had been revealed by the magnetometer survey and here again the aim was to obtain additional information, in particular on the depth of the structures and the functions of the buildings.

With GPR, a three-dimensional model of the archaeological structures can be obtained. The technique has been used to detect walls, floors, roads, ditches and voids. The instrument used at *Potentia* was the Sensors & Software pulse EKKO PRO with 250 and 500 MHz antennas. The details on the survey methodology have been summarised in table 1.

Like the resistance survey, the GPR was used successfully to map the *decumanus maximus* running out of *Potentia* (fig. 7). Interestingly, the GPR imagery not only shows very clearly the east-west road, but also a north-south structure with the same characteristics, suggesting another possible road. The contrast between the soil and the remains of the town wall and gate, however, later well revealed by the excavations (see below), was much weaker and remained virtually undetected by the GPR.

In the area of the presumed bath complex, north of the forum, the GPR survey added little to the information known from the magnetometer survey, except for a few building traces west of the bath complex and clearer limits of the *decumanus maximus*. The contrasts detected were very weak and it is remarkable that only the shallow depth slices (up to approximately 40 cm) revealed archaeological features. This can only partly be explained by the poor conservation state of the remains (see the magnetometer survey). A high clay and moisture content of the soil may account for a high atten-

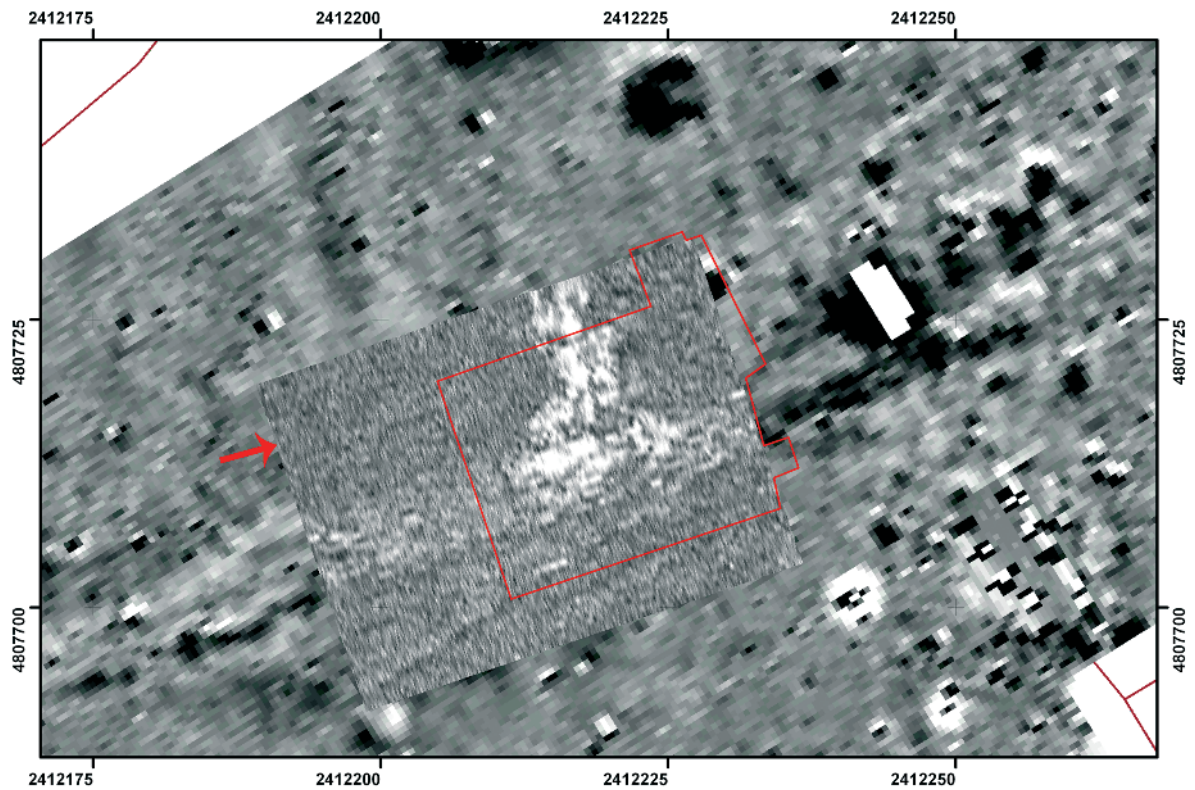


Fig. 7. GPR depth-slice of 50-60 cm, superimposed on the magnetometer data gathered by the Archaeological Prospection Services of Southampton and the British School at Rome. The excavation area is indicated in red.

uation of the energy and hence a low depth penetration.

In the third area (fig. 8), near the excavated temple complex, the GPR survey confirmed the results from the magnetometer prospection and identified some additional building structures south and southwest of the sanctuary. They are closely related to the road running parallel to the west of the Republican sanctuary and to the forum square presumed to lie to the west of it. That the 500 MHz antenna was able to detect these features may be explained by their proximity to the excavation trench. Often the area around a trench has dried out, allowing for a better depth penetration compared to the rest of the site.

Excavations near the western gate of the city (FC, SD, FV, HV, PM)

In July 2007 a first excavation campaign was carried out by the Department of Archaeology of Ghent University on the legally protected part of the site of the Roman colony of *Potentia* (so-called Casa Storani site).¹⁴ The investigated area consists of a 20 m by 20 m trench, in a second phase ex-

tended eastward by a strip of about 5 m wide (figs. 9, 10). After removing the circa 45 cm deep surface layer, manual stratigraphic excavations were conducted during a first period of three weeks. During the full excavation period traditional and near-infrared aerial photographs were taken on a daily basis with the use of a 'Helikite', a helium balloon combined with a kite (see below).

The reasons for the excavations were partly to test the results from earlier survey interventions by the PVS team, and thus contribute to methodological progress in this line of fieldwork. In particular the intensive aerial photography monitoring, the study of archive aerial photographs, the artefact surveys, the geophysical surveys with three methods (magnetic, electric resistivity and GPR), the geomorphologic auguring and micro-topographical measurements had given clear indications for archaeological structures connected with the western gate and wall of the city in this area. Furthermore, in order to obtain more details of the layout of the entrance and defence facilities of the Roman colony, and comprehend its stratigraphic and chronologic complexity throughout the whole Roman era, it was decided that excavation work was

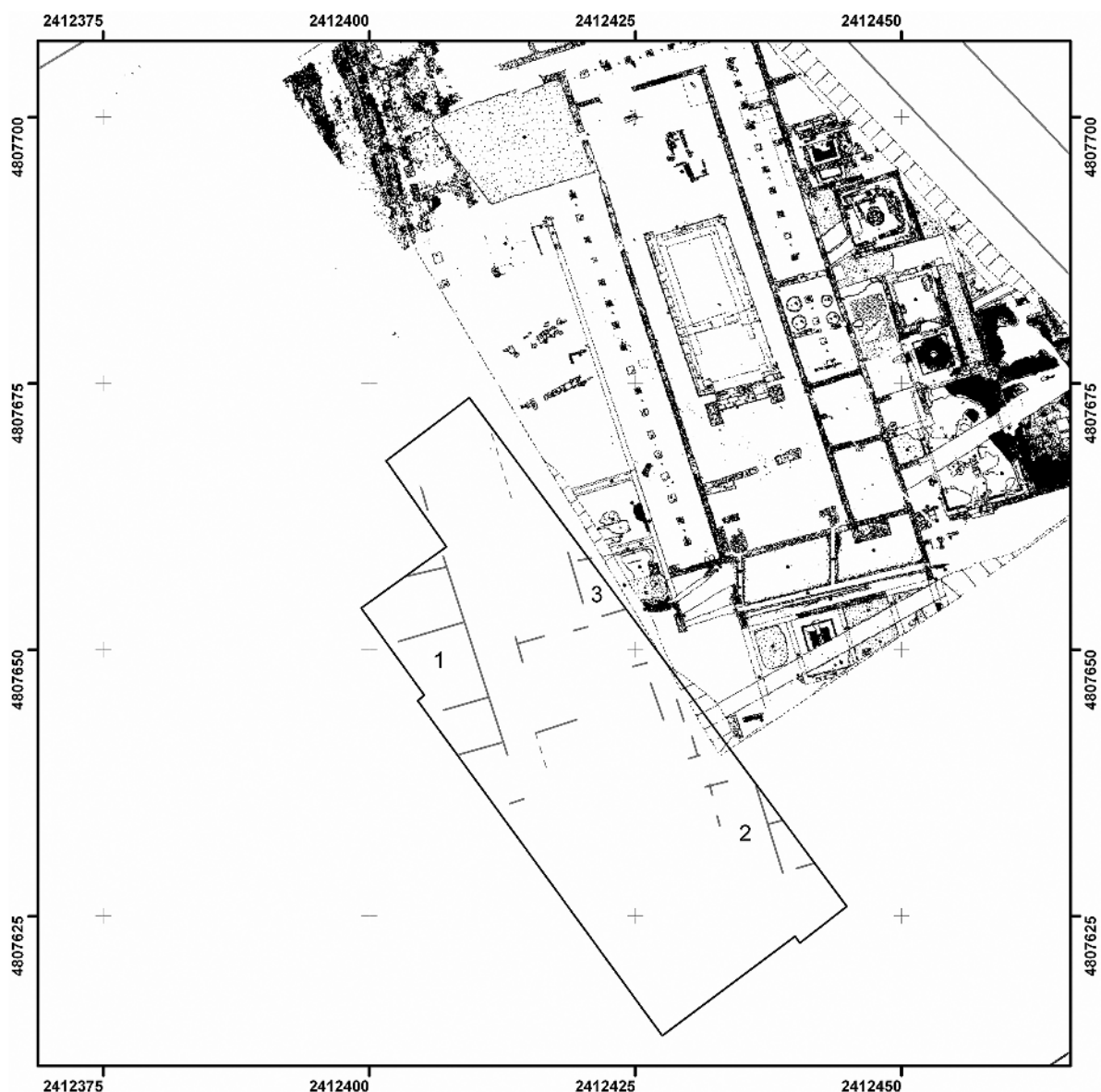


Fig. 8. Interpretation of the results of GPR survey near the temple in the central area of Potentia: 1. Series of parallel rectangular buildings south of the forum, 2-3. buildings adjacent to the temple area. The limits of the survey area are indicated in black.

needed. The excavation was, in fact, motivated by the desire to verify not only the location of the city gate, but also to get a clearer picture of the surrounding area, where, on the basis of aerial photographs, we could suppose a link between the western section of the city wall and a road, lined with funerary monuments, leading into the town from the west. Further main aims were to establish

the existence of architectural remains and their degree of preservation, as potential factor for the development of an archaeological park, and to create the basis for a pottery reference typology of the finds in Potentia.¹⁵

The large dimensions of the trench and the tenacious consistency of the soil, obviously not cultivated in recent years, regrettably allowed us only to investigate the surface of the first archaeological structures identified just below the removed vegetation layer. These structures were well defined and distinct.

The most recent activities consist of rectangular ditches attributable to post-medieval agricultural

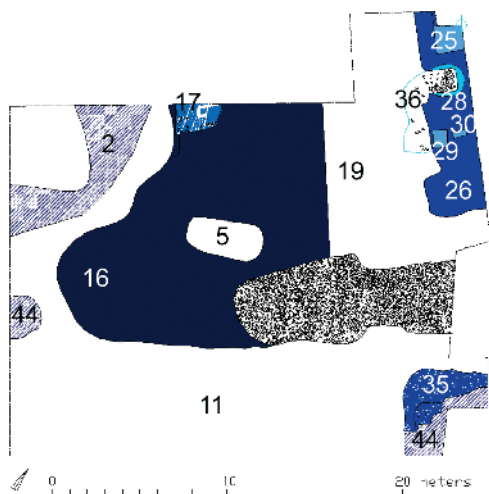


Fig. 9. Plan of the major traces excavated so far in the W-gate area.

labouring (fig. 11) and a rectangular pit located in the middle of the trench (US 5, 6). Still impossible to date are some ditch-type structures (US 2, 44) filled with apparently sterile sandy silt, but their relationship with the Roman road system described below and also partly visible on aerial photographs (fig. 2) is not wholly unlikely.

But, as is clearly visible on an aerial photograph taken shortly after the mechanical opening of the trench (fig. 10), the element occupying the most space within the excavation area, appearing almost directly under the removed top soil, is a type of platform with a hardened surface (fig. 9, US 16), which extends in the form of an inverted 'L', and apparently continues to the north of the excavated area (fig. 10, 1 and 2). On the NW edge of this platform, a conglomerate structure of violet coloured pozzolana ash, with *caementa* of stones and brick, with a maximum thickness of 15 cm (width 2.70 m; length 1.70 m) and a NW-SE orientation, could be observed.

The extension of the trench to the west, corresponding to the area of the presumed town wall, revealed in the SE corner of the trench, what appears to be the nucleus of the city wall (fig. 9, US 34/35). It consists of a yellowish conglomerate of badly worn sandstone bonded with clay. In its centre only one quasi intact worked (trapezoidal) block of sandstone remains (fig. 10, 4). The characteristics of the archaeological trace, and its irregular profile, point to heavy spoliation. A pit, now filled by a layer of sandy silt, bears witness to this activity. More or less, on the same alignment of the wall nucleus, starting from the oppo-

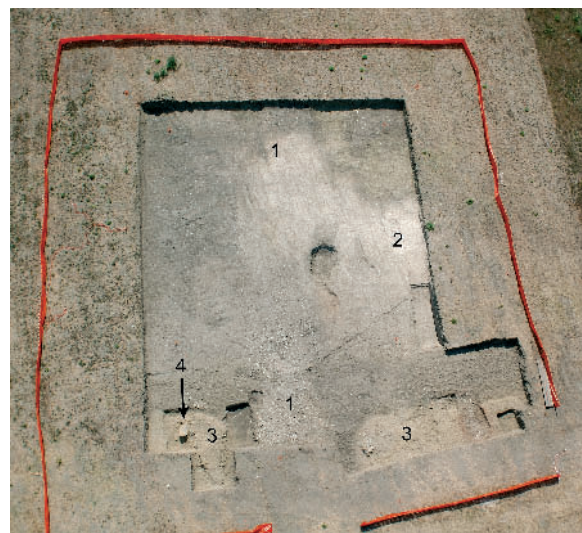


Fig. 10. The excavation area as seen from above: 1. road, 2. platform, 3. foundations of town wall and gate, 4. remaining building block in spoliated wall/gate.



Fig. 11. Top layer of the Roman road 'platform' with traces of sub-recent ploughing.

site corner of the trench, a strip, approx. 3.2 m wide, composed of a yellowish sandy layer of presumably severely worn sandstone, can also be interpreted as the remains of the town wall (fig. 9, US 26). During this first campaign the remains of the town wall were not excavated further. A clear interruption of its trace, together with a widening of the spoliation trench in this area, indicates the presence here of an entrance with gate building (fig. 10, 3). It could already be determined that the wall was cut by several traces post-dating its construction: they are recent (tree?) pits (fig. 9, US 25, 29, 30) and an oval pit (fig. 9, US 28), with a burnt edge, typical of a small kiln. The excavation of this stratigraphical unit has not



Fig. 12. Remains of the last pavement of the decumanus maximus just outside the W-gate.

yet been completed and we are not able to determine the exact dimensions or function of the possible kiln at this moment. However, late Roman material discovered in the unit, seems to point to possible remnants of production activity during the last phases of the town, on the remains of the town wall that by then had already been spoliated.

In the zone corresponding to the gap between US 34/35 and US 26, in line with the (via aerial photographs) presumed road that reaches the town from the west, an irregular 'cobbled' area (fig. 9, US 18 and fig. 10, 1), with a NE-SW orientation, was identified. This evidently corresponds to the ultimate phase of the Roman road, flanked by funerary monuments outside the town, and entering the colony as the *decumanus maximus*. This rudimentary phase was paved with various types of stone and a large amount of re-used Roman building material, especially roof-tiles (fig. 12). Also re-used in this irregular pavement was a fragment of a sepulchral epitaph. It is clear that the identified road phase covers the hardened platform. The cleaning of the rectangular pit in the centre of the excavation area (depth 1.10 m) and the realisation of a trench deepened near the northern border of the investigated zone, have revealed some further data. The platform US 16 consists of a very compact and hard layer (ca 35 cm thick) of gravel and sand, almost impossible to excavate manually. It covers a thin layer of burnt clay (US 20) mingled with many ceramic fragments, especially brick fragments and pieces of Roman plain ware. This material dates essentially to the 1st century BC and the 1st century AD. More precise chronological data were further rendered by the coin finds in this unit. Coins from this part of the gravel package were identified as belonging to Augustus (1 as), Caligula (1 as), Nero (1 as, 1 sestertius) and a 'fresh' piece of Titus or

Domitian (1 as), suggesting a probable date in late Flavian times for this phase of the road platform.¹⁶

The thin layer US 20 covers another compact layer of gravel and sand, no less than 45 cm thick (US 21). We hope to conduct a more extensive excavation of the above mentioned units during the next campaign, in order to determine if the two layers (US 16 and US 21) are remnants of one or more phases in road construction. These layers could be the so-called *rudus*, a layer of sand or gravel and sand combined, sometimes bonded with clay, just below the actual pavement of many well constructed Roman roads. If this is confirmed, we can presume that a road deviated from the main western road (*decumanus maximus*), continued northwards running *extra-muros* and parallel to the western town wall. It is already clear now that the Roman builders took great care to overcome the problems of extra-mural town circulation in the somewhat lower-lying and wetter immediate surroundings of their important western city gate. The possible crossroads identified here, acted at the same time as a suitable and stable open space for typical extra-mural activities, such as for loading and downloading goods.

Trial excavation of an amphora workshop in Potenza Picena (PM)

As part of the investigations of the impact of the Roman colonial town on its territory, the PVS-team started a small trial excavation on the site of an amphora workshop, located at some 1.5 km south of the city, close to the coastline. This site of Casa Valentini, in the municipality of Potenza Picena, was probably already identified as an amphora production centre by G. Annibaldi in 1951 and a year later by inspector Athos of the Soprintendenza.¹⁷ In 1969 or even before, due to the extraction of gravel, the site was partly destroyed. When Liliana Mercado visited the spot in that year, the top soil of the preserved part was already removed by the engines. The site was further cleared and most of the archaeological material was recovered from the heaps of the already removed top layers (Mercando 1979). In the south of the uncovered part, trial trenches were dug of which only one revealed archaeological traces, belonging to a small cemetery of the Flavian period and/or the first quarter of the 2nd century AD. A plan of the structures was drawn and the whole complex interpreted as a rural exploitation. After some years the site seemed forgotten and apparently there was confusion with two plots. Indeed, for unknown reasons Mercado published the



Fig. 13. Aerial view of the amphora workshop site in Potenza Picena during the trial excavation in 2007. A major part of the site is fully destroyed by gravel exploitation and is since long transformed in a lake.

site as situated at Casa Marconi (km 333 on the SS Adriatica) instead of Casa Valentini, and did not interpret, or at least discuss it, as an amphora production site. In 2002 the site was noticed again during the surveys of Ghent University and immediately interpreted again as an amphora production site. In the hope to get some more information about the workshop and to confront this with other production sites recognized during the PVS-surveys in the lower Potenza valley a small excavation was started.¹⁸ The main objectives of this dig were: the definitive identification of the site as a workshop and the identification of the different types of amphorae produced here, the determination of the stratigraphic context and chronology of the site, the determination of the nature of the structures or at least what is left of them and a good sampling of material for petrographic and chemical analysis. As the excavation on this site needs at least a second field campaign, we will not present the results with much detail. It suffices to summarize here the main observations so far, in the three major zones of investigation: the northern profile near the waterfront (where the mechanical destruction of the site ended; fig. 13), our trench 1 with the remains of Building 1 in the eastern part of the site (fig. 14) and trench 2 with the younger Building 2 (fig. 15) and the later 'pressing stone', covering or cutting older levels of kiln debris and amphora wasters, and a wall of sandstone and tiles.

Thanks to our new fieldwork the site is now definitely to be identified as an amphora production site. Four amphora types were produced here: a



Fig. 14. Trench 1 in Potenza Picena: general view of walls belonging to Building 1.



Fig. 15. Trench 2 in Potenza Picena: general view of the excavation of Building 2.

transition of the Greco-Italic to the Lamboglia types, Lamboglia 2, Dressel 6A and Dressel 6B. Stamps on different types give also some information about the producers of these amphorae (fig. 17). The stratigraphy and the structures of the site are closely investigated and better understood, even if some problems remain to be solved. A valuable chronological framework for the site can also be presented. On the base of the relative chronology (stratigraphy and mode of wall constructions) and the typo-chronology of the amphorae and some other ceramics found here, we have tried tentatively to present a first evaluation of the different occupations of the amphora production site of Casa Valentini (table 2).

There is no indication of production of other ceramics, such as tiles, common ware or lamps, only amphorae of the above mentioned types were

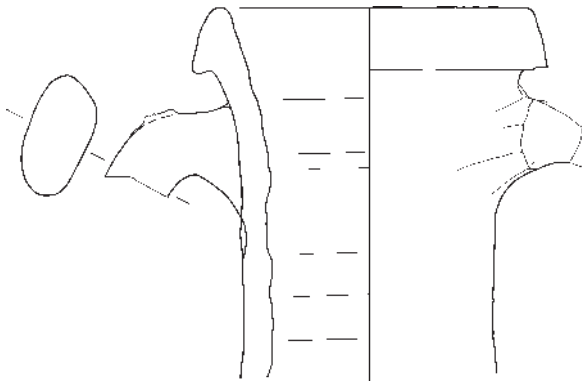


Fig. 16. Upper part of transition Greco-Italic/Lamboglia 2 amphora found during the digs.



Fig. 17. Stamps on Lamboglia 2 amphorae of Onesim(us).

produced. The production of the transition of the Greco-Italic to the Lamboglia types is ascertained by some fragments, especially a well preserved upper part (fig. 16). Charcoal fragments were found in the neck and immediately around the find spot. The production of Lamboglia 2 types is ascer-

tained by many amphora fragments, kiln debris and different sorts of wasters (some of amphorae). The production of two phases of Dressel 6A and 6B is ascertained by many amphora fragments, maybe by some kiln debris and most probably by one kiln structure (Building 2), but this has to be investigated further. Animal bones, different kinds of eating vessels and pottery for food preparation, lamps and a glass fragment prove that the people involved in the amphora production lived at least partially on the site, even if some of the finds could belong to the later rural phase.

It is not clear in the descriptions or from the ground-plan published by Mercando to which building phases the different constructions belong. It could be that most of them visible on the plan were built in the last phase of the amphora production as Building 2 certainly does. It looks as if they are established around a central courtyard. There is a good chance that Building 2 was a kiln of the last production phase (phase 4). The recent excavation revealed also with certainty an older building phase, but not enough remains to have any idea of its structural organization. The function of Building 1 may have been the working place of potters. It is not clear if the building was re-used in the later production phases. The continued study of this site and of the results of the surveys around *Potentia* has to fit in a larger framework of research on the production, export and consumption of Middle Adriatic amphorae.

INTEGRATED GEO-ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEYS IN AND AROUND THE MUNICIPIUM OF TREIA

The Roman town of *Treia* lies in the middle valley of the Potenza, some 30 km from the Adriatic shore, on a dominant plateau, one km northwest of present day Treia. Like *Potentia* the former urban site is now mostly agrarian land, except for the presence of the important abbey SS. Crocifisso. The

Phases	Chronology	Production	Stamps	Structures
Phase 1	125/100-75 BC	transition Gr.-It./Lamb. 2		construction 1: only amphorae recognized, no structures or structural elements; US20, 21
Phase 2	75-50/25 BC	Lamboglia 2	Onesim(us)	construction 2: kiln debris and wasters; Building 1; 'pit' in N Profile (post-hole? ditch? pit?); wall 50 in Trench 2; US22
Phase 3	50/25-1 BC	Dressel 6A, Dressel 6B	?L Lae()	construction 3: amphorae recognized; presumed kiln debris; maybe second phase Building 1; US23
Phase 4	1-25/50 AD	Dressel 6A, Dressel 6B		construction 4: Building 2, probably a kiln; US23,24
Phase 5	25/50-125 AD	rural estate		construction 5: 'pressing-stone'; amphora wall basin; reuse buildings; necropolis; specific archaeological layer not found

Table 2. Evaluation of the different occupations of the amphora production site of Casa Valentini.

only remaining visible ruins are a small section of the city walls connected to the partly preserved western gate. According to the *Itinerarium Antonini* the Roman city was located on the *Via Flaminia per Picenum Anconam*, a diverticulum from the main Rome-Rimini road, leading via *Septempeda*, *Trea* and *Auximum* towards Ancona, and its excellent position in a fertile section of the Potenza valley also explains its development into a small but flourishing centre for the area. Possibly grown out of a pre-Roman settlement (see below) *Trea* became a Roman *municipium* shortly after 49 BC¹⁹ and knew some continuity into the early Middle Ages, when the much decimated remaining habitation was restructured in connection with an old 'pieve', to be located at the site of the SS. Crocefisso.

Notwithstanding the fact that *Trea* received good scientific attention these last 30 years, information about the precise location, extent and urban organization of the Roman city remained long very limited and partly hypothetical (Vermeulen 2004). Intensive aerial photography surveys, followed up by surface artefact prospections by the PVS-team since 2003 have dramatically changed this situation and we now have good information on the exact location of the town area and wall, the organisation of the forum and the location of a number of streets and *insulae* in the intra-mural area.²⁰ The purpose of the intensive 2007 campaign in this area was threefold: first we wanted to deepen knowledge of the intra-mural town structures and confirm and refine the remote sensing data obtained so far, in order to understand the internal urbanisation of this small city. Secondly we wanted to check the hypothesis that this town grew out of a pre-Roman core and thirdly we needed a better understanding of the suburban developments around *Trea* and of the impact of the gradual urbanisation on landscape use by the Romans.²¹

*Geophysical prospections on the intra-mural area of Treia (BM)*²²

The geophysical research strategy was prepared corresponding to the exceptionally evident crop marks on aerial photography from April 2003 (Vermeulen et al. 2005), followed by archaeological survey together with research design adaptation deduced from several geophysical explorations in similar natural environments on pedosequences of gravel and sand (Mušič 1999). The basic geology on the city site of *Trea* consists of quaternary (Pleistocene) alluvial fan deposits creating a terrace of the first order, composed mainly of poorly sorted sandy-gravel sediments deposited in the foothills

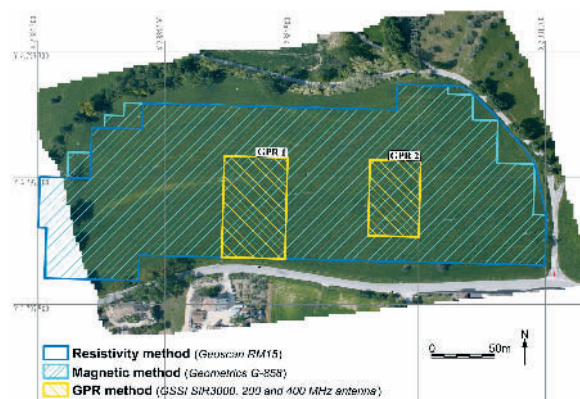


Fig. 18. *Trea* survey 2007: geophysical methods used and their respective survey areas.

of the Apennine mountains.²³ The geological surroundings consist of Tertiary, mainly clastic sedimentary rocks, some of which are plausible source areas for the sandstone and limestone building materials used on the site of *Trea* (see below). Brief on-site surface inspection of stone materials revealed sandstone as prevailing building material, with more limited numbers of limestone fragments.

Ultra shallow high resolution geophysics is designed for revealing small and shallow buried targets and is especially sensitive for high frequency lateral and vertical changes in the physical properties beneath the soil, which are normally the result of intensive ploughing, consecutive destruction of shallow buried architectural remains as well as natural variations in top soil structure and texture. All of these parameters contribute to soil homogeneity and anisotropy (Carr 1982). Geophysical prospection is actually a ground based remote sensing method and therefore significantly influenced by the top soil conditions. There is no unified processing flow for reducing background noise and contrary enhancing 'signal to noise ratio'. The most creative research design makes use of a multi-method approach (fig. 18) with application of several independent geophysical techniques (Mušič et al. 2007). The geophysical prospections at *Trea* incorporated, therefore, the application of the resistivity method with Twinpole array (Geoscan RM15), the magnetic method with caesium magnetometer (Geometrics G-858), measurements of the apparent magnetic susceptibility of soil and stone construction fragments (Kappameter KT-5) and the Ground Penetrating Radar method using 200 and 400 MHz antennas (GSSI SIR3000). A profile separation of 0.5 m was used for the magnetic and the GPR methods, while resistivity measurements were

taken at a distance of 1 m between profiles. Separation between measuring points along the profiles for magnetic survey was 0.15 m, for resistivity readings 1 m and for GPR traces 0.04 m. The geophysical field campaign was organized in September 2007 when conditions for productive acquisition for all of the used geophysical techniques were favourable. As the archaeological results derived from our multi-method approach are very important, and the influence of the strategy crucial, we will first elaborate shortly on the distinct methods applied here, before discussing some of the results.

The geoelectric resistivity method (*fig. 19*)

The geoelectrical mapping with twinpole array (Geoscan RM15) assures the high lateral resolution and therefore suitability for the detection of high resistivity vertical structures also in the subsurface medium with low signal to noise ratio. The good lateral resolution and therefore capability of discerning vertical structures is a consequence of integrating resistivity values over a broad depth range (Appel et al. 1997). On the other side, its potential for differentiating features and boundaries at different depth is relatively weak. Anyhow, the quality of geophysical prospection results is normally not significantly reduced with this deficiency because the Ground Probing Radar method (GPR) is more effective in resolving stratigraphical sequences at shallow depths than any resistivity configuration. Advantage of the twinpole array is also the relatively high depth of investigation compared with the spacing of the mobile electrodes, which assures appropriate sensitivity to the depth of approx. 1.5 m for a mobile probe separation of only 0.5 m. In an environment with optimal humidity of the soil, this resistivity method clearly shows lateral changes in resistivity caused by shallow buried archaeological architectural remains to the depth of 1.5 m, which in this particular case can be considered as an optimal effective depth of investigation. From the high quality aerial photography of the Ghent team, it can be assumed, that the top part of architectural remains appears shallow below the present day surface, which is then 'level zero' for geoelectrical remote sensing.

Although the weather conditions were generally favourable for geophysical prospection, the background resistivity was not entirely homogeneous due to the varying moisture content in the soil during the measurements conducted on different days. A few raining days affected measure-

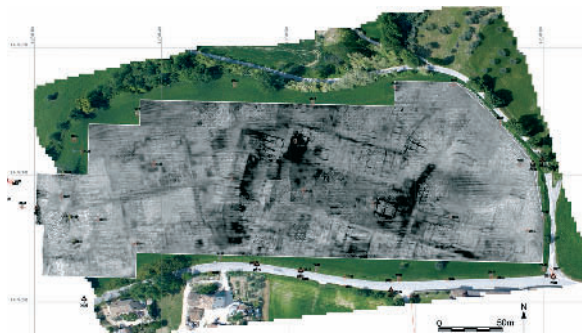


Fig. 19. Results of the resistivity survey on Trea represented in grey scales with histogram manipulation.

ments to a lesser extent. Results show that the soil moisture content, and hence the depth range and the contrast in the results were not significantly influenced by these circumstances (*fig. 19*). Impact of variable moisture content on resistance readings was successfully reduced by applying adequate data processing flow using Geoplot 3.0 software (Geoscan Research): e.g. edge matching, power function and histogram manipulation. Geoelectrical mapping was executed with a spacing of 0.5 m on a regular grid of 1 m covering in total an area of 46.140 m². The measured resistance values were interpolated using a bi-cubic spline-smoothing algorithm (Davis 1973) on a regular grid of 0.5 m.

The results from geoelectric mapping are presented as the electrical resistance (R , Ω) and not as resistivity (ρ , Ωm). This is because at archaeological sites, where the research substratum is heterogeneous, only a qualitative analysis of the results, based on the relative differences between the measured resistance values are important. The general impression based on resistivity data can be expressed also for estimation of the preservation level of the architectural remains (Mušič et al. 2007). It is evident, that modern intensive agricultural land use significantly blurs the resistivity response of some structures due to intensive ploughing and consecutive significant wall destruction, associated with ruination material close to the surface. Nevertheless, results are clear enough to enable reliable interpretation, especially in combination with the magnetic method.

The magnetic method (*fig. 20*)

Measurements of the magnetic susceptibility of soil, limestone and sandstone fragments revealed significant differences between the susceptibility of building materials and the surrounding soil

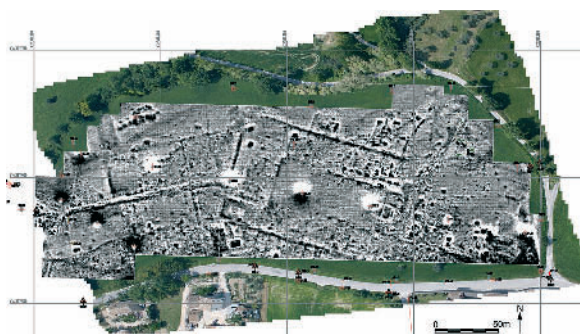


Fig. 20. Results of magnetic survey. Dynamic range of represented values of magnetic field density: -4 nT/m, $+4$ nT/m.

and much lesser distinction between building material itself. Besides sandstone and limestone fragments, also bricks and tiles with much stronger susceptibility caused by thermoremanent magnetization can be frequently encountered among the surface material collection (table 3).

The magnetic method was used for revealing remains with an induced type of magnetization generated by building materials made of stone blocks on one side and objects with strong thermoremanent magnetization, which is characteristic for architectural elements made of bricks, kilns, hearths and destruction layers with ceramic tiles on the other side. Other geophysical methods do not reliably recognize these types of remains.

Measurements of the variations in the total Earth's magnetic field density in a (pseudo)gradient mode (nT/m) are used much more frequently in magnetic prospecting for archaeological targets, than measurements such as of the total magnetic field using only one sensor (nT). The gradient mode is strictly speaking a high-pass filter; it amplifies the weak magnetic anomalies of small structures at shallow depths (signal) and eliminates long-wave anomalies that are a result of the geological background (noise). The resolution in measuring the total field density of magnetometer Geometrics G-858 that was used in our research is 0.1 nT/m, with an acquisition speed of 0.2 s. The distance between the magnetic profiles measured 0.5 m, and readings of the magnetic field density were taken at 15 cm intervals in the direction of the profiles. For a more reliable interpretation using the magnetic method, theoretical 2D archaeological models were applied (e.g.: Eppelbaum et al. 2001, Mušič 1999, Mušič et al. 2007). These are generated on the basis of the on-site measured values of the (pseudo gradient) magnetic field density and on comparison with the calculated

Soil (mean values)		
Topsoil/Surface	Soil profile/Bottom	Soil profile/Top
0.68x10-3SI	0.37x10-3SI	0.57x10-3SI
Building material (mean values)		
Sandstone	Limestone	Bricks
0.08x10-3SI	0.03x10-3SI	3.23x10-3SI

Table 3. Apparent magnetic susceptibility values measured by Kappameter KT-5 on soil and surface building material fragments.

magnetic anomalies for the presumed archaeological physical model. The model variables comprise: the form of the presumed archaeological remains, their dimensions, depth and magnetic susceptibility values of building material fragments measured in the field (see table 3).

The natural environment is described by the thickness of top soil and its susceptibility, besides the presumed basic geology parameters, which in pseudo gradient operational mode do not significantly affect results. Local Earth's magnetic field intensity, declination and inclination were derived from The International Geomagnetic Reference Field (IGRF; http://www.iugg.org/IAGA/iaga_pages/pubs_prods/igrf.htm/). The same geometry of anticipated archaeological features, top soil and basic geology was used to illustrate the differences in the shape and magnitude of magnetic anomalies generated by different material. Consequences of similar sandstone and limestone susceptibility are the similar shape, polarity and magnitude of the calculated magnetic anomalies. Calculated magnetic anomaly generated by the same shape of the object, but with magnetic susceptibility typical for bricks, is significantly different.

The Ground Penetrating Radar method (fig. 21)

GPR sounding was used to determine the depth and height of preservation and the mutual spatial relationship of the architectural elements in two areas where results from geo-electric mapping and magnetometry deemed it advantageous to check. This was a quite ambitious plan for first year testing of GPR possibilities in such archaeological and natural contexts. However, the GPR method is the only technique among the geophysical methods within the *Trea* survey project, used for geophysical sounding. In favourable circumstances it enables a 3D visualization as well as analyses of the measurement results in a 3D environment. Areas 1 and 2 (fig. 18) were surveyed with a 400 MHz antenna and the Area 1 also with

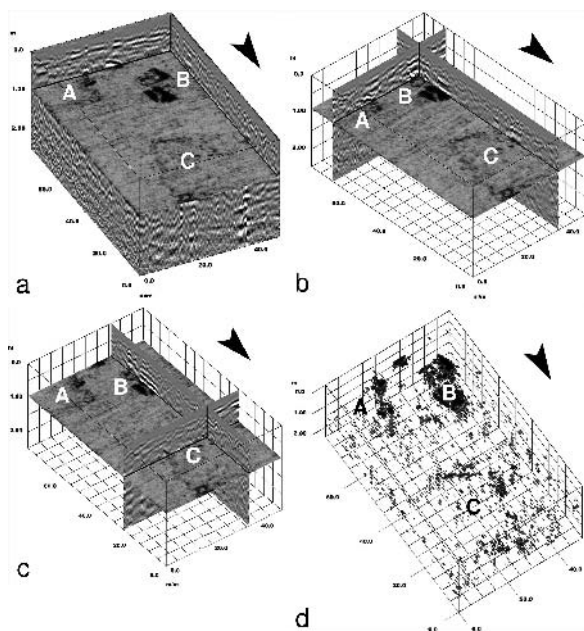


Fig. 21. 3D visualization of GPR echoes at Area 1 in Trea. Archaeologically significant anomalies indicated.

a 200 Mhz antenna. Much better results were obtained by the 200 MHz antenna on Area 1. GPR echoes in general correspond to resistivity and magnetic anomalies. The aim of GPR survey in Area 1 was to ascertain the assumption of a superposition of the eastern and the western parts of the town organisation (see below). On the time slices are discernible faintly visible lines of different orientation on a greater depth, but it does not fully prove our expectations. Moreover, from 3D GPR visualization it can be deduced, that architectural remains appear more or less at the same depth.

Multi-method approach capabilities and archaeological implications

Selection of the most suitable method is dictated exclusively by an evaluation of the 'signal to noise ratio'; and for a reliable method, this needs to be large enough so that the difference between the two data sets demonstrates enough contrast to secure successful prospecting. It is often difficult to define the 'signal to noise ratio' for each of the various methods; so archaeological prospecting has adopted a multi-method approach for the development of efficient research strategies (Mušič et al. 2007). Sometimes it is effective if results of resistivity and magnetometry, for instance are overlain and observed under gradual image trans-

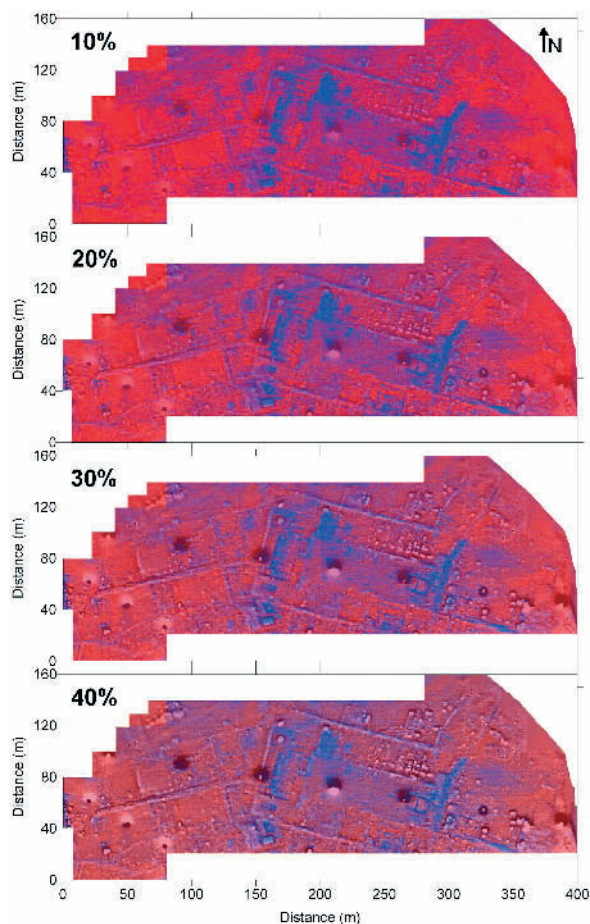


Fig. 22. Combined results of resistivity and magnetic survey in Trea. Overlaid images with gradual resistivity transparency (in %).

parencies (fig. 22). It shows spatial correlation between different data sets and makes more reliable interpretation possible.

In this way it is possible to visualize magnetic and resistivity anomalies in a manner that architectural elements and the urban organisation are much easier discernible. Some of these structures clearly confirm the excellent aerial photographs and earlier interpretations by Frank Vermeulen,²⁴ but often interesting details are now better visible. The most evident features of relevance to the urbanization of Trea, as revealed in our interpretative mapping (figs. 23, 24) are the following:

- the public open space or forum square, rectangular in shape and with its central part presumably (still) paved with stone slabs;
- a 'capitoline' temple on its eastern short side, with its still discernable stairway and internal subdivisions;



Fig. 23. Interpretation of geophysical results of the Trea survey, presented on the topographic map and a rectified oblique aerial photograph.

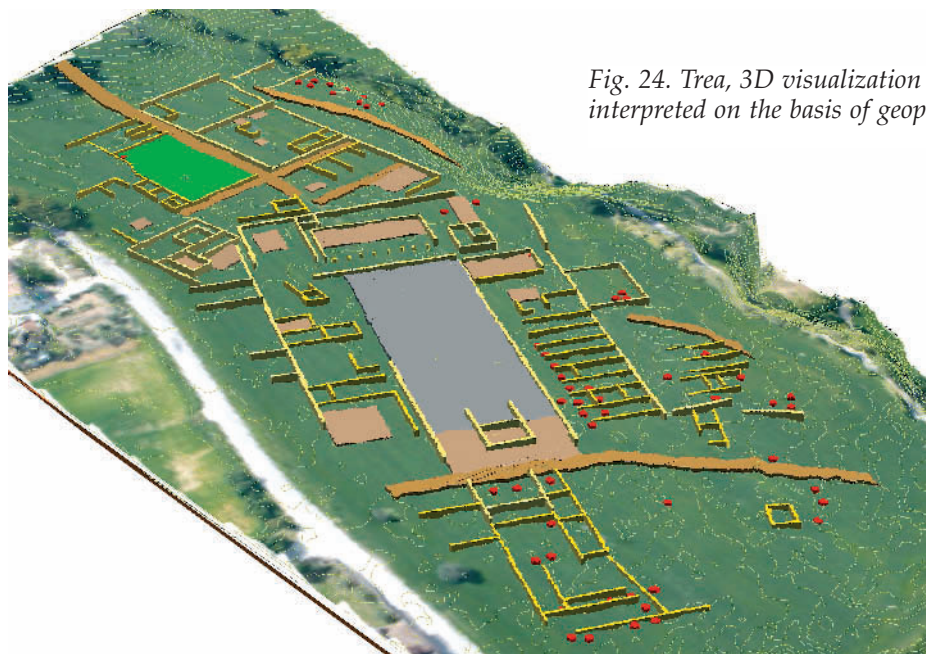


Fig. 24. Trea, 3D visualization of architectural remains interpreted on the basis of geophysical exploration.

- a large probably public building (*basilica*?) with the bases of a colonnade on the short western side of the forum, and also well visible now two other (public?) buildings on either side;
- another public (?) building (market or *macellum*?) at the southern side of the forum;
- the forum is further flanked by a series of oblong buildings (*tabernae*) along its northern and partly also southern sides, preceded by a portico;
- several communicating streets were also identified, displaying a complex and probably partly diachronic street organisation;
- many building structures (e.g. houses and shops) outside the forum area, often oriented in strict relationship with the streets;
- a number of strong magnetic anomalies with slight magnetic field polarity deviation is clearly distinguishable on the magnetograms; these anomalies are characteristic of archaeological remains with a thermoremanent type of magnetization (TRM) which is the attribute of bricks, tiles, forges, kilns, furnaces, etc. Some clusters probably indicate the presence of workshops, with activities that might have required high temperatures of firing.

A more intensive integration of the geophysical results with the rectified imagery from oblique aerial photography monitoring of the site is awaited before more definite and detailed interpretations of the significant archaeological data are possible. They will also be integrated with results from artefact surveys on the site. It is however clear now

that remote sensing operations can seriously contribute to the understanding of the urbanisation scheme of this city site.

Artefact surveys and geo-archaeological observations in and around Trea (FV, SD, MDD, PDP)

During the last ten days of September 2007 an intra-site artefact survey was carried out by the PVS team on the former urban area of *Trea*. The area chosen for the intensive survey was the zone of the forum of the Roman town, an area of some 140 x 90 m if we include the surrounding public buildings. The precise location of the forum has been known since the aerial photography flights over the town in 2003 and was confirmed by the geophysical survey (see above). By concentrating this artefact survey especially on the ancient built-up area around the forum square (*fig. 25*) we wished to further characterize the type of structures, their function and their chronology. The survey area was not ploughed but as vegetation had been mowed quite short before our fieldwork visibility for artefact recovery was reasonably good. The area was subdivided into sixteen regular units (30 x 20 m), using the grids set out by the team of Ljubljana. Every unit was walked by a group of seven people (a mix of archaeologists and students) during 30 minutes. Samples of datable ceramics and other diagnostic artefacts (building materials, glass,...) were collected in a systematic way.

We synthesize here the most important conclusions of this work. They are of special relevance to

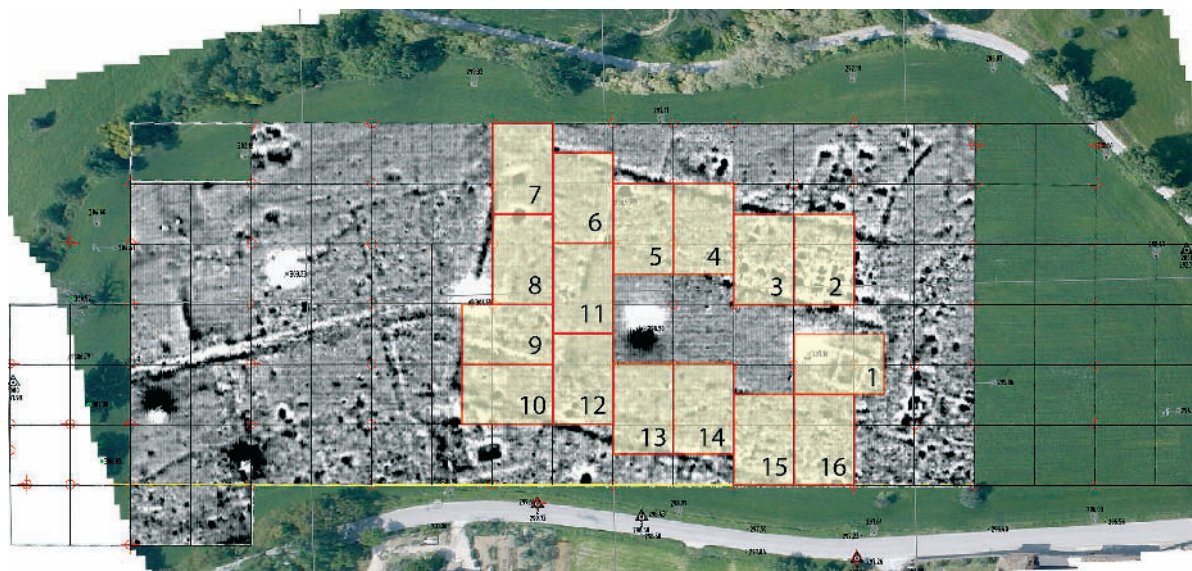


Fig. 25. Location of the artefact survey units in the forum area of Trea.



Fig. 26. Decorated fragment of a small column found during the intra-site survey on Trea.

the ulterior interpretation of the excellent remote sensing data in this crucial part of the Roman town, as the terrain of the forum is quite flat and horizontal movement of artefacts and building materials ploughed to the surface should be quite limited. In this way, and with the remotely sensed data in hand, we are able to link some of the surface observations to the actual situation of the archaeological structures *in situ*.

In the zone of the 'capitoline' temple we found large pieces of mortar, which could belong to a podium nucleus built of *opus caementicium*. Fragments of very big roof tiles, a few white marble *crustae* and a fairly large amount of *tesserae* were also detected, indicating the importance of the building and its high quality. The most remarkable finds were a fragment of a small marble column (fig. 26) and a piece of a marble slab with remains of an inscription.

The grids over the *tabernae* on the northern forum side produced many fragments of worked limestone and sandstone, probably the main building materials here, together with the roof tiles. In several units, especially near the edge with the forum square, we collected fragments of pie-wedge shaped bricks, which could indicate that the portico in front of the *tabernae* had brick columns. A good amount of brick floor tiles seems indicative of the predominant floor type in the shops. Fairly large numbers of marble *crustae* and *tesserae* prove also a certain quality of these centrally placed shops, while a concentration of fragmentary *tubuli* near the central shops of the north side might indicate rooms with *hypocaustum*. Many fragments of *dolia* demonstrate food storage, while pieces of over-fired brick and burned sandstone, together with metal slag, seem to confirm the proposition from magnetic survey that several remnants of furnaces are to be located here (see above).

The grids over the probable *basilica* and the buildings on either side of it displayed an especially rich assemblage of building materials. Although limestone, sandstone and mortars prevail, the finds comprise also huge numbers of marble *crustae* in different colours, many *tesserae*, pieces of hexagonal floor tiles in brick and some fragments of painted stucco. Several small fragments of *tubuli* are possibly indicative of a heating system, especially in the building south of the probable *basilica*.

Finally in the area of the buildings (mostly *tabernae*) south of the forum square a quite similar situation was observed as around the northern shops. However in the most eastern zone here, where we located a possible *macellum*, special finds include many *crustae*, *tesserae*, some stucco and a (leg) fragment of a high quality marble statuette. The pottery is also quite diversified here. In general, however, pottery finds over the whole forum area are enough similar, including a wide range of fine wares (mostly thin walled ware, *terra sigillata* and African red slip ware) and coarser categories (*dolia*, amphorae, cooking ware...), spread over the broad chronological range of the city's main occupation phases (1st century BC-5th century A.D). Most pottery is Imperial and only very few late Republican wares were picked up. The presence of protohistoric (Piceni) pottery in several grids is however of particular importance for the origin of grouped settlement on the site.

To approach the interesting question whether Roman Trea was preceded by an earlier form of grouped settlement we initiated the systematic sampling of surface materials on the ploughed fields to the west and south-west of the Roman town area (fig. 27). Parts of this extra-mural territory were already surveyed by Umberto Moscatelli (Università di Macerata) in the 1980s. His findings were published in the *Forma Italiae* series (Moscatelli 1988). Our aim was to re-visit the sites located by Moscatelli and survey also some surrounding ploughed fields in order to get a clearer picture of the chronology and extent of possible sites in the area. Although Moscatelli located the Roman sites which he found on a map, he did not point out the total area surveyed so it was possible that we would be surveying fields already surveyed by him, but where according to his findings no Roman material was present. We revisited a total of three sites, and of these only one Roman site (UM 89) could be confirmed by our team. The other two sites, both situated on the bottom of the steep slope to the SW of Trea, revealed absolutely no Roman pottery or building material, while Moscatelli mentions the location of a Roman nec-

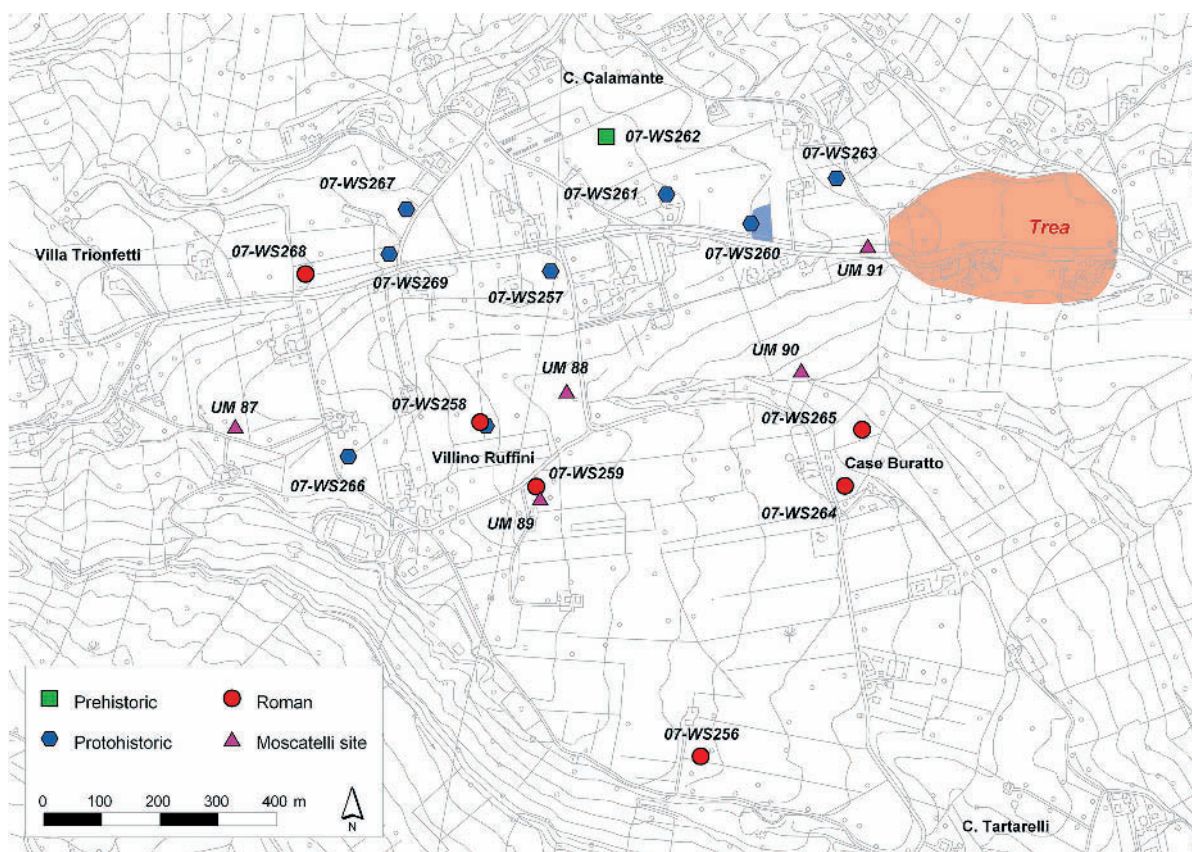


Fig. 27. Map of the preliminary survey results in the extra-mural area west of Trea.

ropolis (UM 88) in one area and a surface scatter of Roman pottery (UM 87) in the other. Although this was discouraging we were able to locate a total of twelve new sites of relevance here, providing us with a much clearer picture of the protohistoric and Roman landscape to the west and south-west of *Trea*. Five sites are clearly Roman and belong to different types of dispersed rural farms, the other concentrations pre-date the Roman expansion. For our specific questionnaire it is useful to elaborate mostly on the latter.

In the zone immediately west of Roman *Trea* a large area with predominately protohistoric building materials and pottery could be located. In total some six concentrations of protohistoric material were discovered: a cluster of three sites (07-WS/260, 261 and 263) immediately west of Roman *Trea* and another cluster of three (07-WS/257, 267 and 269) further along the main road to the west. Although the exact date of the sites has still to be established, an allocation to *Piceni* settlement remains seems at the moment most likely. The pattern suggests that we are confronted here with

several settlement nuclei, possibly forming one large settlement zone (or village). The maximum extent is also still hard to establish, as several fields were not surveyed yet and the area to the south of the road was inaccessible. At the moment the surface data seem to indicate that a quite large and elongated pre-Roman settlement area (some 600 by 250 m; 15 ha) was located immediately to the west of the Roman town. The exact definition of the newly found sites and their relation to the main Roman settlement area are still to be studied in the future. It is remarkable that the locations of these protohistoric surface scatters did almost not yield Roman material. The regular finding of protohistoric sherds in the area of the later Roman town could however mean that this settlement zone was even larger and that it extended even further to the east, to a sector that later developed into the core of the Roman *municipium*.

Some other extra-mural finds of Roman date during these surveys were just as interesting. Moscatelli had already put forward the theory that the course of a Roman aqueduct was located



Fig. 28. Fragments of terracotta pipes and calcareous sediment from the Trea aqueduct.

to the west of *Trea* running parallel to the main road (S.P.N.169). During the fieldwork we were able to confirm and specify his findings. At a distance of 1100 m from the western wall of *Trea*, in a field to the north of the road several large fragments of terracotta hydraulic pipes were discovered (07-WS/268). Also in fields further west, near Villa Trionfetti we were able to find such pieces. All new archaeological data, as well as some geomorphological observations, suggest that we can now locate the aqueduct very precisely. It follows a straight line just north of the S.P.N.169 road. At its lower end it entered the Roman town near the presumed West gate. At its upper part it connects the town with a water-rich spring area just east of the present-day San Lorenzo sanctuary. Near the water spring Roman pipe fillings, consisting of calcinated layers of sediment, were discovered, together with more terracotta pipe fragments with a diameter of circa 30 cm (fig. 24).

Another valuable observation in this area west of *Trea*, is the location at some four kilometres from the Roman town, of large outcrops of marly limestone, with exactly the same consistency as the blocks of limestone used to built the town wall and gates. It is very likely that this easily reachable hilly area, largely belonging to the Mesozoic carbonate, procured the raw materials for building important parts of the town infrastructure.

A final observation connected with this geo-archaeological survey of the edges and immediate hinterland of *Trea*, concerns a re-evaluation of the position of the town wall. This is made possible by the presence of huge concentrations of compact marly limestone blocks ploughed up in fields north-east of the town. Instead of the rounded north-east corner proposed in earlier publications

(Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004), we now have good reasons to believe that part of the slope downwards in north-eastern direction was also taken in by the walled town, enlarging the town's intra-mural surface to some 12 ha. In accordance also with evidence from the geophysical survey (see above), and with the presence here of a large building block lying in a field nearby, we can now suggest the presence of a gate in the NE corner of the site, probably leading out in the direction of Ancona. A new and detailed plan of the topography of ancient *Trea* will be presented shortly, incorporating all existing geo-archaeological data.

NEW APPROACHES TO THE TOPOGRAPHY AND OCCUPATION HISTORY OF THE AREA OF *SEMPEDPA*

Roman *Sempedpa* is located in the middle Potenza valley, on a river terrace bordering the stream, at some 40 km inland from the coastline. The urban site is now mostly used as farmland as the population of the ancient city moved during the early Middle Ages to the nearby hilltop site and now modern town of San Severino Marche. The Roman site is located in an area of important *Piceni* settlements and cemeteries, in the shadow of the Monte Pitino, an imposing hilltop site dominating the whole middle valley (fig. 32). The urbanisation of *Sempedpa* probably originates from a function as *statio* along the *diverticulum* of the Via Flaminia, on the crossroads with the inland Via Salaria, connecting Ascoli with Jesi. Several archaeological discoveries during the 20th century show that the walls of the town encompass the higher, hilly area north of the Roman valley road, acting as *decumanus maximus* of the small town, and the lower area slightly sloping towards the river Potenza (Landolfi 2003). This almost pentagonal town must have measured some 15 ha *intra muros*. Parts of the 1st century BC walls in *opus quadratum* and two gates were excavated. Along the central *decumanus maximus* were found several rooms of two imperial *domus* and large thermal installations. There was for a long time no indication about the location of the forum, temples, other public buildings, houses and the street system, as there are no remains visible above ground today. This changed dramatically since remote sensing operations by the PVS-team started here in 2005. Although aerial photography flights over the town area in that year showed distinct crop marks of some parts of the city streets and delivered us a well distinguishable plan of a large, yet unknown *domus* (Vermeulen 2006), more intensive monitoring from the air and especially more fieldwork seemed necessary. Apart



Fig. 29. Aerial view from the south of the rectangular enclosure with portico (sanctuary ?), just outside the city wall of Septempeda. On the far left we see a broad crop mark of the newly discovered road leading to Tolentinum.

from new surveys on the Roman town site itself we also decided to enlarge our vision to the surrounding territory, especially in order to understand the origins of this city and its crucial role in the 'Romanisation' of the Picene heartland.

Septempeda revisited (FV, GV, MDD, PDP)

Especially astonishing were the results of new flying over *Septempeda*. This small town had given us only little satisfaction in previous aerial surveys. Successful flights in April, July and especially September 2007 now gave away a mass of new topographic information, enabling us to prepare in the near future a very detailed map of the main elements of the whole city grid of streets, some further precision on the already partially studied defensive system and on important parts of the town buildings.

Especially thrilling is the discovery of many well preserved floors of Roman city houses and of a series of important structures in the south-eastern part of town. In the latter we could discover a new gate (fig. 30), with inner corridor and bastion, connected to a clearly visible road leading out of town in the direction of *Tolentinum*. Immediately next to it, just outside of the well visible trace of the 2 m wide city wall, we discovered in a field of clover, a remarkable complex (fig. 29). It consists of a rectangular structure of min. 55 m wide and more than 70 m long, bordered by a thin enclosure wall. On its SW side, three parallel walls suggest the presence of a portico, while in the NE part we clearly distinguish a rectangular (building?) structure of some 35 by 15 m. The orientation and fea-



Fig. 30. Comparative oblique views from the south of the newly discovered SE-gate in the city wall of *Septempeda*. Upper: traditional digital take from a plane; under: infrared digital take from the 'helikite'.

tures of the whole complex, neatly positioned parallel with the city wall, point no doubt at a Roman date. The identification as an important extra mural sanctuary with open courtyard seems possible, but only further fieldwork can elucidate this.

In the month of April part of the remote sensing activities were also dedicated to testing a new instrument. To deal with cloudy conditions (or other particular situations in which the shutter speed becomes too long for conventional aerial photography) and allow the PVS researchers to take very detailed imagery of specific locations (both in the visible as the near-infrared range), a stable, easily maintainable and remotely controllable construction was created. The device consists of seven different parts, the first - and maybe most important piece - being a Helikite. This unique design, patented by Allsopp Helikites Ltd., combines a helium balloon with a kite. This enables the Helikite to take off in windless weather conditions, whereas the kite components lift this lighter-than-air construction up in the air, while additionally stabilising it.²⁵ For obvious reasons, this type of photography was inaugurated HAP or Helikite Aerial Photography. As it was tested and applied in several weather conditions, it can be stated that HAP truly enables excellent low altitude aerial photography and is capable of delivering imagery with a very small ground sampling distance, hence yielding so-called high spatial resolution imagery. Moreover, its low cost allows for a higher tempo-



Fig. 31. View of Monte Pitino from the east.

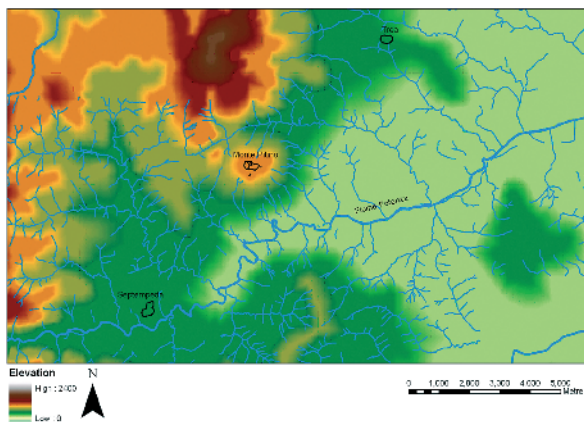


Fig. 32. Location of Monte Pitino related to the Roman towns of Trea and Septempeda, and to the River system.

ral resolution, as the platform can provide imagery from a certain archaeological interesting area at short intervals. Besides detailed near-infrared imaging, HAP permits to take low altitude colour photographs, used for mapping the on-going excavations as well as reconnaissance purposes.

Making use of the Helikite aerial pictures were taken over the full surface of the four Roman towns in the valley, and also over an important Iron Age settlement (Montarice) which had procured complex crop marks in the past.²⁶ Although the new technology needs to be further tested, comparing results with the imagery obtained from more traditional flights clearly demonstrates the added value of this new approach. This can be well illustrated with an example from *Septempeda*, where pictures taken of the area of the newly found SE gate of the city, were compared (fig. 30). Although the period and conditions of the two takes, one with normal digital camera from a low flying aircraft and one with an infrared camera mounted on the helikite, where quasi identical, comparison shows that the latter visualises the structures of city wall and gate complex with much more detail.

Finally, several field days were spent for terrain observations on and near *Septempeda*. These comprised not only the necessary checks of the crop mark evidence, but we started also a geo-archaeological campaign of locating the natural resources of great interest for the Roman town, especially for the provisioning of building materials and water. Connected with the former, we were able to locate the most evident source area for water, in fact situated immediately north of the central part of the town, no doubt originally linked with the thermal installations by way of an aqueduct. The discovery, immediately west of the urban area, of a site where sandstone was quarried in Antiquity to build the town wall, is equally worth mentioning.

The Monte Pitino Survey (MS)

Related with the work on *Septempeda*, a small and extensive survey was carried out in September on the top and slopes of the hill of Monte Pitino (fig. 31). The survey was designed to explore the extent of human occupation and activity in this place in the protohistoric period and the possibility of continuity into the Roman Republican period when two towns were constructed at the nearby sites of *Trea* and *Septempeda* (fig. 32). A human presence is known on this site from the Mesolithic period and the area is particularly famous for two excavated protohistoric cemeteries that produced rich chariot burials. Excavations on the summit have also produced evidence of structures and ceramics from the protohistoric and Republican periods, but these are poorly recorded (Lollini 1958). Although there is no evidence for the Imperial period on the top of the hill, several Roman sites were located nearby in the survey of Moscatelli (Moscatelli 1988). The summit was also the location for a 13th century castle, which is likely to have had associated medieval sites.

Although the survey is only the start of more intensive work here and the vegetation cover, mostly ranging from dense brambles and woodland to thick grasses, clearly hinders such activities, some results could already be obtained (figs. 33, 34). The new fieldwork has been successful in establishing that during the later Iron Age period, perhaps 5th to 4th centuries, there was some form of settlement over the terraces and plateau that surrounds the summit of Monte Pitino and a model of the terraces can be proposed (fig. 34). Medieval material is overlying the earlier phases, so it is difficult to estimate the density or type of habitation. However, the strong presence of tiles in the visible material along with the assemblages that parallel

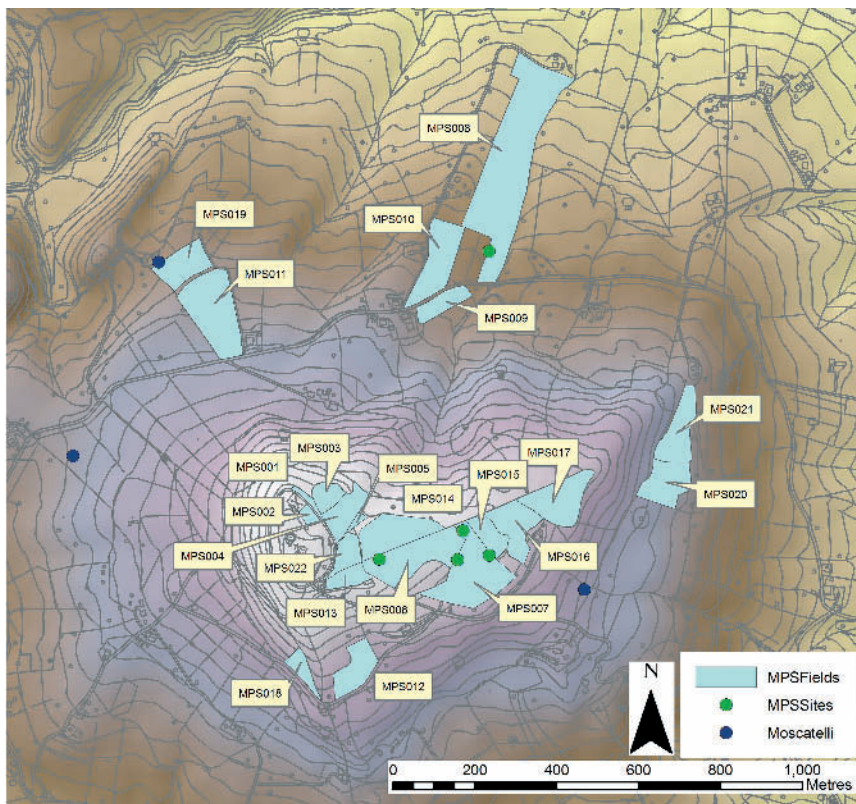
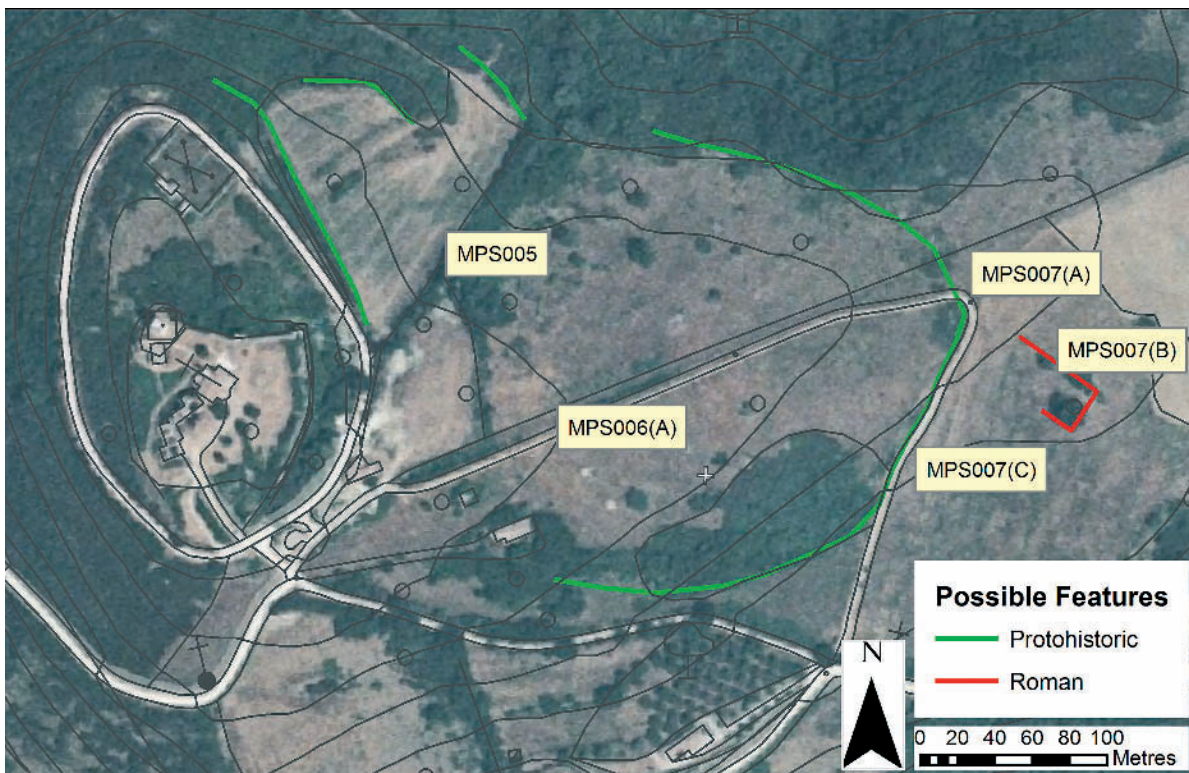


Fig. 33. Survey results on the Monte Pitino on a combined DEM-aerial photo mosaic.

Fig. 34. Possible walls and terraces identified through survey on the Monte Pitino drawn on an aerial photograph. The medieval castle site is well visible on the left.



the sites found through systematic field walking in the Potenza Valley Survey (Boullart 2005) suggest a nucleated settlement rather than merely a place of refuge. There is no evidence of any public or monumental buildings, but their presence should not be ruled out. The system of terrace walls is striking, even today, and perhaps has some similarities with the ramparts found on the summit of Monte Primo, an important protohistoric centre in the upper valley. There also appear to be a high quantity of *dolia* sherds across all the protohistoric areas within the terrace walls that must indicate a high degree of storage activity and perhaps some control of agricultural activity, but further study and comparison to other assemblages is needed to support this hypothesis. The presence of a few fragments of *vernice nera* is indicative of the integration of the site into wider networks and the nature of the preservation, largely from clearance activity, is likely to have biased the recovery of material against this finer material. Clearly it can be understood from this survey that there was a nucleation of settlement on top of Monte Pitino over perhaps as much as 10 ha, an area only slightly smaller than the Roman towns of *Trea* and *Septempeda*, although it is not possible to assess the density of habitation.

The concentrations discovered in fields MPS008 and MPS012 (fig. 33) as well as sites known from the survey of Moscatelli and excavation also show that any settlement on Monte Pitino was not isolated, but part of a range of different sites. However, more detailed survey of the surrounding fields and the hilltop itself is required to understand the nature of this integration: whether rural settlement was clustered around the hilltop and how much the hilltop site was linked into local social and economic networks.

The presence of a Republican activity on top of the hill is confirmed by the material recovered from MPS007(B) (fig. 33), this is a much smaller site than the protohistoric activity and its spatial separation is striking. The structures that must have existed were impressive judging by the quality of the *tegulae*, but interpretation of the function of this site is not possible from the type of survey carried out. Further analysis of the diagnostic sherds of *dolia* and amphora will hopefully allow better dating of this site, even so, there does not seem any material that is Augustan or later in date. Interestingly, no Republican material was recovered from within the system of terraces and it seems unlikely that this is due to preservation if the protohistoric material is so visible. This strongly suggests a link with the establishment of towns

at *Trea* and *Septempeda* and the current phase of the Potenza Valley Survey will surely lead to better understanding of this change in settlement system.

NOTES

- ¹ This research team of the Potenza Valley Survey project, under the direction of Frank Vermeulen (Department of Archaeology), is further called PVS-team.
- ² For reports on this first phase of fieldwork see: *BABesch* 76, 77, 78 and 80.
- ³ This second phase, programmed to last until 2011, was made possible thanks to substantial financial backing by the Belgian Science Policy - Interuniversity Attraction Poles (IAP), Phase VI, project 'The Transition from Republic to Empire: The Impact of "Romanization" on Cities and Countryside in Italy and the Provinces (2nd/1st century BC-2nd/3rd century AD)', by the Fund for Scientific Research - Flanders and by Ghent University.
- ⁴ They were made possible thanks to the excellent support by the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici delle Marche*, institution which since the start of the Potenza Valley Survey project has always given full backing. We wish to express our deep gratitude to Soprintendente Dr. Giuliano De Marinis and to the inspectors and responsible personnel of the concerned areas Dr. Edvige Percossi, Dr. Maria Cecilia Profumo, Dr. Mara Silvestrini, Dr. Maurizio Landolfi and arch. Ripari.
- ⁵ Many thanks go to all persons involved in the preparation and execution of these geophysical and topographic investigations; apart from the co-authors of this report we especially thank Prof. Bozidar Slapšak and his collaborators and students from the University of Ljubljana.
- ⁶ Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004 and 2006; Vermeulen 2006.
- ⁷ For a recent synthesis see: Percossi Serenelli 2001.
- ⁸ Vermeulen/Boullart 2001; Vermeulen/Monsieur/Boullart 2002; Vermeulen et al. 2003; Vermeulen 2004; Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004; Vermeulen/Verhoeven/Semey 2005; Vermeulen 2006.
- ⁹ To accomplish this topographical operation a Leica TCR 1105 total station was used on site and data were processed with Star*net V6.0 (Starplus software). This resulted in three closed polygons and 21 base points, with a high planimetric accuracy level. In order to obtain satisfactory altimetric data, a differential levelling was carried out for the base points with a Topcon DT30 level. In order to record slight surface irregularities, the point density is of high importance for the surveyor. Considering the size of the area and the rather plane surface, a 3D measurement was taken along a 5 m rectangular grid by using the total station. Eventually the obtained point cloud, which contains more than 8000 points, was processed with the DTM component of Geopius and presented as a triangulated irregular network (TIN).
- ¹⁰ Special thanks go to Prof. Andrew Wallace-Hadrill and Prof. Simon Keay (BSR) for their support, and to Dr Michael Walsh for the great collaboration in the field.
- ¹¹ For the results of the earlier prospections on other sectors of the town area, see: Vermeulen/Hay/Verhoeven 2006.
- ¹² The magnetometer survey was undertaken using the Bartington Grad601-2 Dual Array Twin Fluxgate Gradiometer (fig. 13). Readings were taken at 0.5 m intervals along traverses every 1 m. The readings were recorded by the on board Grad-01Data Logger. The Bartington Grad601-2 in some circumstances is able to detect buried features up to a depth of 3 m.

- ¹³ For a discussion of this hypothesis, and references, see: Vermeulen/Hay/Verhoeven 2006 and Vermeulen et al. 2006, 230.
- ¹⁴ Our special thanks go to the municipality of Porto Recanati for their great help with logistics and to all students, archaeologists and collaborators of Ghent University who participated in the dig.
- ¹⁵ The methodology and first results of this ceramological work, building further on the doctoral dissertation of H. Verreyke, will be presented elsewhere.
- ¹⁶ We thank Dr. Johan Van Heesch for identifying the coins.
- ¹⁷ Annibaldi 1953 and archive of the Soprintendenza per I beni archeologici delle Marche.
- ¹⁸ We warmly thank the Soprintendenza, and especially Dott.ssa Maria Cecilia Profumo for scientific advice and permits and the municipalities of Potenza Picena and Porto Recanati for permission and logistic support. Except for the author, the following persons took part in the excavations: Prof. Jeroen Poblome (KULeuven) and the members of the PVS team: Christine Braet, Lieven Verdonck, Sophie Dralans, Devi Taelman, Dimitri Van Limbergen, Tina Bruyninckx, Eline Van Heymbeek, Liselot Lapon and Jeroen Verhegge.
- ¹⁹ Paci 1999. For a synthesis on sources and general archaeological background see especially Moscatelli 1988.
- ²⁰ For a recent synthesis of this work see: Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004, Vermeulen 2004 and Vermeulen 2006, where also earlier work on *Trea* is summarized.
- ²¹ This new fieldwork campaign was facilitated thanks to important topographic work done during a field campaign in 2005 in collaboration with Prof. R. Goossens, Prof. A. De Wulf and Mr. D. Van Damme of the Department of Geography of Ghent University. The methodological elaboration of a digital elevation model based on oblique aerial photography and ground control will be published elsewhere. We also thank the Municipality of Treia and the owner and user of the main archaeological area of the ancient town for permissions and support.
- ²² This research by the Department of Archaeology of the University of Ljubljana (Slovenia) was prepared by Božidar Slapšak and Darja Grosman in association with Frank Vermeulen. Collaboration in the field was obtained from archaeologist Jurij Soklič and students Matjaž Mori, Tonka Šoba, Iztok Vrenčur and Luka Rožič.
- ²³ Source: Geological map of Italy at scale 1:100.000.
- ²⁴ We refer to Vermeulen/Verhoeven 2004 for a more substantial description of the main structures visible on aerial photography.
- ²⁵ The Helikite used is a 7 m³ model, enabling a lift of around 3.5 kg in windless conditions, increasing to even 10 kg in 25 km/h wind. Furthermore, the system consist of a Dyneema tether with a large breaking strain of 270 kg, a dampened suspension for self-levelling and securing the camera-supporting cradle, a sturdy cradle made from carbon, aluminium and three small servo motors, a video live link (Pro X2) which instantaneously shows on a small TFT monitor the scene as seen by the D50, a big game fishing reel and accompanying sea-fishing rod to manage the tractive forces and allow the Helikite's 'pilot' to freely walk around and finally a 35 Mhz remote control to wirelessly control the camera shutter and enable the steering of the camera by operating the servo motors on the cradle.
- ²⁶ We thank archaeologists Dimitri Van Limbergen and Devi Taelman for their precious help in the field.

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Theseus at the Gates of the Labyrinth *Interpreting a Pompeian Painting*

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Abstract

A painting of Theseus and Ariadne in the House of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii shows the moment when the princess hands the hero the ball of wool that will enable him to find his way out of the Labyrinth; but the action of Theseus, who holds his arm over his head with a fillet dangling from the hand, presents a problem of interpretation. A recent theory has proposed that he is crowning himself after his victory over the Minotaur and, therefore, that the painting combines two moments in time: the preparations for the expedition into the Labyrinth and the celebrations after its successful outcome. The present paper suggests, by analogy with other Pompeian paintings of the same subject, that Theseus is actually removing his sword prior to entering the Labyrinth naked and unarmed. This is an iconographic variant found only at Pompeii and only for a brief period shortly before the middle of the 1st century AD.

The painting to be discussed (fig. 1) is in room 5 of the House of M. Lucretius Fronto at Pompeii, the decoration of which belongs to the late Third Style, dating around AD 35-50. I intend to rescue it from an untenable interpretation that has gained currency in recent years (an interpretation that involves doing violence to conventional modes of expressing narrative in Roman painting) and to compare it with other Pompeian paintings on the same theme - paintings known principally from 19th-century drawings - to show how a small number of pictures at the middle of the 1st century AD introduce an interesting and otherwise unparalleled feature in the iconography of the subject.¹

The subject in question, every one agrees, is Theseus and Ariadne, and it is usually accepted that the moment depicted is just before Theseus enters the Labyrinth. Ariadne, at the right, proffers the thread which will enable Theseus to retrace his steps after killing the Minotaur; her right hand draws out the end of the thread from a ball of wool which she holds in her left. Theseus, at the left, has shed his clothes and has his right arm drawn languidly over his head somewhat in the manner of the 4th-century BC statue of Apollo Lykeios; with the hand he holds a fillet that falls past his left shoulder down to his hip. His left hand is lowered and extended to the side. His clothes are heaped, together with his club, over a hidden block or the like, behind Ariadne's legs. In the background we see the corner of an enclosure wall which presumably symbolises the Labyrinth.

This iconographic formula recurs in a simpler picture in another Pompeian house, the Caupona

of Sotericus (fig. 2). The preservation is less good, but the figures seem to have been more or less identical. Only the architectural backdrop has been dispensed with: the figures stand on a neutral white background, with just a vague suggestion of a ground-surface beneath their feet. Theseus' clothes are again shown piled over a block (or rock) behind Ariadne's legs, though there is no sign of the club.

The decoration in the Caupona, like that in the House of M. Lucretius Fronto, belongs to the late Third Style, so is again datable to the years leading up to the middle of the 1st century AD. It has, indeed, been suggested that the two pictures were produced by the same workshop, and would have represented de luxe and economy versions of one of their stock-in-trade compositions.² The patron of the Lucretius Fronto decoration would have paid extra for a more careful and elaborate treatment while the patron of the Caupona had a cheaper deal.

Whether or not they are the work of the same group of craftsmen, there is a problem of interpretation: what precisely is Theseus doing?

In the standard publication of the House of Lucretius Fronto, W.J.T. Peters and Eric Moormann come up with a novel idea. They write: 'As a result of the inaccurate descriptions previously published, the panel has been interpreted as Theseus about to enter the Labyrinth. Instead, the gesture of his right hand, which is binding a fillet round his head, indicates that he is decorating himself after his victory over the Minotaur. On the other hand, Ariadne with her ball of wool



Fig. 1. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii V.4.a (Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto), room 5. Photo Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione N48623.



Fig. 2. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii I.12.3 (Caupona di Sotericus), room 3. Photo Istituto Centrale per il Catalogo e la Documentazione N36624.

symbolises the start of the adventure: the entry into the Labyrinth. We thus have a clear example of a continuous narrative, in which the artist has combined the beginning and end of the story.³

This interpretation was subsequently accepted in an article by Irene Bragantini, who states categorically that the scene 'represents Theseus crowning himself in front of Ariadne, who offers him the thread to escape from the Labyrinth'. She adds in a footnote that this interpretation 'might appear contentious, given the difficulty of reconciling the action of crowning with the scheme of the Apollo Lykeios used for the figure, but it is confirmed by the long blue fillet which falls to the hero's left'.⁴

I am unconvinced. The idea that the picture somehow conflates the beginning and end of Theseus' foray into the Labyrinth is scarcely plausible. The composition consists of two dominant figures which are turned towards each other and seem to be engaged in a dialogue or interaction of some form; and I know of no parallel in Roman painting for such a scene representing two different moments in time.⁵ Normally, where continuous narrative is depicted within a single panel, it involves figures on a tiny scale disseminated within a vast landscape, and one or other of the main actors is repeated in a separate scene at the side: i.e. the spatial dimension helps to gloss over the disruptions in temporal logic. Thus, Perseus is shown flying to the rescue of Andromeda bound

to her rock, and at the side is being greeted at the court of her father King Cepheus; Polyphemus is ogling the nymph Galatea as she passes on a dolphin, and at the side, blinded by Odysseus, is casting rocks at the Greek hero's departing ships; Icarus is falling from the sky after the heat of the sun has melted the wax securing his wings, and at the bottom is lying dead on the ground.⁶ In each case the two separate phases of the action are clearly differentiated, and the all-embracing panorama of rocks and sea enables a suspension of disbelief. The idea of landscape acting as a unifying factor in a continuous narrative obviously derives from continuous friezes, whether painted or sculpted: e.g. the Telephus frieze from the Great Altar at Pergamum (2nd century BC) or the Odyssey landscapes in Rome (mid 1st century BC).⁷

I am also dubious that Theseus' action can be interpreted as some one binding a fillet round his head: this would be difficult to achieve with one hand alone, and examples of statues such as the Diadoumenos of Polykleitos show the victorious athlete using both hands to accomplish the task.

There is another possibility. Theseus is not fastening a fillet but removing a sword-belt from his shoulder. This would account for the dangling fillet (it is the end of the sword-belt) and would explain why the hero has his arm drawn over his head. The sword-belt would have been hanging from the right shoulder, so that the sword was

accessible at the left hip (ready to be drawn across the body),⁸ and a natural way of lifting it off would have been to use the right arm in the manner shown. I believe that this interpretation can be substantiated by reviewing the other Pompeian pictures of Ariadne offering Theseus the ball of thread.

It is first necessary, however, to make some general observations on the way that Roman painters handled iconographic formulae. It used to be believed that they were heavily dependent on Greek 'old masters', and during the late 19th and early 20th centuries much scholarly effort was expended on linking specific pictures with famous works described by the Elder Pliny and other writers of the Roman age - and trying to reconstruct the prototypes from these Roman 'copies'. But in 1909 Gerhard Rodenwaldt was able to show how the inherited formulae were adapted to fit their Roman contexts and this idea was developed in 1926 by Hans Diepolder, who demonstrated how pictures 'moved with the times', e.g. by adding extra figures, by elaborating the architectural or landscape settings, or even by changing some of the figure-types.⁹ Now we are conscious of much more complex patterns of variation and adaptation: subtle changes appear all the time, and are sometimes the work of individual artists and workshops. For example, the painting of the sacrifice of Iphigenia from the House of the Tragic Poet at Pompeii¹⁰ clearly goes back ultimately to a famous picture by the Greek painter Timanthes of Samos which is described by Pliny (*NH* 35.73): 'she is standing at the altar awaiting her fate; the painter, having shown every one full of grief, especially her uncle, and exhausted every device for rendering sorrow, veiled her father's face, being unable to depict it adequately.' But the only feature certainly retained from Timanthes' original painting is the veiled face of Agamemnon (which could have become a stereotype): Menelaus is apparently missing, and the victim is not 'standing at the altar' but being carried to it. Here there is only one Roman example, but, when we can compare different versions of the same subject, it is possible to see how individual painters rang the changes. Thus we hear that a painting by Timomachus of Byzantium, a contemporary of Julius Caesar, showed Medea contemplating infanticide with a sword in her hand (*Anthologia Graeca* 16.135-140 and 143; Ausonius, *Epigrams* 130.9-10), and we have at least four Campanian paintings that show this subject.¹¹ But the mother's attitude varies from picture to picture: she is now standing with her hand on the hilt of her sword, now standing

with hands clasped in front of her in an agony of conflicting emotions, now seated with her head sunk on one hand and her sword in her lap. Even more strikingly, a picture interpreted as Admetus and Alcestis receiving from Apollo the oracle about his fate is deliberately varied by taking four figures which play an integral part in the composition (Apollo, a veiled woman and an elderly couple) and rearranging them into two symmetrical pairs of onlookers behind low walls at the rear.¹²

As a corollary to this, it has become increasingly clear that some picture types may not have existed before the early Imperial period. A number of new subjects and new formulae seem to have emerged at the time of the late Third Style: there is a new emphasis on love-scenes, often of a rather wistful or idyllic nature, in place of the heroic 'neo-classical' creations of Augustan times.¹³ A case in point is the romantic scene of Perseus and Andromeda as lovers looking at the reflection of the Gorgon's head in a pool: this appears in various paintings and reliefs of the Fourth Style but is unattested earlier.¹⁴ Narcissus, too, enters the repertoire at this time and becomes hugely popular.¹⁵ The same seems to be true of our Theseus and Ariadne. While other episodes from the myth of Theseus' expedition to Crete, such as his actual battle with the Minotaur, his celebration of victory with the liberated children of Athens genuflecting and kissing his hand, and his desertion of Ariadne on Naxos, go back to earlier times, there is no evidence of our subject having entered the established repertoire before the late Third Style.¹⁶

The only other version of the subject which can be dated to the Third Style has unfortunately now faded out of sight, but the description given by Antonio Sogliano, nine years after it was excavated in 1870, leaves no doubt as to what was represented. The picture, situated in the *ala* of house IX.2.21, showed 'Theseus at the left ... in the act of taking off his sword (He is) freeing his left arm from the sword-belt, which he raises with his right hand. Next to a column on the ground lie other arms, including the cuirass and greaves. At the right stands Ariadne, now lacking her head and part of her left side, wearing a pale blue *chiton* with another dark drape over it: given that the colours are faded and the plaster fallen, one cannot see what she is doing; but she must be offering the thread to the hero.'¹⁷

There has in the past been some confusion regarding this picture because the first publications identified the scene as 'Achilles arming himself in the presence of Thetis',¹⁸ and even as late as 1957 Schefold left the question open: 'the arming of

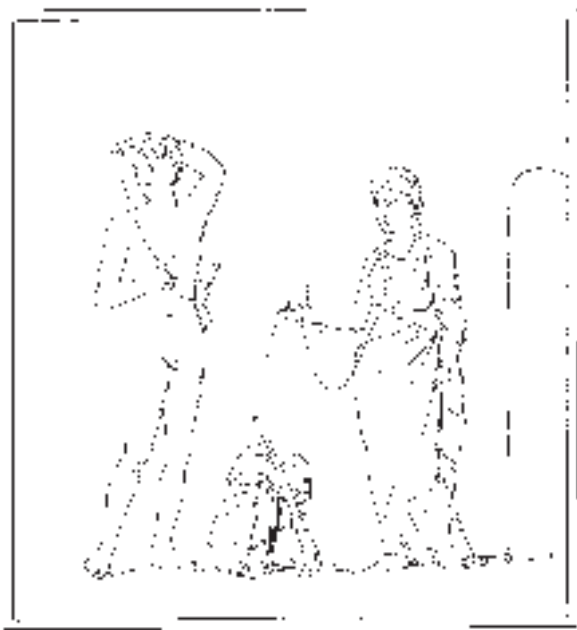


Fig. 3. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii VI.14.38, room 1. Drawing L.A. Ling, after G. Discanno.



Fig. 4. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii VI.5.3 (Casa di Nettuno), room 3. Drawing L.A. Ling, after G. Abbate.

Achilles, or Theseus receiving the ball of thread from Ariadne';¹⁹ but Bragantini in the relevant volume of the encyclopaedia *Pompei: pitture e mosaici* (published 1999) has no doubts: 'a panel representing Ariadne giving Theseus the thread which will help him to escape from the Labyrinth.'²⁰

Sogliano's interpretation is confirmed by two paintings which can be ascribed to the early Fourth Style (ca AD 50 or soon after). The first

(fig. 3), now destroyed but known from a drawing by G. Discanno (as well as early descriptions by Mau and Sogliano), was found in 1876 or 1877 in house VI.14.38. It differs from the other versions in showing Theseus with his left rather than his right arm raised, but both hands are clearly holding the sword-belt, and the raised arm appears to be lifting it over the head. That this is a sword-belt is clearly indicated by the presence of the pommel, together with the loose ends of the belt, at Theseus' hip. The reversed posture could be due simply to a painter reproducing the type from memory or deliberately ringing the changes; but it makes perfectly good sense as a representation of the hero lifting the sword-belt over his head. Only the stage in the action is a fraction earlier, since the belt still runs across the chest rather than hanging at the side. Ariadne, too, is slightly different, being seen in three-quarters view with her weight on her right leg rather than in profile; but, as in the other versions, she wears an ankle-length *chiton* with a knee-length *himation* thrown over it, and she again extends the ball of wool in her left hand and draws out the thread with her right. Theseus' clothes and club are again shown resting on a small support on the ground, here between the two figures. There are again two walls meeting in an angle in the background, but this time an archway at the right clearly designates the entrance to the Labyrinth (apparently transmuted into a column in the Lucretius Fronto picture).

The other early-Fourth Style picture (fig. 4) is in the Casa di Nettuno. Partially destroyed, it is best studied in a drawing by G. Abbate, executed one year after its discovery in 1843. The format is more or less identical with that of the paintings of Lucretius Fronto and the Caupona of Sotericus: Theseus has his right arm over his head holding the looped end of a fillet which falls beside his hip, while Ariadne is again in profile, offering the thread in the normal way. In contrast with the painting of VI.14.38, the sword-belt no longer crosses Theseus' chest, but the sword's hilt is clearly visible beneath his armpit, so its identification is not in doubt. The inclusion of the sword, which is not visible in the Lucretius Fronto and Sotericus paintings, may have been a deliberate variation upon the original type: the painter has added it precisely to clarify the meaning of the fillet in the earlier paintings.

There are two other Pompeian paintings of Theseus receiving the ball of wool, both belonging to the Fourth Style. Neither of them depicts the motif of the hero removing his sword. In the Casa della Fortuna (fig. 5), Ariadne is seated on a throne



Fig. 5. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii IX.7.20 (Casa della Fortuna), room I. Drawing L.A. Ling, after G. Discanno.

at the left, while Theseus stands in a relaxed pose at the right, actually taking the ball of wool from her outstretched hand; his left hand holds a long *pedum*, the end of which rests on the ground. He is in the nude but there is no indication of his discarded clothes or club. In the Casa della Caccia Antica (fig. 6), whose decorations are securely dated between AD 71 and 79 - i.e. the very last years of the city - Ariadne is standing rather than seated, while Theseus is virtually in profile rather than (as in the Casa della Fortuna) in three quarters view; but the action depicted - the handing over of the ball of thread - is very similar, and Theseus is once more without his clothes. This time, however, he has for some reason exchanged the *pedum* for the *harpe* normally associated with Perseus.

The formula of these last two pictures is the one found in various other depictions of the same subject in Roman art. The *Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae* (s.v. 'Ariadne') lists seven examples: two engraved gems, a terracotta appliqué from Vienne in Gaul, a stucco relief in the Underground Basilica of Porta Maggiore in Rome, a detail of a sarcophagus relief in New York, another sculptured relief (again from a sarcophagus?) from Aquincum in Hungary, and a 3rd-century AD mosaic pavement from a villa near Salzburg.²¹ These show variations in pose and dress (Ariadne

is sometimes seated, sometimes standing; Theseus is sometimes nude, sometimes wears a *chlamys*); but the central motif is always the delivery of the ball of thread. There is no sign of Theseus' discarded clothes and armour, and no reference to his removal of a sword and sword-belt. In almost every case, indeed, the hero has a club or *pedum* in his left hand. At least the stucco relief, and possibly the two gems, are earlier than our Pompeian paintings; so this version, which assumes that Theseus should carry a cudgel and concentrates on the hand-over of the clue, can be regarded as the standard one.

So why does a small group of Pompeian paintings, all produced in a narrow space of time round the middle of the 1st century AD, introduce a marked variant on the normal iconography? Obviously a particular painter, whether in Pompeii itself or in some more important artistic centre, was inspired to refer to the fact that Theseus removed his clothes and other encumbrances on entering the Labyrinth; and this passed into the repertoire of Pompeian decorators of the late Third and early Fourth Styles - decorators who either collaborated within the same workshop groupings or at least were aware of each other's work. It apparently did not last, because (so far as we can judge from the available evidence) the motif was dropped in the years leading up to the eruption of AD 79.



Fig. 6. *Theseus and Ariadne*: painting in Pompeii VII.4.48 (Casa della Caccia Antica), room 10 (tablinum). Photo W. Gut.

Here it should be mentioned that several modern commentators have claimed that Theseus is not removing his sword but putting it on. This suggestion has been offered for the whole series, as well as for individual paintings, including even the picture in Lucretius Fronto.²² On the face of it, this is an attractive possibility, given that Greek vases almost invariably showed Theseus tackling the Minotaur with the aid of a sword or dagger.²³ However, I believe that the attitude of the hero in our paintings is more consonant with lifting the sword-belt off the shoulder than donning it. More importantly, the Greek vases belong to an earlier age; and none of those that show Theseus armed with a blade is later than the late 5th century BC, nearly 450 years before the time of our paintings.²⁴ In the art of the Hellenistic and Roman periods Theseus invariably faces the monster with blunter instruments.

Most of the Roman artistic representations of the struggle between Theseus and the Minotaur show the hero killing it, not with a sword or dagger, but with his club or a *pædum*.²⁵ This is also the version given in Ovid's *Heroides*: at one point the poet says that Ariadne's 'brother' was killed with a *clava*, at another that the Minotaur was dispatched *nodoso stipite* (Ov. *Her.* 10.77, 101-102). The use of a club, which puts Theseus on a par with Heracles, can be linked with the literary tradition that the hero, in one of his earlier exploits, acquired the eponymous weapon of Epiphates the Club-wielder.²⁶ In our Pompeian paintings, however, the club lies with the discarded clothes, which tends to imply that it was not going to be used. It is entirely possible that it was merely set down temporarily while Theseus took off the sword, and he was going to pick it up before venturing into the Labyrinth: in the paintings which show him in triumph with the dead monster at his feet, he holds a club, implying that this was the instrument of his success.²⁷ But there was one version of the myth (Apollodorus, *Epitome* 1.9) in which he went to meet the Minotaur unarmed and pummelled it to death with his bare fists. There are also some mosaic *emblemata* of the late Republic, including two at Pompeii itself, which depict the hero grappling the monster with his bare hands.²⁸ Could our Pompeian paintings have been inspired by this tradition? It would provide a neat explanation of the hero's action in discarding his weapons.

To sum up, I strongly suspect that Theseus is taking off his sword to enter the Labyrinth unarmed. One may now ask, why would he have been so stupid? If he had a sword, why not use it? One answer is that it may have been an imped-

iment to getting through the Labyrinth, especially if the passages were narrow and tortuous, and the sword-hilt could have rattled against the wall, alerting the monster. Another is that there may have been a version of the myth in which the Minotaur, like the Nemean lion, could not be killed with a blade; but, if so, the Greek vase-painters don't seem to have been aware of it, and there is no record of it, so far as I know, in the ancient writers. There remains solely the tradition that Theseus was a champion wrestler. According to Pausanias (1.39.3) he 'invented the art of wrestling, and later the teaching of it started from him'. This must lie behind the works of art which show Theseus using his bare hands to vanquish the monster; and it may well explain why he is setting aside his weaponry in our paintings.²⁹

CATALOGUE OF POMPEIAN PAINTINGS

Note: in the measurements of panels, the first figure represents the height, the second the width.

Pompeii I.12.3 (Caupona di Sotericus) (fig. 2)

Location: room 3, west wall

Companion pieces (east and south walls): not legible.

Excavated: 1953-1955 or 1960-1962?

Bibliography: Bragantini/Parise Badoni 1984, 123-124, fig. 16; *PPM* 2 (1990) 718-719, figs. 21-22 (M. de Vos)

Date: late III Style (ca AD 35-50)

Description

Figures isolated on a neutral white background. At the left Theseus, nude, stands more or less frontally, his weight on his left leg; he draws his right arm over his head, while his left arm is lowered and slightly extended to the side. At the right Ariadne, fully draped and wearing her hair in a melon coiffure, stands in left profile, extending her arms towards Theseus, the ball of wool in her left hand. Piled in the background, behind Ariadne's legs, are Theseus' clothes.

Pompeii V.4.a (Casa di M. Lucretius Fronto) (fig. 1)

Location: room g (5), west wall

Companion pieces: 'toilet of Venus' (east); missing (south); battle within landscape (north, reduced to half height by doorway).

Excavated: 1901

Bibliography: Engelmann 1901, 290; Mau 1901, 345-346, fig. 5; Sogliano 1901, 151, figs. 5-6; Herrmann 1904-1931, 221-222, pl. 159; Salis 1930, 25-26, fig. 23; Pickard-Cambridge 1946, 232-233, fig.

119; Schefold 1957, 85-86; Thompson 1960-1961, fig. 172; *Pompei* 1981, 173, scheda 35e; Bragantini/Parise Badoni 1984, 124, figs. 17-18; Bernard/Daszewski 1986, 1052, no 4; *PPM* 3 (1991) 992, fig. 50 (M. de Vos); Peters 1993, 207-208, pl. VIII

Measurements: 39 x 37.5 cm

Condition: flaked in places; cleaned in 1990

Date: late III Style (ca AD 35-50)

Description

The background is formed by a pair of walls meeting at an angle, evidently representing the external corner of an enclosure so lit that the left half of the scene has a white backdrop, the right a grey one; from the top of the angle rises a single merlon. The figure of Theseus stands against the white half, Ariadne against the grey. Above is blue sky; below, the ground surface is ochre. In the foreground, at the right, a light grey column on a square pedestal.

Theseus, nude, stands more or less frontally, his weight on his left leg; he draws his right arm over his head so as to lift a pale blue fillet that falls past his left shoulder down to the hip; his left arm is lowered and slightly extended to the side. Ariadne, seen in left profile, wears a long *chiton*, pale green at the front and purple at the back, over which is wrapped a diaphanous white *himation*; her hair is arranged in a melon coiffure and adorned with a gold net-like headdress. She extends her arms towards Theseus, the ball of wool in her left hand, and the end of the thread in the right. Between the two figures and behind Ariadne's legs, resting on a hidden support of some form, are Theseus' clothes, yellow, pale blue and red; against them rests his ochre club. The only other visible object is a small rock by Theseus' right foot.

Pompeii VI.5.3 (Casa di Nettuno) (fig. 4)

Location: room 3, north wall

Excavated: December 1843

Companion pieces: Apollo and Diana (west), missing (south)

Bibliography: Avellino 1843-1844, 88; Raoul-Rochette 1844, 321; Helbig 1868, 253-254, no 1212; Schefold 1957, 97; Bernard/Daszewski 1986, 1052, no 5; *PPM* 4 (1993) 304, fig. 11 (I. Bragantini)

Measurements: 28 x 35 cm

Condition: partially destroyed; best studied in drawing by G. Abbate (1844)

Date: early IV Style (ca AD 50-60)

Description

The background is formed by a pair of walls which meet in an angle between the two figures.

At the left Theseus, nude, stands more or less frontally, his weight on his left leg; he draws his right arm over his head so as to lift a loop which falls behind his left shoulder; his left arm is lowered and slightly extended to the side, and beneath the armpit a sword-pommel is visible, with a fillet hanging from it. At the right Ariadne, seen in three-quarters back view, extends her arms towards Theseus, the ball of wool in her left hand and the end of the thread in her right; she has a white headdress in her hair, and wears white shoes, a grey-violet *chiton* and a reddish *himation*. Between the two figures, piled on a rock (?) and passing behind Ariadne's legs, are Theseus' clothes and club.

Pompeii VI.14.38 (fig. 3)

Location: room 1 (*triclinium*), south wall

Excavated: 1876-1877

Companion pieces: unknown

Bibliography: Fiorelli 1876, 193; Mau 1878, 118; Sogliano 1879, 94, no 526; Herrmann 1904-1931, 221, fig. 65; Schefold 1957, 136; Bernard/Daszewski 1986, 1052, no 7; *PPM* 5 (1994) 381-382, fig. 10 (I. Bragantini)

Measurements: 58 x 57 cm

Condition: destroyed; known only from early descriptions and drawing by G. Discanno

Date: early IV Style? (later than III Style decoration of peristyle)

Description

The background is formed by a pair of walls (both grey but the right one darker than the left) which meet in an angle between the two figures; at the extreme right is a light-coloured arched opening. At the left Theseus, nude, stands more or less frontally, his weight on his left leg; he draws his left arm over his head and his right arm across his chest to adjust a fillet which evidently functions as his sword-belt; the pommel of the sword is visible at his side together with the loose ends of the fillet. At the right Ariadne, seen in three-quarters view, her weight on her right leg, extends her arms towards Theseus, the ball of wool in her left hand and the end of the thread in her right; she is fully draped in an ankle-length green *chiton*, with a yellow *himation* slung over her left shoulder and gathered over her left arm; on her feet are white shoes. Between the two figures, resting on a small support of some form, are Theseus' clothes (brown) and club.

Pompeii VII.4.48 (Casa della Caccia Antica) (fig. 6)

Location: room 10 (*tablinum*, renumbered 11 in

Allison/Sear 2002), east wall

Excavated: 1833-1834

Companion piece: Daedalus and Pasiphae (west wall)

Bibliography: Raoul-Rochette 1844, 315-321, pl. XXVII; Jahn 1847, 256-257; Helbig 1868, 253, no 1211; Herrmann 1904-1931, 223, pl. 160 left; Reinach 1922, 214, no 5; Elia 1932, 79, no 165; Schefold 1957, 181; Borriello et al. 1986, 146-147, no 172; Bernard/Daszewski 1986, 1052, no 6; *PPM* 7 (1997) 23, fig. 26 (P.M. Allison); Allison/Sear 2002, 26, figs. 112-115

Measurements: 63 x 58 cm

Date: IV Style, between AD 71 and 79 (see Allison/Sear 2002, 83-84)

Condition: removed from wall; now in Naples, National Museum (inv. 9048): complete but faded

Description

In the background faint traces of a wall with two trees above it and at the right, behind Theseus, a higher wall containing an arched opening. Ariadne, here at the left, stands in three-quarters view, proffering Theseus the ball of wool with her right hand; she wears a long green *chiton*, with a hip-length white *himation* draped over her left shoulder and gathered round the hips, where her left hand nervously clutches the hem; on her feet are white shoes. Theseus, nude apart from a blue and red *chlamys* fastened round his neck and falling behind his back, faces her, also in three-quarters view, and extends his right hand to take the wool. In his left hand, lowered at his side, he holds a *harpe*, the blade of which rests against his forearm.

Pompeii IX.2.21

Location: room d (*ala*), south wall

Excavated: 1870

Companion pieces: 'a seated and a standing figure' (north wall), Cupid punished (west wall)

Bibliography: Trendelenburg 1871, 181; Fiorelli 1873, 133-134, no 321; Sogliano 1879, 94, no 525; Schefold 1957, 244; *PPM* 9 (1999) 86, fig. 8 (I. Bragantini)

Measurements: 70 x 52 cm

Date: III Style? (first half of 1st century AD?)

Condition: now disappeared

Description (according to Sogliano)

Theseus, at the left, is in the act of taking off 'il parazonio sospeso al balteo'; he is freeing his left arm from the swordbelt, which he raises with his right hand. Next to a column on the ground lie other arms, including the cuirass and greaves. At the right stands Ariadne, now lacking her head

and part of her left side, wearing a pale blue *chiton* with a dark mantle over it: given that the colours are faded and the plaster fallen, it is impossible to see what she is doing, but she is presumably offering the thread to the hero.

Pompeii IX.7.20 (Casa della Fortuna) (fig. 5)

Location: room l, east wall

Excavated: 1880

Companion piece: Poseidon and Amymone (north wall), Bacchus finding Ariadne (south wall)

Bibliography: Sogliano 1880, 489; Mau 1883, 72-73; Herrmann 1904-1931, 221, fig. 66; Schefold 1957, 271; Schefold 1962, 173, pl. 177, 4; *PPM* 9 (1999) 860, fig. 67 (I. Bragantini)

Measurements: 37 x 35 cm

Date: IV Style (third quarter of 1st century AD)

Condition: destroyed; known only from early descriptions and drawing by G. Discanno

Description

The background is formed by a pair of walls which meet in an angle between the two figures (but closer to Ariadne than to Theseus); in the left wall, framing Ariadne's head and torso, is an arched opening. Ariadne, seated on a stool with finely turned legs, holds out the ball of thread with her right hand; she wears a blue cloak which is draped over her left shoulder and gathered over her legs in such a way as to leave her torso bare; against her left side leans a long staff or sceptre. At the right, Theseus, totally nude, stands more or less frontally in a relaxed stance, his weight on his right leg, and extends his right hand to take the thread; his left arm is lowered to his hip, where it holds the end of a long *pedum* whose curved end rests on the ground.

NOTES

¹ The arguments advanced here develop an idea first floated in a book review (Ling 2005, 597). I have subsequently presented them in papers to seminars in Oxford and London, where I benefited from suggestions made by members of the audience, including David Blackman, Mark Hassall, Peter Stewart, Roger Wilson and Susan Woodford. Further thanks are due to Roy Gibson for his advice on the literary sources, and to Lesley Ling for preparing the drawings used in figures 3-5.

² Bragantini/Parise Badoni 1984, 123-129; Bragantini 2004, 135-138.

³ Peters 1993, 208.

⁴ Bragantini 2004, 136 n. 26.

⁵ Bragantini (2001, 805-806, 810) uses the same argument in relation to a painting said to represent Admetus and Alcestis, but once again I am unconvinced.

⁶ Paintings of Perseus and Polyphemus: Blanckenhagen/Alexander 1990, 28-40, pls. 42-47, 57-59. Daedalus and

Icarus: Blanckenhagen 1968.

- ⁷ See e.g. Pollitt 1986, 185-186, 198-205, figs. 195-200, 213, 216-220.
- ⁸ This would have been normal where a sword was long and the wearer did not need to carry a large shield on the left arm. Roman legionaries, by contrast, invariably wore their short *gladius* at the right side, as seen in the reliefs of the columns of Trajan and M. Aurelius: cf. Webster 1956, 25; 1969, 130; Collingwood/Richmond 1969, 304. However, depictions of soldiers in funerary reliefs and Roman-period mummy portraits sometimes show the sword-belt hanging from the right shoulder: see Toynbee 1962, 157 no 81, pl. 93 (tombstone of Facilis at Colchester) and Borg 1996, 157 (of nine sword-belts, five hang from the right shoulder, four from the left).
- ⁹ Rodenwaldt 1909; Diepolder 1926.
- ¹⁰ PPM 4 (1993) 552, fig. 47.
- ¹¹ Schmidt 1992, 388-389, nos 7-11; cf. 396. For Timomachus' date see Pliny, *NH* 35.136. Generally on his work: Overbeck 1868, 407-410, nos 2122-2137.
- ¹² See Bragantini 2001.
- ¹³ Bragantini 1995, 190-196.
- ¹⁴ Ling and Ling 2005, 67-68.
- ¹⁵ See Rafn 1992.
- ¹⁶ Cf. Bragantini 2001, 800-802. The observation was already made by Mau (1882, 418); he attributes the pictures in VI.5.3 and VI.14.38 to his late or 'impure' Third Style. The struggle between Theseus and the Minotaur was a well established Greek motif (see e.g. Daszewski 1977); but the type of Theseus triumphant may have been an invention of the Augustan age, to whose ideology and visual repertoire it would have been well fitted: see Schmaltz 1989. The abandonment of Ariadne, analogous to Aeneas' desertion of Dido, may also have had special resonances for the Augustan age (Bragantini 2004, 142). Generally on the way in which different iconographies of a myth emerge in the art of different periods in response to the changing needs of society see Bragantini 2001, 814-816.
- ¹⁷ Sogliano 1879, 94, no 525.
- ¹⁸ Trendelenburg 1871, 181; cf. Fiorelli 1873, 133-134, no 321.
- ¹⁹ Schefold 1957, 244.
- ²⁰ PPM 9 (1999) 86.
- ²¹ Bernard/Daszewski 1986, 1052-1053, nos 9-15, with bibl. For the Austrian mosaic see also Jobst 1985, 95-97, pls. 12-14.
- ²² Generally on the series (except I.12.3): Salis 1930, 25-26; Herter 1973, 1117; Brommer 1974, 6-7 ('Theseus rüstet sich zum Kampf'). Casa di Nettuno: Helbig 1868, 253-254. VI.14.38: Herrmann 1904-1931, 221. IX.2.21: Trendelenburg 1871, 181. Lucretius Fronto: Mau 1901, 345; Engelmann 1901, 290; Herrmann 1904-1931, 222 n. 1; PPM 3 (1991) 992 (M. de Vos).
- ²³ Daszewski 1977, pls. 61-64; Neils/Woodford 1994, 940-941, nos 228-243 (S. Woodford). How Theseus came to have a sword or dagger is uncertain, given that the youths sent as tribute to Minos were, according to Hellanicus, allowed to carry 'no martial weapon': Plutarch, *Theseus* 17.3 (= Jacoby, *FGrH* IV, frag. 164). Could Ariadne have given it to him?
- ²⁴ Neils/Woodford (1994, 941, nos 241-242) cite two later Attic vases on which Theseus has adopted a club (one looks rather like a bone - from one of the Minotaur's previous victims?) and one south-Italian vase (*ibid.* no 243) on which he wrestles unarmed.
- ²⁵ Generally on the iconography of the struggle see Daszewski 1977; Neils/Woodford 1994, 940-943 (S. Woodford).

- ²⁶ See Plutarch, *Theseus* 8.1; Apollodorus 3.16.1; cf. Pausanias 2.1.4. The evidence is summarized by Neils (1987, 14).
- ²⁷ See Daszewski 1977, pls. 70-71.
- ²⁸ Daszewski 1977, 49-50, 79-81, 111-115, nos 26-27, 30-31, pls. 33-34. A poem in the Greek Anthology describes a bronze statue-group of another wrestling match involving Theseus, this time against the Marathonian bull: *Anthologia Graeca* 16.105.
- ²⁹ For Theseus' prowess as a wrestler cf. the poem cited in the last note. A general weakness in my argument, pointed out by a member of the audience at a seminar which I gave in London in January 2008, is that, if Theseus has shed his clothes and is in the process of removing his sword-belt, this would imply that he was wearing the sword *under* his clothes. This seems scarcely plausible. One possible explanation is that the 'clothes' were in fact a *chlamys* or similar cloak which had been hung from one shoulder so as to leave the sword accessible. Another is that Theseus had worn the sword beneath his clothes to keep it hidden. But perhaps it is unreasonable to expect the artist to have applied such strict standards of factual accuracy: his aim was to emphasise Theseus' bravery in going to face the Minotaur naked and devoid of all protection. By showing the clothes and club already discarded, and the sword about to join the pile, he was making this point in the most effective way.

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Traffic, Space and Legal Change around the Casa del Marinaio at Pompeii (VII 15.1-2)

David J. Newsome

Abstract

*The Casa del Marinaio at Pompeii was a large and distinguished property framed by three streets west of the forum; streets noted for their ‘oddities’. This article explains these oddities by reference to the evolving patterns of urban traffic over the first centuries BC and AD. Changes made elsewhere in Regio VII diverted wheeled traffic around insula VII 15, forcing the owners of the Casa del Marinaio to make several modifications outside their property. The legal frameworks that regulated changes to roads and pavements may suggest that the owner(s) of the Casa del Marinaio were actively involved in Pompeii’s magistracy.**

INTRODUCTION

The Casa del Marinaio occupied just over one-third of *insula* VII 15, west of the forum and close to the Porta Marina. Positioned at the western end of the *insula*, it had façades on three streets: Vico dei Soprastanti to the north, Vicolo del Gigante to the west, and Vico del Gallo to the south.¹ Points of access existed on all three sides; two on the south (VII 15.1 into the second, subsidiary atrium and VII 15.2, the main *fauces*), one on the west (a ‘loading-dock’ halfway along Vicolo del Gigante) and two on the north (VII 15.15, the street-level access and VII 15.16, the ramp from Vico dei Soprastanti; *fig. 1*). Because of the natural topography, the front and rear entrances to the property were at different levels. The *fauces* on the south opened at street-level on Vico del Gallo; while the street-level entrance at VII 15.15 on Vico dei Soprastanti led to the ‘subterranean’ *horrea*. A sunken garden terraced the space at the northwest corner of the *insula* and mediated this discrepancy between the two levels.

Excavations were conducted in the area over 1871 and 1872, with the Casa del Marinaio coming to light in late November of the first year. Given the scale of the property, its obvious business interests and its opulent decoration, it was quickly suggested that the house belonged to the upper levels of Pompeian society; *una nobilissima casa*.² Despite this initial excitement, there has been little sustained attention to the house since its discovery. Fiorelli’s description long remained the most ample treatment, with the house occupying little attention in Maiuri’s survey of the city’s final years, despite liberal post-earthquake repair and alteration.³ In September 1943, two

bombs hit the northwest corner of the *insula*, partly destroying the latrine and the perimeter wall of the sunken garden.⁴ Mercifully, this limited damage did not compromise our understanding of the house. Franklin’s structural survey remains the most comprehensive account of the property yet published.⁵ In recent years, *insula* VII 15 has come under renewed scrutiny by the Università di Perugia; work that, by examining the development of other properties around the *insula*, will contribute to a more detailed understanding of the relationship between the house and its neighbours.⁶

Today, the Casa del Marinaio stands in a state of ruin that is surprising even for Pompeii. Crumbling *tesserae* underfoot, and loose stones routinely falling into the streets, give little hint at the splen-

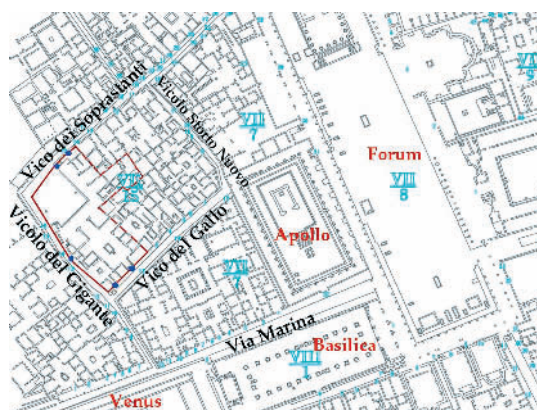


Fig. 1. Map of the area the west of the forum at Pompeii, in AD 79 indicating streets, major public buildings and the Casa del Marinaio with its points of access.

dour that caused excitement upon its rediscovery. The hitherto long, relative neglect of the Casa del Marinaio is perhaps unsurprising. It stands in a corner of Pompeii that is relatively marginal; though not quite marginal enough to attract the attention that has been afforded to the terraced houses on the western side of Vicolo del Gigante; with their commanding views to the Bay of Naples.⁷ The Casa del Marinaio seems apt to be overlooked. Tourists almost instantly pass the turning for Vicolo del Gigante as they are herded towards the forum from the Porta Marina. The Casa del Marinaio is routinely given thousands of fleeting glimpses as it terminates this northbound view, but sustained attention is out of reach (fig. 2).

However, though it may be unsurprising, such neglect is inopportune. As the Casa del Marinaio had entrances on three streets, we may introduce the factor of urban traffic into the narrative of its development, more directly than for many properties in the city. Moreover, that the owners had to manage the infrastructural demands of the *horrea* and the movement of goods further suggests that we should integrate external dynamics into any consideration of its historical development. Finally, the streets around the Casa del Marinaio were dramatically altered from the last decades of the 1st century BC, with alterations persisting even after the earthquake of AD 62. By AD 79 these streets displayed several ‘oddities’; oddities which this paper explains by reference to the broader evolution of traffic patterns around the *insula*.⁸

The aim of the following discussion is to examine how particular changes in the urban space around the forum at Pompeii influenced neighboring streets. In doing so, it advocates a research approach that is based on the inquiry of the effects of change, not simply the description of those changes themselves. It is demonstrated that much of the change around the Casa del Marinaio was based on responses to the architectural developments at the west and east of the forum and the ‘ripple-effects’ these changes had on patterns of movement through the streets around the *insula*.

The present paper proceeds by emphasizing the importance of relating domestic development to patterns in urban space, before presenting a discussion of the results of space syntax analyses over four reconstructed phases. It then discusses and interprets the changing space around the Casa del Marinaio over this period. In light of the changes we observe, it then considers the legal implications of these changes, and queries the plausibility of the suggestion that the owners of

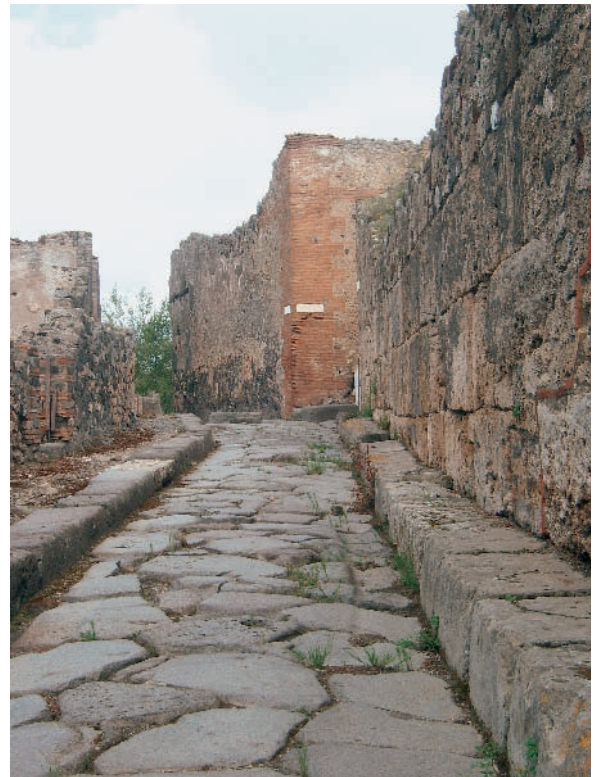


Fig. 2. The Casa del Marinaio, from the intersection of Vicolo del Gigante with Via Marina (photo author).

the house were involved in the Pompeian magistracy over the 1st century AD.

THE URBAN CONTEXT OF DOMESTIC DEVELOPMENT

Between urban and domestic

Despite a broad paradigm shift from synchrony to diachrony in studies of Pompeian space, a shift has not been forthcoming for the relationship between urban and domestic space. In this sense, although sequence and space are now intrinsically related, urban and domestic remain, for the most part, artificially divorced.⁹

There are reasons why this remains so. First of these may be the reluctance toward positing detailed chronologies of urban space; chronologies that are most easily revealed by the evolution of the street plan and one that, therefore, depends on large areas of comparable, stratigraphically related data across the city. Models of urban development, perhaps too negatively associated with the outdated concepts underlying the *Altstadt*, are open to a degree of criticism; generalizing centuries of development into overly rigid ‘phases’

of expansion.¹⁰ Such models of urban spatial development have a fundamental limitation in that they do not account for changes *after* the site had developed to its fullest extent. In part, this may be a question of confidence in evidence. Yet it may also be a legacy of a particular interpretation of urban space more broadly; that the *evolution* of a street grid is limited to its expansion.

There is good reason to dismiss such an approach. Pompeii, as elsewhere, had a fluid and evolving - which is not to say expanding - street system until its final day. Indeed, one could argue that the dominant causal factor of urban change is not expansion but the subsequent adaptation of practice within particular infrastructures. In Pompeii, we are left with an abundance of examples of attempts to reconfigure spatial practice within the network that had developed; be it by the barring of streets to wheeled traffic or the comprehensive blocking of a street by the insertion of a building.¹¹ Spatial development is a constant feature in the city's history.

Those recent studies that have sought to integrate urban and domestic in a more symbiotic interpretation of space ought to be considered. In such work, there has been recognized the need to understand a property in relation to its neighbours and, more ambitiously, to the development of the town as a functioning, dynamic whole. The work at the Insula of the Menander is an apposite example.¹² This project examined an entire *insula* (I 10) in order to understand its evolution; both the relationships between the *domus* and subsidiary properties, as well as their relationship to the surrounding streets. Similar work has been conducted at *insula* VI 1 by the Anglo-American Project in Pompeii. Here, work has focused on the sequential development of the *insula* and its component properties, most notably the Casa delle Vestali (VI 1.6-8) and the Casa del Chirurgo (VI 1.10) along the busy Via Consolare and the subsidiary Vicolo di Narciso.¹³

From its work on the eastern half of *insula* VII 4, the research of the Australian Expedition to Pompeii demonstrates the benefits of developing a historical narrative that is concerned with both urban and domestic developments, the better to understand how they related to one another and, therefore, how *insulae* developed over time.¹⁴ Of interest for this present discussion, is the revelation that Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (VII 4.51) - a double-peristyle house and the oldest in the area - was originally oriented toward Via degli Augustali, in the mid- to late-2nd century BC.¹⁵ It was only later that the northern peristyle assumed the role

of the 'front' of the house; a reversal in domestic orientation that seems linked to the increasing importance of Via della Fortuna from the late-2nd century BC. A similar trend was also suggested by earlier research in the Casa delle Forme di Creta (VII 4.62).¹⁶ Here, earlier properties of the 4th and 3rd centuries BC were oriented to Via di Mercurio on the west and Via degli Augustali on the south. Via della Fortuna exerted no influence over domestic arrangements until, at the earliest, the mid-2nd century BC.¹⁷ Such studies demonstrate the usefulness of reading domestic developments according to wider patterns of urban spatial practice; demonstrating where one influenced the other.¹⁸

Patterned movement and urban change

Recognizing a shift in an apparent spatial hierarchy, as in the reversal of the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati, is one thing; but how do we explain it? The evidence clearly supports Sear's suggestion that Via della Fortuna had 'become fashionable', at the expense of, or at least to a greater extent than, Via degli Augustali.¹⁹ However, the definition of this fashion is troublesome. There is no single, identifiable reason why the properties in *insula* VII 4 should show shift in what was the 'front' and what was the 'back'; though the evidence supports this. A solution, apparent elsewhere in Pompeii, is that domestic space, certainly in the realm of façades and thresholds, was influenced by external patterns of movement.²⁰

At the Insula of the Menander, it was recognized that during the 1st century AD, front rooms of houses were increasingly converted to shops, opening onto the street. This was interpreted as a reaction to 'increased traffic' around the *insula*.²¹ Although the assertion that economically-driven enterprises tend to be found on main streets is not new,²² the significance of developments at the Insula of the Menander is that we might explain them according to an increase in traffic; hence, it is the spatial practice, not the intrinsic nature of the spatial network, that influenced the development of commercial properties in this area.²³ It was not that the Insula of the Menander was surrounded by inherently busy streets but that, at some point, the volume of traffic increased to an extent that it became a determining factor in subsequent development. In this instance, one cannot fully understand domestic developments without recourse to urban developments also.

Diachronic variability must be accounted for; how did streets change, relative to one another

Figs. 3-5. Maps showing the colour-coded results of space syntax analyses.



Fig. 3. 125-30 BC.

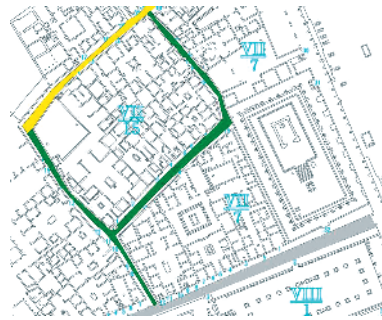


Fig. 4. 30 BC-AD 62.

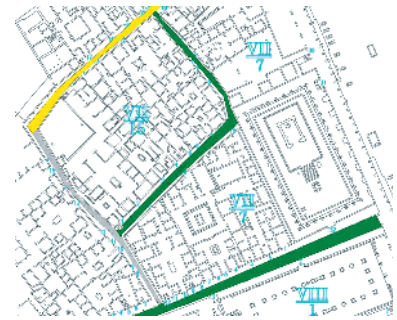


Fig. 5. AD 62-79.

over time, and how we might reconstitute practice within infrastructure? This reconstitutes dynamism to the city and returns Pompeii's urban space from a singular plan to a long-term result of, and stage for, social processes. The following section summarizes the major changes to urban space in and around the forum over the 1st century BC and AD. Based on this diachronic reading of space, the changes around the Casa del Marinaio can then be examined and their motivations and intentions considered.

THE EVOLUTION OF SPACE WEST OF THE FORUM

The urban fabric of Pompeii is highly amenable to detailed spatial analyses, with recent publications in this field bearing testimony to the possibilities afforded by this unique body of data.²⁴ The main limitation of previous spatial analyses of Pompeii has been the use of the extant remains to reconstruct an urban history. In this respect, interpretations based on the analysis of the plan of AD 79 are only ever going to be so useful, as they lack the fundamental dynamics of chronology and change. However, if analyses are to address specific issues of spatial practice, then we must again emphasise that space is inseparable from sequence. The aim, then, must be to use methods of spatial analyses that are applicable to multiple, archaeologically defined phases; the better to define comparable patterns and trends in spatial descriptions of the city's history.

As in several previous studies, the present paper utilizes the methodological framework of space syntax; a range of statistical analyses and theoretical suppositions for the analysis and interpretation of continuous urban space.²⁵ For the sake of brevity, and with an awareness that the methodological and theoretical propositions of space syntax are increasingly familiar in classical archaeology, the

focus here is solely on the results of analyses and their interpretation in the narrative of urban development around *insula* VII 15.²⁶

The complex nature of chronology around the forum, coupled with the limited space available, means that the following is but a summary of only the key developments, their analyses, and the interpretation of changes relevant for the Casa del Marinaio.²⁷ The following model of changing traffic patterns is based on the definition of each street into one of four categories based on indexes of movement intensity. Accordingly, one can quantify the relative intensity, or 'busyness' of these streets in successive phases; allowing one to chart changes in traffic patterns over time.²⁸ The following colours are used to illustrate the results of this categorisation: yellow for the busiest and most well-connected streets, grey for the middle range, and green for the least busy and most segregated (see appendix). The advantage of representing the results in this way is in allowing one to see, relatively simply, the way the probable intensity of a street changes, relative to others, over time. Of course, the suggestions of one street assuming priority over another then need confirming or rejecting with reference to the archaeological data, so that both space syntax and archaeology are worked into a complementary narrative of historical development. One potential problem with the use of space syntax in archaeology is that results may not correspond to actual patterns of use, merely to statistically-probable relationships. Spatial abstractions are a useful way of approaching particular questions of practice, but ultimately archaeological evidence for spatial practice must support any interpretations.

Background: Phases A and B, 125-30 BC (fig. 3)

In terms of changes to the streets based on space

syntax analyses, the situation around the Casa del Marinaio remained largely the same throughout the late pre-Roman and the early Roman period, with no changes to the basic definitions of any street in this area. For this reason, the two phases are combined here, as a broader phase from the 2nd century BC until the Augustan period. The results of spatial analyses clearly demonstrate an east-west emphasis in this area; which is representative of wider patterns throughout Pompeii in this time. At the south, Via Marina was one of the main arteries in the city. In the centre, Vico del Gallo was a well-integrated link through to the forum and the eastern *insulae*.²⁹ At the north, Vico dei Soprastanti connected these routes, eastward, with the junction of Via del Foro and Via degli Augustali, as well as the forum itself. The north-south streets were all, relatively, less significant. In the first decades after the founding of the Sullan colony, there were some changes to the south side of Via Marina when the Sanctuary of Venus was built or rearranged, but none of these were significant in altering patterns of movement in the surrounding area.³⁰

Phase C: Augustan changes (fig. 4)

The last decades of the 1st century BC and the first decades of the 1st century AD have been recognized as an important first step in the transformation of the forum.³¹ Of central importance to the development of space around *insula* VII 15, are the changes made to the Sanctuary of Apollo. There is by no means a general consensus on the chronology of the sanctuary and its relation to both its neighbouring streets and the forum. Archaic finds place the earliest sanctuary in the 6th century BC, predating the later city, though it is clear that the present form of the area is the result of later changes.³² In the 2nd century BC there was a reorganization of this space, perhaps related to a larger redevelopment of the forum piazza.³³ Recently, it has been suggested that the AD 79 plan of the sanctuary is a product of changes made in the Augustan period.³⁴ The present paper takes account of recent criticisms of the Augustan date, which does not provide an all-encompassing interpretation of the development of the sanctuary. However, based on the excavation data in relation to the truncation of the intersection at the north of the sanctuary, this paper follows what might be called the 'Dobbins model'. These excavations credibly disprove earlier suggestions of an open colonnade and elucidate the impact of change on the nearby grid of streets; namely the truncation

of the eastern half of Vico del Gallo and the southern half of Vicolo Storto Nuovo sometime around 10 BC.³⁵ Further evidence in support of an Augustan date for this change is the inscription recording alterations made to the Casa di Trittolemo (VII 7.2) and by necessity to Vicolo Storto Nuovo, under M. Holconius Rufus.³⁶

Other significant changes occurred at the east of the forum, where the Building of Eumachia and the Sanctuary of the Genius of Augustus were constructed; again dated to the Augustan period on inscriptional evidence.³⁷ The suggestion that the Building of Eumachia imitates the Porticus Liviae, constructed in Rome in 7 BC, complements a date of the final decade BC or first decade AD.³⁸ These developments blocked Vicolo degli Scheletri at the west. Despite the wall that blocks access is from post-AD 62, the convergence of the buildings and the lack of articulation on the northern exterior wall of the Building of Eumachia suggests that this route was no longer anticipated in the planning process.³⁹ The *chalcidicum* of the Building of Eumachia had the further effect of blocking access for wheeled traffic at the southeast corner of the forum.

The transformation of a regular grid into an irregular network, disconnected from the forum, has significant impact on the analyses. While the broad theme of east-west dominance was preserved, the specific arrangements were modified. Vico del Gallo was particularly effected, losing all prominence because of its truncation at the east. Changes around the forum also have an effect on Via Marina; it remained important in local movement but was less well integrated into wider patterns of space. This may explain why it was deemed partly expendable after the earthquake.

Phase D: post-earthquake changes (fig. 5)

Following the earthquake, the building at the northwest corner of the forum conclusively blocked the street that had once met Vico del Gallo.⁴⁰ On Via Marina, the Sanctuary of Venus was expanded, in order to correct the *templum* wall which had previously, because of pressures on space, been of irregular shape. The new sanctuary wall made no concessions for existing streets; encroaching both on the *angiportus* between it and the Basilica, as well as the pavement on the south side of Via Marina.⁴¹ This shows a reversal in the hierarchy of urban space; wherein the priority formerly given to the street is now given over to the precinct.

The result of this was to narrow Via Marina at the southwest corner of *insula* VII 7, making it

impassable to wheeled traffic. This had the concomitant effect of increasing the significance of Vicolo del Gigante as a route. Wheel ruts mark a turn on the southeast corner of *insula* VII 16; opposite the corner where the expanded sanctuary narrowed Via Marina.⁴² The northbound turn onto Vicolo del Gigante became the principal route for vehicles from the Porta Marina. In terms of open access routes, turning north onto Vicolo del Gigante then east along Vico dei Soprastanti towards Via del Foro was the only possible option.⁴³ Movement was forced around the long, northern edge. Clearly, then, the elaboration of the Sanctuary of Apollo had far wider spatial implications west of the forum than simply blocking the light to the *Casa di Trittolemo*. Elsewhere around the forum, the Imperial Cult Building and the renovated façade of the *macellum* blocked Vicolo del Balcone Pensile after AD 62.⁴⁴ This construction had significant changes in the patterns of movement at the northeast entrance, itself suitably aggrandized during this period.⁴⁵

With the spatial history (and changing spatial practice) of the area now mapped, the discussion returns to the Casa del Marinaio. What effects did these broad changes have on traffic around the *insula*, and how did the owners of the house respond to these changing circumstances?

RESPONSES AND ADAPTATIONS AROUND THE CASA DEL MARINAIO

The South: the junction of Vico del Gallo and Vicolo del Gigante

The Casa del Marinaio presented its conspicuous domestic façade toward Vico del Gallo, with the more industrial entrances on the west and the north. This may confirm that most traffic would have used Vico del Gallo before it was blocked, thereby making it the most ‘public’ route in this area and the one on which to display the prestige of one’s *domus*.⁴⁶ In this context, the raised pavement outside the Casa del Marinaio may be interpreted as a method of status display along the thoroughfare. The pavement on the north side of Vico del Gallo, extending the length of the house, is substantially higher than on the south of the street, or indeed further east along the same stretch of paving (fig. 6).⁴⁷ This discrepancy is not necessarily due to the irregular slope of the land at the west end of the *insula*. Steps could have easily mediated the space between a lower pavement and the vestibule of either entrance. Instead, the raised paving, which is quoined with slabs of lava, larger

than anywhere else around the *insula*, might be read as an example of pavement elaboration in order to emphasize one’s own house. Examples of such elaboration are common throughout the city; either in patterned paving or in height.⁴⁸

Almost certain to post-date the Augustan expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo is the fountain that stands at the western end of the street (fig. 7). Although it has been suggested that this would act as a ‘way-finding device’,⁴⁹ it is more likely that the primary, intended purpose was to stop wheeled traffic from turning eastwards into the now blocked Vico del Gallo. The dating of the majority of Pompeian fountains to the Augustan period allows us to date this as contemporary with or soon after the developments of the sanctuary.⁵⁰

The fountain at Vico del Gallo is a further indication that the owners may have been involved in the upper echelons of Pompeian society. Although it is a relatively common design, it is constructed in a conspicuous material; marble. This makes it one of only four fountains in prestigious materials; the other three being the travertine examples at the southeast corner of the Building of Eumachia, on the Via dell’Abbondanza (VII 9.67); at the junction of Via degli Augustali and Vicolo Storto (VII 4.32); and at the junction of Via della Fortuna and Via Stabiana (VII 14.17). A typical explanation for the quality of these fountains is that they come not from a city-wide initiative but from private benefaction. There are 35 fountains with basins so far discovered in Pompeii and some comparison is relevant here. That at the end of Vico del Gallo is one of the ‘type D’ fountains, so defined by the particular arrangement of the slabs.⁵¹ The next closest type D fountain to the Casa del Marinaio is that at the northeast corner of *insula* VII 7, on Vico dei Soprastanti near the entrance to the forum. There are ten of this type in Pompeii, making it the most common form, accounting for 28.5% of the known total. There is, then, a discrepancy with this fountain, between the common type and the lavish substance. This discrepancy quickly led to the conclusion that this particular fountain was a generous donation; a public utility from private funds.⁵²

It has been suggested that the marble fountain might be a replacement of an earlier basin in the same position; one that was of less prestigious material and that was substituted at sometime in the 1st century AD.⁵³ This suggestion is worth briefly considering, since it might demand a rethink of the history of the intersection of Vico del Gallo and Vicolo del Gigante. The basis for proposing an earlier fountain is the large rectangular slab of



Fig. 6. The raised pavement outside the Casa del Marinaio on Vico del Gallo (photo author).



Fig. 7. The junction of Vicolo del Gigante and Vico del Gallo (photo author).



Fig. 8. The lava slab on Vico del Gallo, beneath the marble fountain (photo author).

lava beneath the marble slabs of the fountain but above the basalt paving of the street itself (fig. 8). This is of sufficiently different material to suggest that it belonged to a different project to that which stands there today. Given the common use of lava for Pompeii's fountains, this may have been the base of the original fountain at this junction; in keeping with wider trends in the city, being the most common design type and the most common material. In this hypothesis, the marble fountain was a later upgrade; perhaps suitably aggrandised to reflect the developing public machinations and economic prosperity of the owners of the Casa del Marinaio.

Yet the suggestion of such replacement is of limited validity. As the fountain intrudes on the pedestrian sidewalk *and* the vehicular carriage-way, its position requires some mediation in height between the two. Rather than being the remains of an earlier fountain, the lava slab was, more likely, such a mediator. At the western end of Vico del Gallo, the pavement continuous with the Casa del Marinaio lowers relative to the area east of the fountain, yet a fountain placed on the underlying pavement stones would still be considerably higher than the street paving itself. The lava slab might best be read as a filler in this empty space; artificially raising the street level beneath the fountain.

Further problems with a hypothetical predecessor are inherent in the design of the marble basin itself. If the lava slab were from an original lava fountain, its tight fit with the secondary marble must reflect the latter fountain occupying the same spatial boundaries as the former. However, the marble fountain is one of the smallest capacity basins in the city; its fine material perhaps offset by limitations on expenditure (a case of euergetism reined in by economic pragmatism?).⁵⁴ If the marble is indeed a replacement, the earlier fountain could have been no greater than the area now occupied by the latter.⁵⁵ The small size of any lava predecessor would make the benefaction of the Casa del Marinaio rather meagre, in comparison with other fountains in the city; it would have been a common type, a common material and would have had among the smallest capacity of them all. One might suggest that only the marble upgrade was a private donation to the public, possibly offered as a replacement for an original public funded basin that was damaged in the earthquake of AD 62. There are enough repairs around the southwest corner of VII 15 to suggest that damage in this area was considerable.⁵⁶ However, this speculation cannot be demonstrated

and it is more prudent to abandon the suggestion of a lava predecessor altogether. Instead we should read the lava slab as an integral part of the practicalities of placing a fountain into space that was uneven.⁵⁷

The most significant issue with the fountain at the west end of Vico del Gallo is its impact on the existing street network, by blocking passage and encroaching on both the pavement and the carriageway of the street (fig. 9).⁵⁸ The relation of fountains to existing spatial infrastructure has been well covered in recent scholarship.⁵⁹ Overall, there is no identifiable policy of how to implant a fountain into public space. Some were placed wholly in the carriageway; others wholly on the pavement; others somewhere between the two.⁶⁰ The placement appears, above all, to relate to the compromise deemed necessary between the two basic components of the spatial practice of the street; pedestrian and vehicular access. In this sense, the insertion of a fountain can be read not only as indicative of pre-existing practice but of tolerated, expected practice following any insertion. As well as responding to and preserving existing spatial practice, the insertion of a fountain could alter the type and intensity of social activity. So, as the blockage of Vico del Gallo had the effect of diverting traffic, it would have had the concurrent effect of increasing the intensity of pedestrian activity in the area; as locals collected water from and congregated around this source.⁶¹ The fountain may have been placed slightly further east than ideal, to allow fountain-users to stand around it without overcrowding the vehicular carriageway of Vicolo del Gigante. If this were the case, it would demonstrate an anticipation of spatial practice and potential congestion at this junction.

More will be said on the fountain later, as its particular relationship with the pavement and the street raise legal questions about its location. For now, it is important to recognise the effect of this fountain; to divert traffic north on Vicolo del Gigante, around the west of the *insula*.

The West: the loading dock on Vicolo del Gigante

On the western perimeter wall, that which abuts Vicolo del Gigante, there was originally an opening for loading; ca 1.5 m above the street level at that point but, owing to the lay of the land, at ground level inside the property. There were no steps or ramps to this opening from the exterior, so it was clearly a point at which goods would be pulled into or out of the house. This loading dock is one of the most important areas when examining the



Fig. 9. View from the fauces at VII 15.1 showing the intrusion of the fountain in both the vehicular street and pedestrian pavement on Vico del Gallo (photo author).

relationship between internal and external space around the *insula*, as traffic using this space would have been forced to stop for the duration of the task. Therefore, we can understand to what extent this was considered problematic, over time, in relation to evolving traffic patterns in the surrounding streets.

In his discussion of the structural development of the house, Franklin dated the loading dock to 125-100 BC, when the vaulted entrance to the *horrea* was constructed.⁶² As such, it was not an original feature of the house but was added sometime later. The significance of this point is that it demonstrates how, in 125-100 BC and before, the levels of traffic on Vicolo del Gigante were such that a loading dock was considered unproblematic. That wagons or animals would have to stop as goods were loaded and unloaded at this point, thereby blocking the street temporarily and potentially forcing a queue, shows that this was thought unlikely to inconvenience other traffic at this point; most likely because the levels of traffic at this time were relatively low.

That traffic was considered and anticipated is

also clear from the masonry below the loading dock itself. Although the opening is well above the street level of Vicolo del Gigante, upright blocks of lava (ca 1.00 m x 0.35 m) were inserted into the external face of the wall (fig. 10). The use of this material in this way has no direct structural benefits. However, it did have the advantage of absorbing the shock and wear of heavily loaded traffic in this narrow section of the street. It is likely that wagons due to load or unload from the loading dock would pull their wheels closer to the wall, than would a wagon simply passing by, north or south on Vicolo del Gigante. The presence of such traffic-related masonry is further proof that the owners took account of traffic patterns when considering the practicalities of this point of access in the late 2nd century BC. Again, they clearly did not consider a loading dock to be an unreasonable or unworkable interference with existing spatial practice; an important point for understanding the original patterns of movement around this part of the *insula*.

Eventually, this loading dock was walled up. The brickwork suggests a post-earthquake date for the act itself but the reasons for this decision lie in longer-term processes. One of the key results of the spatial analyses in this area is the increasing probability of traffic using Vicolo del Gigante after 10 BC. There were two stages to this trend: firstly, after the blocking of Vico del Gallo, any wheeled traffic that had intended to turn east off Vicolo del Gigante would have to move north, around the *insula* rather than 'across' it; secondly, after AD 62, any wheeled traffic heading east from the Porta Marina would, similarly, be forced northwards along Vicolo del Gigante and around *insula* VII 15. As a result of architectural changes made far away from the loading dock itself, its position at the narrow kink in Vicolo del Gigante became increasingly problematic (fig. 11). In the late 2nd and for the majority of the 1st century BC, wheeled traffic would only reach this point as the result of a conscious decision to bypass both Via Marina and Vico del Gallo; hardly likely for the majority, as this is the long-way round in any estimation. Over time, as this choice was eliminated, so too was the feasibility of having wagons stop for the loading and unloading of materials.

Franklin suggested that the loading dock was largely abandoned when the northern interior of the property was remodeled, in order that there might be direct communication between the sunken garden and the *horrea*.⁶³ This would be sometime in the late 2nd or early 1st century BC; long before the earthquake of AD 62, after which the loading



Fig. 10. The area around the loading dock on Vicolo del Gigante. The dock itself has been filled in with tile after the earthquake. Note the upright lava slab embedded in the wall and the large depression beneath the dock (photo author).

dock was permanently closed. We might ask why such pragmatic and extensive internal remodeling in this period was not accompanied by the straightforward task of walling up the loading dock. Although Franklin may be correct in demonstrating a shift in the internal arrangements of business space, this explanation does not account for why the now 'disused' loading dock would remain open for, it would seem, another ca 160 years. One explanation, with a tighter chronology and one that relates the loading dock to changes around the *insula*, rather than solely within it, is found when the fate of this point is related to the fate of Vicolo del Gigante itself; and to the changes in traffic intensity over the 1st century AD. In this instance, a diachronic reading of space and the examination of the fluctuating volume of traffic along these routes, gives a more nuanced narrative of why this particular point of access, once deemed so necessary for the owners of the Casa del Marinaio, was sacrificed for good following the earthquake.⁶⁴

The North: the broad space on Vico dei Soprastanti

Another noticeable 'oddity' around the Casa del Marinaio is the broad area to the northwest corner of the *insula*, on Vico dei Soprastanti west of the ramp and VII 15.15. This stretch of the street is noticeable for the absence of a continuous pavement on the south; continuous with the house (fig. 12). As a result, the area west of the ramp was ca 1.5 m wider than anywhere else along the *insula*.⁶⁵ This broad space ran for the remaining ca 15 m of the house, to the turn onto Vicolo del Gigante.

Although this space, and around the northern end of Vicolo del Gigante itself, is now overgrown and green, photographs in previous studies show the lava paving of Vico dei Soprastanti extending throughout this area.⁶⁶ This appeared to be a separate scheme of paving from that found elsewhere along either of these two streets. As Franklin noted, 'the lava blocks that pave the extra expanse of street are darker than those paving the rest of the area [...] and are laid out slightly cantered up from the rest of the street'.⁶⁷ It seems likely that, rather than never having a pavement, this area had a pre-



Fig. 11. View looking south on Vicolo del Gigante, showing the narrow kink beneath the loading dock (photo author).

existing pavement removed and the area repaved. The effects documented above, that made the loading dock on Vicolo del Gigante unworkable, necessarily continued around the northwest of the *insula*. This area was therefore subject to the competing pressures of different spatial practices; the intensity of traffic directly associated with the *horrea*, as well as the indirect traffic moving through the grid of streets west of the forum.

It seems most likely that the broad paved area west of the ramp was subject to more traffic than either the north end of Vicolo del Gigante or the east stretch of Vico dei Soprastanti. However, this requires some explanation, since the area in question is effectively one element of a continuous route. How can one part be busier than the rest given that traffic should, all things being equal, continue throughout the length of this route? The location of the *horrea* is a significant piece of evidence for showing that all things were *not* equal in this exact area; as different spatial practices used the same space for different purposes. The suggestion that the broad area west of the ramp was a turning and unloading area for such business traffic is a sound argument based on the pragmatism of space at the northwest of the *insula*. As at the loading dock on Vicolo del Gigante, any traffic loading and unloading to the *horrea* at VII 15.15 would have had to stop for the duration of this task. Again, traffic in this area was originally not of sufficient volume to inconvenience, or be inconvenienced by, stationary vehicles.

Of course, in proposing that the area was modified in response to changing spatial pressures, chronology is of singular importance. The ramp was most likely constructed in 125-100 BC, which places it at the same period as the loading dock on the west perimeter wall. This demonstrates that, at the time of its creation, the stretch of Vicolo del Gigante, north of the intersection with Vico del Gallo, was not subject to heavy demands on traffic. Neither, therefore, would be the northwest corner of the *insula*. That the ramp led to a blocked doorway, still evident from the lava sill in the northern perimeter wall, is clear. That the top of the ramp was effectively the end of the pavement is also likely, as there is no sign of any steps or ramp returning to street level to the west of this blocked door. This might suggest that the broad area west of the ramp should also date to 125-100 BC. If this were the case, the proposition that these changes were a response to increasing pressures on traffic, which should then be related to those of Vico del Gigante, might be questioned.

However, whilst it may not be *responsive* in the



Fig. 12. The broad area west of the ramp at VII 15.2. Note the lack of pavement on the south side of the street, continuous with the Casa del Marinaio (photo author).



Fig. 13. The buffer stone at the turning from Vicolo del Gigante onto Vico dei Soprastanti, as seen from the south (photo author).

way that the fountain at Vico del Gallo is responsive, this area was still inseparable from the developing patterns of space. The blocking of the doorway at the top of the ramp is an important

part of the chronology. It is only after this doorway was blocked that the ramp became useless; since it did not communicate with the interior of the property. The date for this blockage is by no means straightforward. Franklin related it to the reorganization of internal space at the north of the property in the 'early 1st century BC'.⁶⁸ The basis for this date is that the loading dock is filled with a rubblework mixture of Sarno limestone and lava, which is assumed to be typical of this period. Yet, the same kind of rubblework is also employed in post-earthquake remodeling around the property, which suggests this could be a relatively late change.⁶⁹

If the ramp no longer served a purpose, it would make sense for it to no longer restrict the pedestrian pavement, as it does. It must be that, after the blocking of the door, the needs of the area west of the ramp were still influenced more by vehicular than by pedestrian traffic. The necessity to maintain this broad area persisted beyond the need to have the ramp into the house. The area was not, then, just the left-over space west of the ramp into the property but assumed its own spatial importance. If the area originated because of the need to have a ramp into the Casa del Marinaio, it persisted because of a different dynamic; that of increased traffic around this corner. Therefore, though our dates for its creation might seem significantly earlier than the changes we observe elsewhere, it does not remove it from the narrative of spatial adaptation over the final century.

The suggestion that we might relate potential traffic problems at this corner to the changes on Vicolo del Gigante, at both its intersection with Via Marina and with Vico del Gallo, is supported by the 'buffer stone' that stands at the northwest corner of the *insula* (fig. 13). It is likely that this, like the stones we see around numerous fountains and like the slabs of lava around the loading dock, was to protect the wall from excessive damage by passing vehicles.⁷⁰ That wagons turned this corner is clear from the wear on the stone. That this traffic was predominantly northbound, and therefore related directly or indirectly to the changes made further south on Vicolo del Gigante, is clear from two complementary factors. The first of these is the directional-bias of the wear, which shows a dominant pattern of wagons turning northeast from Vicolo del Gigante onto Vico dei Soprastanti; with wagons hugging the corner relatively tightly and justifying the presence of a buffer stone at this location. The second is the position of the stone itself. Although it is at 'the corner' of the *insula*, it stands wholly within Vicolo del Gigante; or, it

does not extend further north than the northwest corner of the Casa del Marinaio itself. The significance of this is that the buffer stone's position would be ineffective against traffic making a south-bound turn from Vico dei Soprastanti. In fact, for such traffic, the stone merely serves to artificially extend the wall of the house, without offering it any protection (fig. 14). It narrows the angle of the corner in this direction; an unnecessary intrusion at a critical spot and one that, therefore, only makes sense if the dominant trend was for north-bound traffic.

That this small but significant addition to the street network allows us to infer direction, allows moreover to suggest that it is a relatively late addition; presumably instigated only when the need for such masonry protection was perceived and, therefore, only after the volume of traffic at this point had raised such concerns. As such, it was likely to post-date the blocking of Vico del Gallo. This buffer stone might be interpreted in the same wider patterns of spatial change that led to the abandonment of the loading dock. Traffic that had previously passed along Vico del Gallo now had no alternative but to head north. The loading dock was compromised by this unforeseen change in spatial practice. One could reasonably infer that the buffer stone at the northwest of the Casa del Marinaio shared the same broad spatial history; it was a response brought about by changes to the dominant patterns of movement around the *insula*.

The Whole: summary of developments and chronology

The changes that were instigated around the Casa del Marinaio can, more often than not, be directly related to the accumulated effects of changing spatial practice in this area. To summarise, with the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo and the subsequent blocking of Vico del Gallo, traffic was diverted around the west and north of the *insula*. This was further exaggerated after AD 62, when Vicolo del Gigante became the only connecting route from Via Marina. The intensity of traffic would have significantly increased. Activities that originally demanded a certain compromise of traffic flow, as at the *horrea* or the loading dock, had to compete with more traffic than before. As a result, negotiation between a series of changing priorities is apparent.

Having examined these changes and how best to interpret them in terms of evolving spatial practice, it is now worth examining them from a legal perspective. What were the legal frameworks

within which these responsive changes took place and what might the changes we observe reveal about the owner(s) of the Casa del Marinaio?

THE LEGAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF SPATIAL CHANGE

Fuscus Fecit: the Casa del Marinaio and the political involvement of the Lollii

Although there can be little doubt that the Casa del Marinaio belonged at the upper end of any scale of Pompeian housing, the suggestion that it belonged to a member of the city's magistracy is debatable. More debatable still is the identification of a particular owner of the property, C. Lollius Fuscus, a candidate for aedile in AD 78. The attribution of the Casa del Marinaio to this individual was made by Della Corte, based on inscriptions recorded on Vico del Gallo.⁷¹ Two inscriptions at the Casa del Marinaio attest the name Fuscus, both of which relate to building work at the house itself:⁷²

CIL IV.3582: KAPELLA II·VIR
IIVIR · CVPIDVS
FVSCVS FECIT

CIL IV.3583: PAQVIVM · DVI
FUSCVS CVPIDVS
FECIT

Since this identification, scholars have rightly questioned the principle that the names found on the façade of a house need belong to their owners. As a result, Della Corte's identification of the house as that of C. Lollius Fuscus has not gained wide currency.⁷³ The use of *fecit* implies a direct link between this Fuscus and the Casa del Marinaio, in a way that other epigraphic evidence may lack; but this involvement does not necessarily indicate that he was the owner or resident. However, there is good reason to suggest that the owner(s) of the Casa del Marinaio was involved with Pompeii's magistracy and that this involvement may have spanned successive generations. The following discussion examines the prominence of the Fuscii in Pompeii and the responsibilities of the aedile. It then considers the spatial changes around *insula* VII 15 and their political and legal implications. It will then be questioned to what extent the suggestion that the Casa del Marinaio was owned by a member of the Pompeian magistracy is tenable, in light of such evidence.



Fig. 14. The northwest corner of the insula showing the buffer stone (photo author).

Della Corte recognised that the *cognomen* Fuscus was common in Pompeii, and it is worth examining the calibre of this name in more detail.⁷⁴ Fuscus was the tenth most frequently attested *cognomen*, with 11 known instances.⁷⁵ Of these 11 known Fusci, 5 are known to have been involved in the Pompeian magistracy. The occurrence of Fuscus for 5 magistrates makes it one of the ten most frequent names favoured by 'magisterial families', with 45% of bearers being politically active.⁷⁶

Of the known Fusci who were politically active, it is worth considering at what periods they were in office or stood as a candidate. Three of the five can be dated with certainty. L. Eumachius Fuscus was an aedile in AD 31/32, as is attested by a list of the *ministri augusti*.⁷⁷ L. Laelius Fuscus appears five times in the archive of L. Caecilius Iucundus, the majority of entries for which are dated between AD 54 and 58.⁷⁸ Some measure of his status may be that he is ranked first in each of the five entries in which he appears, though Jongman's generation of ranking is speculative. C. Lollius Fuscus is dated to the final years of Pompeii, AD 78-79, by electoral *programmata*. Inscriptions for his candidacy occur across the city, often on busy streets.⁷⁹ An inscribed notice on the eastern, exterior wall of the Building of Eumachia confirms, given the post-earthquake repair on this wall, a Flavian date for the man to whom Della Corte assigned the Casa del Marinaio (as does similar evidence on the opposite side of Vico di Eumachia; largely rebuilt after AD 62).⁸⁰

C. Lollius Fuscus was a member of a distinguished, if not politically spectacular, family - the Lollii. Examples of this family are attested in all the major Campanian centres. Their status seems

to have been linked to their influence in trading and Roman citizenship was achieved sometime after the Social War.⁸¹ Of those Lollii who were involved in Pompeian politics, we know three for certain and a possibility of a fourth. The first of these was Q. Lollius Felix, a member of the *ministri augusti* in AD 1-2.⁸² These were lower level officials, attested from 2 BC. Q. Lollius Felix was, therefore, one of the earliest involved. Although a lower level magistracy, this places a member of the Lollii in political office during an important period of change in Pompeii. To the Flavian period belonged both C. Lollius Fuscus and Q. Lollius Rufus, both candidates for aedile.⁸³ Also in this final period was C. Lollius Synhodus, a *cliens* of Lucius Popidius Secundus, himself a candidate for aedile.⁸⁴ Returning to the possible owner of the Casa del Marinaio, C. Lollius Fuscus is listed alongside Popidius Secundus in an inscription from Via della Fortuna, perhaps as joint aedilician candidates.⁸⁵

Of these known and dated examples of Lollii in political office, there is a recurrence of the office of *aedilis*. This office was a lower level magistracy at which most magistrates might have begun their political career; perhaps relatively young.⁸⁶ Elections were held annually, with two aediles elected each year. The office was responsible for the everyday maintenance and administration of the city, including its roads.⁸⁷ It is in this context that the office becomes relevant for our discussions of the Casa del Marinaio, given the broad changes we observe there over the 1st century AD. What follows is an examination of particular changes to the streets around *insula* VII 15 and the legal and political implications of these modifications.

While it must be borne in mind that the legal charters discussed here do not come from Pompeii itself, it is more than reasonable to infer that the negotiation of space in Pompeii was modelled on contemporary *leges* in Rome. Accordingly, the broader issue of space in Roman legal texts may be applied in our discussion. There is evidence that the central authorities took notice of the legality of space in Pompeii; evidence which may act as a proxy for an awareness of the legal ramifications of spatial change, in the absence of a *lex Pompeiana* itself. During the reign of Vespasian, the tribune Titus Suedius Clemens restored public land at Pompeii that had been illegally occupied by private individuals.⁸⁸ Copies of this text were placed outside the Porta Ercolano, the Porta di Vesuvio and the Porta Nocera. This attests not only to a legal distinction between public and private space but also to direct interaction with Rome and its

legal practices. Moreover, it attests the desire to make this legal intervention commonly known around the city. The issue of the legality of space was clearly well promoted in the urban consciousness of Pompeii in the 1st century AD.

The pavements west of VII 15.15

The maintenance of the roads was one of the key responsibilities of the aedile, as is defined in several charters from the 1st centuries BC and AD. The *Tabula Heracleensis* gives much detail about the legal implications of spatial change in the city of Rome.⁸⁹ On the responsibility of maintenance, much of the burden is on the owner of the property adjacent to the space in question; with aedile acting as regulator and, perhaps likely but not necessarily, instigator. The aedile acted as an arbitrator, to ensure a duty of care to a consistent standard in those areas of the city under his jurisdiction.⁹⁰ Further in the *lex*, the legal status of pavements is clarified. The maintenance of a pavement is the responsibility of the owner in front of whose building the pavement shall pass.⁹¹ The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* provides details of the legal conditions by which an aedile might make alterations to a street. In this text, the following actions are identified with reference to spatial change: to construct, to introduce, to change, to build, or to pave.⁹² All of these are permitted by his office under the law, so long as any changes made did not cause damage to private individuals.⁹³ The same list of permitted alterations is repeated in the *Lex Tarentina*, with a similar stipulation.⁹⁴

Returning to the evidence around the Casa del Marinaio, what implications do these legal standards have for the changes we can observe? Of the actions listed above in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* and *Lex Tarentina*, the area west of VII 15.15 would have fallen under to 'change' - *commutare* - as well as, possibly, *munire* or *aedificare* - to 'pave' and to 'build', respectively.⁹⁵ The area west of VII 15.15 is notable for a number of reasons in this context. First, the pavement that otherwise runs the length of the *insula* along Vico dei Soprastanti, does not continue beyond the ramp that leads to the upper level of the house. Although the maintenance of a pavement was considered a private responsibility, the pavement itself was clearly considered an element of public space; *in loco publico*. This should, according to the *Tabula Heracleensis*, be continuous with the whole building.⁹⁶ The alteration of the pavement to a ramp, solely for the use of the Casa del Marinaio, is

anomalous with what we might consider standard practice.

One way around this anomaly is to consider the lack of pavement in direct relation to the *horrea* and the business activities of the Casa del Marinaio. In this sense, the clause protecting private individuals from the effects of change - *sine iniuria privatorium fiet* - becomes less problematic. If the changes here were actually designed to facilitate the ongoing operation of the *horrea* then the clause is of less legal significance. The owners of the Casa del Marinaio were making these changes, therefore the legality of their impact on individuals begins, and ends, on their doorstep. Moreover, the Flavian *Lex Irnitana* makes clear that, whilst the office of *aedilis* is fundamentally shared, either one of two the aediles could act alone; perhaps affording opportunity toward such personal interests.⁹⁷ This, alone, is not enough to suggest that the owner was necessarily an aedile, acting around these clauses, but other evidence from around the *insula* might support that suggestion.

The fountain at the west end of Vico del Gallo

The marble fountain at the junction of Vico del Gallo and Vicolo del Gigante is arguably the most obvious alteration to the street space around the Casa del Marinaio. Although there is less notice in the legal texts to the placement of such basins, we should interpret this not as a lacuna but as a sign that they were part of the broader category of street space, and the legal restrictions on such.⁹⁸ Indeed, the *Tabula Heracleensis*, in the discussion of roads and paths, includes the instruction that water must not stand at that point to the effect that it may be inconvenient for street-users.⁹⁹ Water in the streets (though in this instance not in the context of a public basin) and the relationship of that water to existing roads and spatial practice, was an element of the duty of care under established legal codes. Moreover, in *de Aquaeductu Urbis Romae*, Frontinus often linked the office of *curatores aquarum* with that of *curatores viarorum*; suggesting that the responsibilities, or at least the legal interests of the two offices were linked.¹⁰⁰ Fountains were designated for public use and would therefore be a concern of the aedile in their regulation and maintenance of the everyday upkeep of the city.¹⁰¹

Given the location of the fountain, largely blocking Vico del Gallo and encroaching on both the pavement and the carriageway of the street, it may have significant legal repercussions. As discussed above, one of the main responsibilities for the



Fig. 15. View looking eastward on Vico del Gallo, showing the position of the fountain within the area of legal responsibility for the owners of the Casa del Marinaio (photo author).

aedile was to ensure that streets in his charge remained accessible to traffic. Although the fountain at Vico del Gallo does not block the street entirely, it certainly prevented wheeled traffic from using this route and the encroachment on pavement and carriageway is problematic given the legality of space. Of course, many fountains in Pompeii encroach on space in a similar way, and it would be naive to suppose that any evidence of such encroachment necessarily indicates official, political involvement.¹⁰² However, of those considered to have been private benefactions, only that at Vico del Gallo acts as a 'block' in this way; one that is clearly intended to change or enforce spatial practice in its immediate location. The other privately donated fountains all have buffer-stones, which served to limit damage to the basin from passing wagons. The lack of any such stones at Vico del Gallo suggests that an alteration to traffic patterns was expected whereby such prevention against damage was deemed unnecessary.

Clearly, such change would require the discretion of the aedile. The actual change of the kind demonstrated here, as opposed to routine maintenance, in the *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* and *Lex Tarentina*, is a matter for the aedile himself. It is, so the laws state, legal for *him* to carry out his wish. Moreover, both these texts add the clause that distinctly separates the work of the aedile from the private individual. In short, maintenance was a general responsibility; but change was the initiative of the aedile.

The precise location of the fountain in relation to the street itself might strengthen the suggestion

that the benefactor - and thus the owner of the Casa del Marinaio - was involved in this office. Under the *Tabula Heracleensis*, the public space of the road was divided, according to the properties adjacent to it, in order to clarify the areas where responsibility began and ended for private individuals. This clause makes clear that maintenance responsibilities were allotted 'proportionately according to how much of the road in length and in width shall lie in front of the building of each person'.¹⁰³ At the western end of Vico del Gallo, the fountain encroaches on the north pavement; that is, the pavement *ante aedificium* of the Casa del Marinaio. Moreover, the fountain extends to the middle of the carriageway, south of which would be the responsibility of the owner of the opposite property (fig. 15). This may explain why the fountain, placed above all to block wheeled traffic, was not situated wholly in the carriageway. It may be that, in this case, by offsetting it to the north it was made clear to all that the marble fountain, a conspicuous public utility, was an act of euergetism from the owners of the Casa del Marinaio.¹⁰⁴

A final point that may link the owner of the Casa del Marinaio to Pompeii's magistracy comes from Frontinus.¹⁰⁵ Although he was writing some two decades after Pompeii was buried, many of his comments are based on data from the period of Augustus. This is the case in the discussion of the local maintenance and regulatory limitations for the water supply in Rome; which is based on the regulations established with the onset of the *cura aquarum*, in 11 BC. Frontinus notes how, for the maintenance of public water at local levels, two men were appointed in each district. Moreover, these two men were recruited from those who lived or owned property in that local area. If a similar system existed at Pompeii, we might infer that the owner of the Casa del Marinaio, who donated the fountain, assumed responsibility; if it was not already involved in his general *cura urbis*, as an aedile.

CONCLUSIONS

It should finally be noted that traffic was at the forefront of the minds of at least some of the owners of the Casa del Marinaio. In the third cubiculum, a series of paintings captured a developing scene of a gazelle pulling a large, red *carpentum* with two blue wheels (fig. 16).¹⁰⁶ Traces of Second Style fresco in the upper sections of the wall give a *terminus post quem* for this decoration; which covers the earlier decoration lower on the wall. Redecoration in the Third Style is found through-

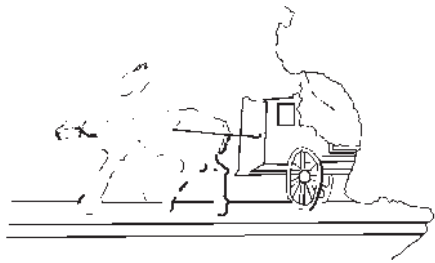


Fig. 16. The carpentum fresco from the third cubiculum (left panel) (after Discanno in Baldassarre 1997, 722-723, fig. 37).

out the property, in the last decades BC and more commonly from the first decades AD.¹⁰⁷ In other words, the internal decorations that leave us with this particular image of the street come from the Augustan period. Given the changes that we can observe around the property at exactly this time, with the modifications at the north and south in response to changing traffic patterns, perhaps it is not surprising that the owner chose to depict such a scene.

The plaster has long since been removed or crumbled from the walls but a drawing made by Discanno, during the excavations, preserves some of the scene.¹⁰⁸ In the series, the gazelle appeared to be falling over at the final, right-hand panel; an incident that may be purely imaginary but, given the pressures on and obsessions with space around *insula* VII 15, might relate to personal experiences on the doorstep. It has been noted before how the range of decorations within the Casa del Marinaio 'attests the personalities and interests of its inhabitants more clearly than most'.¹⁰⁹ It is entirely feasible that the wagon incident painting was inspired by spatial practice directly outside the property.

There is, then, an aggregation of evidence that might allow us to better understand the owners of the Casa del Marinaio. There is enough evidence of direct involvement with the spatial legal issues that would come under the office of the aedile to infer that, if the fountain was a donation from the Casa del Marinaio, then this owner was indeed amongst Pompeii's magistracy. Whether or not the property was owned by C. Lollius Fuscus in the last years of Pompeii must remain speculative and ultimately does little for the present discussion other than satisfy our general yearning to give a life, in this case a home, to the names that crowd Pompeii's walls. However, given the inscriptions discussed by Della Corte; given the involvement of the Lollii in political candidacy; given the fondness for Fuscus as a *cognomen* for magisterial elites;

and, above all, given the changes made to urban space bordering the Casa del Marinaio and their legal implications, the inference that the house belonged to an aedile at some point in time, perhaps to more than one candidate over the generations of the 1st century AD, stands on a wide range of complementary evidence.

It has been suggested that the changes to the streets around the Casa del Marinaio reflect the success of the business; with modifications coming into force to serve the requirements of the *horrea*.¹¹⁰ However, in reading these changes as part of a wider narrative of change west of the forum, one could argue that the changes around the house demonstrate adaptation and responsive negotiation, rather than instigation and control. The owners of the Casa del Marinaio appear to respond to changing patterns of space as best as possible, but ultimately the traffic patterns that effected their property were outside of their hands; being, as they were, the result of changes made elsewhere in the city. The original patterns of space suggest a business that was related to its neighboring streets in an efficient and unproblematic manner. However, changes to the patterns of movement along those streets made business increasingly difficult. The history of space around the Casa del Marinaio is one of initial expectations being redefined in response to changes outside of their control. What remained, when faced with increasing pressures on the public space around their property, was to mediate this as best as possible; ensuring the effective operation of a business that now, unexpectedly, was operating in a busy and restricted street network.

What is most apparent from this discussion of the area around the Casa del Marinaio, and what is most important for wider studies in Pompeian urbanism, is that, in order to understand its history fully, our attention must be focused on examining changes to spatial practice; not end with descriptions of the spatial infrastructure. This necessarily means our examination must be diachronic; accounting for sequence as well as space. Such an approach allows one to more confidently assert a chronological model in which certain changes can be seen to respond to others. In this way, the 'oddities' that we observe around the Casa del Marinaio can each be understood as part of wider processes. These 'ripple effects' have contributed to a more nuanced history of space around *insula* VII 15. It is hoped the approach employed, while a specific case-study, will prompt similar investigations of other properties in Pompeii.

Explaining the appendix

The appendix presents the results of space syntax analyses for the streets discussed in this article, over the four phases from 125 BC-AD 79. A brief word of explanation is necessary; for more detail see Hillier/Hanson 1984. For each phase, each street is subject to two space syntax measures; integration and control. The statistical results are here presented in the appendix as RRA value (integration) and E value (control).

Integration refers to a street's overall prominence within the spatial network, in this article *Regiones* VII and VIII. The lower the integration value, the more the street is integrated into the overall network, since it demonstrates that fewer 'steps' are needed to reach this street. A good example to explain this pattern is Vico del Gallo; formerly well 'Integrated', the blockage in 10 BC shows up as transforming this street to 'Highly Segregated'. This is because it no longer connects to a number of other spaces and instead can only be reached through a series of longer, less integrated routes; thus, its integration value is higher.

Control refers to the dominance of a street in relation to its immediate neighbours; with higher control being those streets that are necessary routes between two others. A good example to explain this pattern is the E value for Vicolo del Gigante, which increases from each phase to the next as over time this route is less the result of choice and more the result of being the only option remaining. Conversely, the changes to the Sanctuary of Venus have a significant effect on the control value of the now curtailed Via Marina.

Each of these measures can be further divided (based on mid-range values of the whole sample, for integration: Highly Integrated; Integrated; Segregated and Highly Segregated, for control: Very Strong; Strong; Weak and Very Weak). Each street is assigned to one of four categories, each of which represents a particular configuration of both integration and control values for that street (1 = Integrated and Strong; 2 = Integrated and Weak; 3 = Segregated and Strong; 4 = Segregated and Weak). The lower this number, the busier that street is likely to have been. As these measures are all relative to the particular configuration of each phase, for the purposes of direct comparison for one street over time the appendix also lists the absolute difference in values between phases. Again, Vico del Gallo is an egregious example;

note the large difference between Phases B and C, the cause of which is the truncation of the street by the Sanctuary of Apollo and its blockage by the marble fountain.

Space syntax results of the streets under discussion in the article.

Vico del Gallo				
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	Phase D
Category	1	1	4	4
RRA	0.606	0.632	1.187	1.287
Integration Category	Integrated	Integrated	High. Seg.	High. Seg.
Absolute Difference	/	0.026	0.555	0.100
E	1.266	1.291	0.833	0.833
Control Category	Strong	Strong	Weak	Weak
Absolute Difference	/	0.025	-0.458	0.000

Vicolo del Gigante				
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	Phase D
Category	4	4	4	3
RRA	0.686	0.764	0.850	0.950
Integration Category	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
Absolute Difference	/	0.078	0.086	0.100
E	0.625	0.643	0.976	1.167
Control Category	Weak	Weak	Weak	Strong
Absolute Difference	/	0.018	0.333	0.191

Vico dei Soprastanti				
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	Phase D
Category	1	1	1	1
RRA	0.457	0.489	0.587	0.812
Integration Category	High. Int	High. Int.	High. Int.	Integrated
Absolute Difference	/	0.032	0.098	0.225
E	2.609	2.324	3.233	3.033
Control Category	Very Strong	Very Strong	Very Strong	Very Strong
Absolute Difference	/	-0.285	0.909	-0.200

Via Marina				
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	Phase D
Category	1	1	3	4
RRA	0.617	0.632	0.837	1.062
Integration Category	Integrated	Integrated	Segregated	Segregated
Absolute Difference	/	0.015	0.205	0.225
E	1.266	1.291	1.033	0.500
Control Category	Strong	Strong	Strong	Very Weak
Absolute Difference	/	0.025	-0.258	-0.533

Vicolo Storto Nuovo				
	Phase A	Phase B	Phase C	Phase D
Category	4	4	4	4
RRA	0.743	0.764	0.962	1.062
Integration Category	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated	Segregated
Absolute Difference	/	0.021	0.198	0.100
E	0.625	0.643	0.643	0.667
Control Category	Weak	Weak	Weak	Weak
Absolute Difference	/	0.018	0.000	0.024

NOTES

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¹ Previous studies have tended to be inconsistent with these toponyms; often labeling Vicolo del Gigante as a

- southbound extension of Vico dei Soprastanti. This paper distinguishes between these streets throughout. Likewise, the north/south street from the northwest corner of the Sanctuary of Apollo is often labeled as a continuation of Vico del Gallo. Here it is called Vicolo Storto Nuovo, following the work of the Università di Perugia, and in deference to their origin as two separate streets; Dobbins et al. 1998 *passim*.
- ² Fiorelli 1875, 304-309.
 - ³ Maiuri 1942, 120-121.
 - ⁴ García y García 2006, 125-126.
 - ⁵ Franklin 1990 is the only detailed treatment of the structural development of the house itself.
 - ⁶ Anniboletti et al. 2007, 9-12; Antolini/Leone 2007.
 - ⁷ Tybout 2007.
 - ⁸ Franklin 1990, 38.
 - ⁹ On the importance of sequence, see Bon/Jones 1997. Maiuri 1953 was the first detailed investigation of pre-AD 79 levels but it is only relatively recently that a diachronic element has come to inform the majority of Pompeian research; see also Fulford/Wallace-Hadrill 1999, Coarelli/Pesando 2006 and summary in Descœudres 2007, 14 with references.
 - ¹⁰ Eschebach 1970; see also Richardson 1988, 41; Nappo 1997; Descœudres 2007; Geertman 2007.
 - ¹¹ See examples van Tilburg 2007, 137-143, discussed in Newsome 2008; see also Wallace-Hadrill 1995; Laurence, 2008.
 - ¹² In particular, see Ling 1997.
 - ¹³ Jones/Schoonhoven 2003; see also Jones/Robinson 2004 and Jones/Robinson 2005.
 - ¹⁴ Sear 2004; 2006. The properties investigated were the Casa dei Capitelli Figurati (VII 4.57), the Casa del Granduca (VII 4.56), the Casa dei Capitelli Colorati (VII 4.51) and the Casa della Caccia Antica (VII 4.48).
 - ¹⁵ Sear 2006, 163.
 - ¹⁶ D'Ambrosio/De Caro, 1986, *passim*.
 - ¹⁷ D'Ambrosio/De Caro, 1986, 199; see also van Krimpen-Winckel 2006, 136. This is further supported by the different articulation of paving stones around *insula* VII 4; see Sear 2004, 130, n. 11. For a detailed examination of the articulation of paving stones across the city, see Saliou 1999, esp. 183, fig. 28.
 - ¹⁸ It should be noted that the present author is not endorsing either urban or domestic as automatically dominant in any causal relationship, though in the examples cited here it is reasonable to infer that domestic reacted to urban, and not vice versa. See Jones/Schoonhoven 2003 for an opposite example at Vicolo di Narciso.
 - ¹⁹ Sear 2004, 127.
 - ²⁰ For the influence of traffic patterns on the placement of benches along streets, see Hartnett 2008.
 - ²¹ Ling 1997, esp. 238-253.
 - ²² E.g. La Torre 1988; see also Wallace-Hadrill 1991; Ellis 2004; Laurence 2007.
 - ²³ Ling correlates this phenomenon with Laurence's index of electoral *programmata*, the densities of which are taken to reflect the density of interaction in the street; see Laurence 1995, 66-70; 2007, 109-113.
 - ²⁴ Laurence 1995; see also Saliou 1999; Fridell-Anter/Weilguni 2003; Ellis 2004; Poehler 2006; Laurence 2007; Hartnett 2008. See also the much criticised but pioneering work of Raper 1977.
 - ²⁵ The essential publication remains Hillier/Hanson 1984; see also articles available at www.spacesyntax.org. The present author is aware of recent advances and theories in the wider 'space syntax' community than those contained in the original work but detailed references are not necessary here, since the analyses used are those outlined in Hillier/Hanson 1984 82-140, esp. 108-120.
 - ²⁶ For applications of space syntax in urban contexts see Kaiser 2000; Fridell-Anter/Weilguni 2003; Laurence 2007; for an overview of the main theoretical suppositions, see Grahame 2000, 24-36.
 - ²⁷ These results are from a larger analysis of those spaces corresponding to *Regiones* VII and VIII.
 - ²⁸ The different categories for defining streets are summarised in Hillier/Hanson 1984, 117-120.
 - ²⁹ For the archaeological reconstruction of the original course of Vico del Gallo and Vicolo Storto Nuovo see Dobbins et al. 1998; see also Dobbins 2007.
 - ³⁰ Richardson 1988, 279-280; see also Zanker 1988, 18-19.
 - ³¹ Dobbins 1994, 689; though recently Dobbins 2007 has proposed an earlier Popidian project, larger than has hitherto been appreciated. Whilst Dobbins' has arguably become the more well-known, an alternative reading of the forum by Wallat disagrees on the dates for several modifications, see Wallat 1993, 1997 *passim*; see also Kockel 1986, 454.
 - ³² For a 6th century BC date see De Caro 1986; 2007; see also Eschebach 1970, 19 for the place of the Sanctuary of Apollo within the hypothetical *urbs quadrata*.
 - ³³ For a 2nd century BC date see Arthur 1986; see also De Caro 2007.
 - ³⁴ For an Augustan date see Dobbins et al. 1998; see also Carroll/Godden 2000, 751; Dobbins/Ball 2005, 61-67. For criticisms of the Augustan interpretation see Guzzo/Pesando 2002, 118-119; Martelli 2002. These argue for a 2nd century BC date for the portico and the changes which blocked Vico del Gallo. As Dobbins 2007, 182 states, the excavation data that supports an Augustan date is not discussed in later rejections of this date.
 - ³⁵ For the suggestion of an open colonnade, s. Mau 1899, 85.
 - ³⁶ *CIL* X.787; Zanker 1988, 36 for a date of 3-2 BC.
 - ³⁷ *CIL* X.810-811; Mau 1899, 111 for a Tiberian date.
 - ³⁸ Richardson 1978, 268; see also D'Arms 1988, 53-54.
 - ³⁹ Dobbins 1994, 691 was unsure whether to consider the blockage pre-or post-earthquake. The present author interprets this blockage as part of the original design and build of the Building of Eumachia.
 - ⁴⁰ Maiuri 1942, 30-34; this street had probably lost prominence in the Augustan period.
 - ⁴¹ Arthur 1986, 38 recorded the lava blocks, *in situ*, of the original pavement under the new *temenos* wall.
 - ⁴² Tsujimura 1991.
 - ⁴³ Laurence 2007, 52-55, maps 3.5-3.6. Eric Poehler's research indicates the following direction changes based on curbstone wear: northbound onto Vicolo del Gigante from Via Marina; eastbound from Vicolo del Gigante onto Vico dei Soprastanti; as well as (originally) eastbound onto Vico del Gallo from Vicolo del Gigante. I thank him for sharing this information prior to its publication; for the methodology see Poehler 2006.
 - ⁴⁴ Maiuri 1942, 56. Wallat 1993, 359 suggested a pre-earthquake date for this blockage; see also Dobbins 1994 and 1996, *passim*, for a post-earthquake date.
 - ⁴⁵ For an overview of the elaboration of entrances to the forum, see Westfall 2007, 133-136; see also Poehler/Cole, forthcoming.
 - ⁴⁶ However, it must be recognised that the main *atria* within *insula* VII 7 are oriented toward Via Marina.
 - ⁴⁷ The raised pavement runs to the boundary with the house at VII 15.3, where it lowers in height to a level consistent with the opposite side of the street. At the

- southwest corner of the *insula* the pavement lowers slightly, west of VII 15.1, as it meets Vicolo del Gigante.
- ⁴⁸ See examples in Saliou 1999, see also Hartnett 2008, 101-103, 114-115.
- ⁴⁹ Ling 1990, 210. It should be noted that the fountain cannot be seen from the junction of Vicolo del Gigante and Via Marina and therefore its role in navigating through urban space is negligible at this point.
- ⁵⁰ Eschebach 1979. It is clear that Pompeii's fountains do not date from a single project. Two in *Regio* I appear to pre-date the Augustan period and those that are Augustan or later demonstrate a variety in type and materials that argues against a homogenous origin.
- ⁵¹ See Nishida 1991, 93, fig. 3 for the definition of fountain 'types'.
- ⁵² Fiorelli 1875, 304; Mau 1899, 230.
- ⁵³ Baldassarre 1997, 706.
- ⁵⁴ Nishida 1991, table 1. The area of the Vico del Gallo fountain is 8100 cm² with a volume of 737100 cm³; in comparison, the largest fountain, at the junction of Via dell'Abbondanza and Via Stabiana has an area of 18240 cm² with a volume of 1368000 cm³. See also Nishida 1991, 94-95, figs. 4-5.
- ⁵⁵ The erosion on the lava, in relation to the drain-hole in the west-facing marble slab, further suggests that the dimensions (and outlets) of any predecessor would have been identical.
- ⁵⁶ Maiuri 1941, 120-121; Franklin 1990, 52; the southwest corner and the façade west of VII 15.2 were rebuilt twice following the earthquake.
- ⁵⁷ A lava predecessor would not change the chronological model set out in this paper, since it would not predate the aqueduct and, in turn, would not predate the expansion of the Sanctuary of Apollo and the truncation of Vico del Gallo, as dated by *CIL* X.787. Therefore, whatever the original material, the suggestion that this fountain was 'responsive' remains valid. An upgrade strengthens the theory that the marble fountain was a private donation from the Casa del Marinaio, since it would be difficult to explain why this basin alone would receive an upgrade from the public treasury.
- ⁵⁸ Recognised immediately, but not examined in detail since. Fiorelli, 1875, 304; '*la fontana [...] che vi si trova d'apresso in sul principio del vico meridionale*'.
- ⁵⁹ Laurence 2007, 45-49; Ling 2005; Ling/Ling 2005, 173-175, Hartnett, forthcoming.
- ⁶⁰ Ling 2005, 274-276.
- ⁶¹ Noreña 2006, 98 discusses this dynamic in relation to population density in Rome. Compare Laurence's definition of neighbourhoods according to fountain distribution and probable use, 2007, map 3.4.
- ⁶² Franklin 1990, 56.
- ⁶³ Franklin 1990, 57. There is no evidence for an interim blocking of the dock before the post-earthquake brick-work.
- ⁶⁴ Other properties responded to this increase in traffic as well. The liberal post-earthquake repair on the exterior walls of the opposite properties (VII 16.13-16) is linked with finely executed yellow and brown diamonds, the length of the façades on Vicolo del Gigante. It is plausible that this elaborate façade was designed to impress passersby on the now much busier street.
- ⁶⁵ East of the ramp the street is 1.9 m wide, west of the ramp it is 3.37 m.
- ⁶⁶ Franklin 1990, ill. 14.
- ⁶⁷ Franklin 1990, 39.
- ⁶⁸ Franklin 1990, 57.
- ⁶⁹ Franklin 1990, 61; see also 54, 'these walls are at first misleading'.
- ⁷⁰ Such elements have not been comprehensively studied at Pompeii, but see van der Meer 2002 for a discussion of travertine cornerstones at Ostia. He argues that travertine could have been used as boundary stones, defining the limits between *loca publica* and *loca privata*, as well as functioning as warning signs to alert traffic to particular characteristics of the streets, e.g. upcoming cross-roads or irregularities in width or angles. It is more likely that the 'buffer stones' around the Casa del Marinaio are related directly to absorbing traffic wear, but van der Meer's theories warrant application to Pompeii at large.
- ⁷¹ Della Corte 1965, 198-199; listing VII 15.2 as the '*Domus di C. Lollius Fuscus - del Marinaio*', 510.
- ⁷² *CIL* IV.3582 was found between the two entrances on Vico del Gallo. *CIL* IV.3583 was found in the vestibule at VII 15.2. Fiorelli 1875, 304 omits *CVPIDVS* from his reconstruction of *CIL* IV.3582. Della Corte also added *CIL* IV.3585, [FVSCVS] *CVPIDUS ROG(AT)*.
- ⁷³ Mouritsen 1988 13-27 was particularly critical, suggesting that Della Corte's work displayed a 'failure to understand the elementary principles of prosopography'; see also Castrén 1975, 31-32; Jongman 1991, 239; Wallace-Hadrill 1994, 108; Franklin 2001, 6.
- ⁷⁴ Della Corte 1965, 198.
- ⁷⁵ These figures are from the appendices of Castrén 1975, 262-264.
- ⁷⁶ Castrén 1975, 22, with appendix A for full list of magisterial *cognomina*.
- ⁷⁷ *CIL* X.899; Franklin 2001, 52-53.
- ⁷⁸ Tablets 10, 13, 15, 35, 103; Jongman 1991, 215.
- ⁷⁹ For example on Via della Fortuna, *CIL* IV.278; 282; 295; 347; on Via Nola, *CIL* IV. 419; 442; or at the junction of Via dei Teatri and Via Stabiana, *CIL* IV.592.
- ⁸⁰ *CIL* IV.790.
- ⁸¹ Castrén 1975, 183. Some measure of the wealth of the owners of the Casa del Marinaio is the existence of their *horrea*; the only other in the city being the late structure in the northwest of the forum.
- ⁸² *CIL* X.891 and almost certainly X.919.
- ⁸³ *CIL* IV.8128; 9840; Castrén 1975. We might also add Lollius Magnus as a Flavian candidate, though there is uncertainty over the inscription and this may instead relate to two separate individuals, see *CIL* IV.380, Mouritsen 1988, 141.
- ⁸⁴ Franklin 2001, 172-174; *CIL* IV.7963.
- ⁸⁵ *CIL* IV.295. For the suggestion of a joint candidacy from this inscription, see Mouritsen 1988, 41.
- ⁸⁶ Often notices mention that the candidates are young men worthy of the state; e.g. for L. Popidius Secundus, *CIL* IV.785a, *iuvenes probos dignos r(ei) p(ublicae)*.
- ⁸⁷ Robinson 1992, 79-82; see also Van Tilburg 2007, 37-38 with references.
- ⁸⁸ *CIL* X.1018; *loca publica a privatis posseisa...rei publicae pompeianorum restituit*.
- ⁸⁹ Crawford 1996, 355-391. The laws are almost certainly Caesarian; see van Tilburg 2007, 37-38 on the responsibilities of *possessores* in maintaining urban spaces.
- ⁹⁰ *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.27-28: *erunt viarum reficiendarum tuendarum procuratio esto*.
- ⁹¹ *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.53-54; *quouis ante aedificium semita in loco <publico> erit*. Although *semita* is often translated as narrow road (primarily after Varro, *LL* V.35, *qua id anguste, semita, ut semiter dictum*; see also Servius A. 4.405, *semita est semis via, unde et semita dicta est*), this paper fol-

lows Crawford's translation as footpath, the pedestrian pavement contiguous with the building. The *Tabula Heracleensis* uses both *semita* and *via*, both of which were *ante aedificium*, with the latter also discussed in the context of its variable width (see 11.32-45). It is therefore plausible to read *semita* not as a 'narrow road', but as a space for pedestrians. This paper is not the appropriate forum for an in-depth examination of these etymologies; see van Tilburg 2007, 7-9 with references.

⁹² *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* LXXVII.30-31; *facere, inmittere, commutare, aedificare, munire*. Crawford 1996, 393-454. The engraving of the text is Flavian but the laws are most likely Caesarian.

⁹³ *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* LXXVII.32; *sine iniuria privatorum fiet*.

⁹⁴ *Lex Tarentina* 11.41; *sine iniuria fiat*. Crawford 1996, 301-312. The text probably dates to the late / mid 1st century BC, following the Social War.

⁹⁵ Crawford translates *munire* as 'to pave', which should be read in the context of strengthening an existing road, rather than building one *ex novo* (for which, *aedificare*); however, *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.26 uses *sternendas* for such paving, as distinct from the general repair (*reficere*) and maintenance (*tueri*) that are discussed in the following clause, 11.27-8. *Sternere* appears in this context to be a term specifically for the paving of a road (cf. Livy 41.27.5 *censores vias sternendas silice in urbe*), whereas *constratam* is used for the paving of foot-paths (cf. 11.53-54; footnote 86).

⁹⁶ *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.53-54; *is eam semitam eo aedificio perpetuo lapidibus perpetueis integreis continentem constratam recte habeto*. See also Saliou 1999, 199-200.

⁹⁷ *Lex Iritana* LXXXII.31, *Ilviri ambo alterue uolet*. However, any change required the consensus of the decurions or *conscripti*. See Gonzalez / Crawford 1986.

⁹⁸ Significantly, the *leges* discussed here predate the provision of aqueducts to these cities and, therefore, do not account for the distribution of fountains within urban streets. The *Lex Coloniae Genetivae* LXXIX.39 mentions water within the legal bounds of the *colonia Iulia*, though within the territory (*in agro*) rather than the city itself. However, if this is a Flavian engraving of Caesarian laws, it demonstrates that the subsequent introduction of water into the city did not demand the addition of a specific clause to the Caesarian regulations. Therefore, we might infer that there were no specific laws on the distribution of fountains within urban space, other than that they not contravene existing laws relating to streets and public spaces.

⁹⁹ *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.23-24; *neue eo loco a<q>(ua) consistat, quo minus comode populus ea via utatur*. Here the use of *populus* is significant for its ability to refer to both pedestrians and vehicles. Compare 11.71-72 on the blocking of porticoes and public spaces; *neue ea loca porticumue quam possideto, neue eorum quod saeptum clausumue habeto quo minus eis locis porticibusque populus utatur pateantue*.

¹⁰⁰ Front. *de Aquis* 101.1 *itemque cum viarum curatores*. In this context, Frontinus is referring to the urban curators, not their rural counterparts; see also *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.50-52. Rodgers 2004, 272.

¹⁰¹ Front. *de Aquis* 3.4.

¹⁰² See for example the fountain at the northeast corner of the Insula of the Menander as evidence of private, economic initiative exploiting traffic around the *insula*, Ling 2005.

¹⁰³ *Tabula Heracleensis* 11.28-29; *pro portioni quantum*

quouisque ante aedificium viae in longitudine et in latitudine erit. Although this is in relation to the division of street space between a domestic building and a sacred building or public space (*quae via <int>er aedem sacram et aedificium locumue publicum et inter aedificium privatum est erit*), Crawford 1996, 381 is surely right to suggest that 'facing private proprietors also divided their responsibility', citing the example from Fregellae where there is noticeable variation in the repair of a road, Crawford 1985.

¹⁰⁴ The lack of a nearby or associated compital shrine further suggests that this fountain was a private donation, not a public utility installed as part of a general development of urban space in this area. Almost all fountains in Pompeii are near to a shrine; either at the same location or grouped around the same intersection (compare Laurence 2007 map 3.4 and 3.5). The nearest shrine to Vico del Gallo is that to the rear of the Temple of Jupiter, on entrance to the forum from Vico dei Soprastanti. Although it is not unique to have a fountain without a shrine (see examples in *Regio VI* on Vico di Mercurio), this is more evidence that at Vico del Gallo the fountain was the result of local adaptation, rather than concerted urban policy.

¹⁰⁵ Front. *de Aquis* 97.8; *cuius rei causa aediles curules iubentur per vicos singulos ex iis qui in unoquoque vico habitarent praediave haberent binos praeficere, quorum arbitratu aqua in publico saliret*.

¹⁰⁶ Franklin 1990, 25-26; Bragantini et al. 1986, 225, ref. 715020G00; on this type of vehicle see van Tilburg 2007, 52.

¹⁰⁷ Franklin 1990, 60.

¹⁰⁸ Baldassarre 1997, 722-723.

¹⁰⁹ Franklin 1990, 33.

¹¹⁰ Franklin 1990, 63.

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Nullus in orbe sinus Bais praelucet amoenis

Riflessioni sull'architettura dei complessi c.d. 'dell'Ambulatio', 'della Sosandra' e delle 'Piccole Terme' a Baia

Gioconda Di Luca

Abstract

The 'Villa dell'Ambulatio', the 'Villa della Sosandra' and the 'Piccole Terme' at Baiae offer useful elements to define more exactly their socio-historical background. They are no property of the emperor, but of private citizens, as the clivi between the villas, the absence of inscriptions of imperial freedmen or members of royal family and modest artistic quality of the furnishings show. Chronologically the first building is the 'Piccole Terme' (second half 1st century BC), followed a few decades later by the 'Villa dell'Ambulatio', while still later is the 'Villa della Sosandra' (in Claudian Age). Finally, the 'Villa della Sosandra' and the 'Piccole Terme' form one complex around the second half of the 1st century AD and then include the 'Villa dell'Ambulatio', maybe in Severan Age.*

Fin dalla prima testimonianza di Livio (176 a.C.),¹ *Baiae* è sempre stata associata alle sue *θεαυὰ ὕδατα* ed alla sontuosità delle costruzioni addensate lungo il suo piccolo *lacus*,² evidenziando così tutta la peculiarità di questo centro termale, che fino alla fine del III sec. d.C. fece parte del territorio di Cuma senza mai diventare *municipium*. E, del resto, strettamente legate alle virtù delle acque termali ed al loro sfruttamento sembrano essere le numerose ville, che cominciano a sorgere lungo le pendici delle colline baiane ad opera di nobili e ricchi romani,³ tra i quali si registrano proprietari famosi come Mario, Clodia, Cornelia, Dolabella, Pompeo e lo stesso Cesare,⁴ che contribuirono non poco alla creazione del mito di Baia come luogo di vita comoda e costumi dissoluti. Effettivamente, i rinvenimenti archeologici della Sella di Baia, così come di tutto il litorale sottostante, rivelano un'occupazione del territorio intensamente estensiva, scandita dalla caratteristica successione di strutture residenziali e termali, che dal pendio digradavano verso il mare (appunto il *mos baianum* di Plinio il Giovane⁵). Questa frequentazione, d'accordo con Mario Pagano⁶ e con Xavier Lafon,⁷ sarebbe diventata un fenomeno macroscopico dalla metà del I sec. a.C., mentre prima di questa data *Baiae* è meta esclusiva di pochi patrizi dell'Urbe, soprattutto in funzione del termalismo e della piscicoltura: del resto, è proprio dalla metà del I sec. a.C. che si data la costruzione delle 'Piccole Terme' e della villa 'dell'Ambulatio', fino ad arrivare, ormai in età augustea, alla realizzazione del complesso resi-

denziale, oggi sommerso, attribuito ai Pisoni.⁸

Dopo la pausa augusteo-tiberiana, che vede un riassetto territoriale a seguito delle numerose confische di terreni privati a vantaggio del demanio imperiale,⁹ senza, però, far registrare alcuna visita personale dei sovrani, il *Baianus lacus* diventa, viceversa, cornice di vari avvenimenti della vita dei principi giulio-claudii, da Caligola, che fa costruire un ponte di barche per attraversare il golfo a celebrazione del suo trionfo,¹⁰ a Claudio, che, legato al *praetorium* baiano, vi edifica anche una sua residenza,¹¹ a Nerone, che accresce i domini imperiali *in loco* e diventa protagonista dei racconti di Tacito.¹²

I principati di Vespasiano e di Tito fanno registrare un rapido quanto apparente declino, mentre al regno di Domiziano vanno ascritte nuove costruzioni (il 'Ninfeo Severiano', per esempio¹³) e diversi interventi di restauro più o meno diffusi (come nella già citata 'Villa dei Pisoni'¹⁴), inaugurando un periodo di rinnovata vitalità, che si contraddistingue per una più regolare presenza dei sovrani, che, sulla base anche delle fonti, si protrae almeno fino alla seconda metà del III sec. d.C.¹⁵ In particolare, è tra l'età adrianea e l'età antonina che si assiste ad un più diffuso rinnovamento in zona (e, in questo senso, parlano sia il riallestimento del complesso 'della Sosandra', che vedremo tra breve nel dettaglio, sia la realizzazione delle 'Terme di Venere'), dopo di che la presenza imperiale va sempre più rarefacendosi, per quanto non si possa parlare di una frequentazione completamente

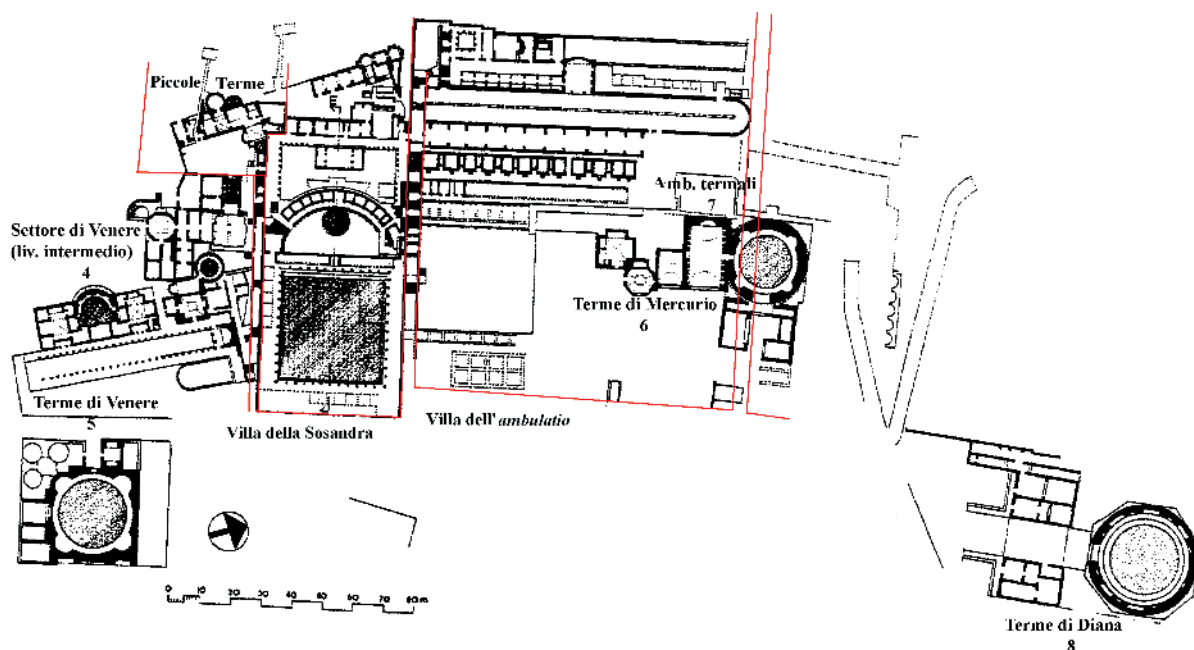


Fig. 1. Baia. Parco Archeologico. Pianta.

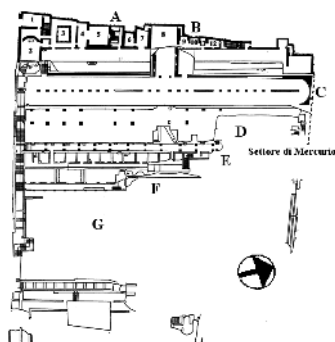
chiusa prima della realizzazione del *Palatium Severiano*, a cui vengono attribuite le strutture sia del 'Tempio di Diana' sia del Ninfeo di Punta Epitaffio,¹⁶ oltre che gli ambienti a S delle 'Terme di Mercurio'. Certamente il passaggio dal I al II sec. d.C. segna un cambiamento di tendenza nell'edilizia baiana, che privilegia sempre più il termalismo a discapito dell'aspetto propriamente residenziale. Ed è assai probabile che il *terminus post quem* per tale mutamento sia il terremoto connesso all'eruzione vesuviana del 79 d.C., dopo il quale molti preferirono abbandonare la località, al contrario degli imperatori e di qualche ricco privato, che, appunto, frequentano Baia almeno fino al 275 d.C. circa, seppur in modo discontinuo.¹⁷

La scarsità delle testimonianze relative al periodo compreso tra l'ultimo quarto del III sec. d.C. e buona parte del secolo successivo ci impedisce, invece, di affermare con certezza se anche *Baiae* fu toccata dalla crisi generale, che coinvolse in questo momento tutta la Campania, o se, al contrario, nella cittadella flegrea la vita continuò a scorrere con gli stessi ritmi consueti,¹⁸ visto che negli scritti di Simmaco apprendiamo che numerose ville del circondario, compresa la sua, risultano ancora frequentate.¹⁹ Ma, piuttosto che pensare ad un nuovo momento di attività, sembra più plausibile immaginare una continuità di vita, come conferma proprio l'analisi delle strutture edilizie dell'area.²⁰

La situazione prospettata dalle fonti, dunque, trova precisi riscontri nei rinvenimenti archeologici,

e, in particolare, proprio le strutture 'dell'*Ambulatio*', della 'Sosandra' e delle 'Piccole Terme' offrono a riguardo una quantità considerevole di elementi interessanti, mostrando di giocare un ruolo senza dubbio rilevante nella definizione storico-architettonica di questa parte del territorio campano (fig. 1). Tuttavia, l'aspetto di queste tre strutture (come, del resto, di tutti gli edifici del Parco Archeologico di Baia) ha sempre reso difficile una loro lettura precisa, così da impedirne una ricostruzione storica quanto più accurata possibile ed una restituzione architettonica quanto mai fedele. Nello specifico, si consideri: che le terrazze superiori di questi complessi non sono più accessibili e non sono documentate graficamente, se non in maniera parziale e sommaria; che gran parte delle strutture termali sono state ampiamente modificate in età medievale, con la conseguente perdita di numerose informazioni relative soprattutto alla suddivisione originaria degli spazi interni ed esterni ed alle decorazioni accessorie; che i massicci interventi di restauro eseguiti in età moderna in più di un caso hanno restituito *ex novo* il paramento murario, senza tener conto che in pochi anni l'aspetto del tufo diventa simile a quello antico e, quindi, difficilmente riconoscibile (anche perché la malta pozzolanica è spesso identica); che le ricostruzioni effettuate con l'impiego di cemento si sovrappongono direttamente alle strutture antiche in maniera irreversibile, rendendo molto più complessa l'interpretazione della successione delle fasi edilizie

Fig. 2. Baia. 'Villa dell'Ambulatio'. Pianta.



di intere porzioni; e, infine, che il peristilio inferiore del complesso 'della Sosandra', così come di altri monumenti della zona, è interrato almeno per 3 m del suo livello inferiore, che, pertanto, non è mai stato indagato del tutto.

Come gran parte degli edifici antichi dei Campi Flegrei, anche i monumenti considerati in questo contributo sono rimasti a vista in pratica da sempre, salvo poi riceverne un'attenzione più specifica, per quanto discontinua e parziale, a partire dagli anni compresi tra le due guerre mondiali: nel 1928-1933, infatti, le indagini furono curate da Italo Sgobbo (al quale si deve anche il progetto per la creazione di un parco monumentale locale),²¹ seguite negli anni '50-'60 dagli interventi di Amedeo Maiuri prima e di Alfonso de Franciscis poi.²²

Ad eccezione del prezioso lavoro di Maria Rosaria Borriello e Antonio D'Ambrosio, ai quali va il merito di aver creato una precisa carta archeologica dell'area compresa tra il lago Lucrino ed il promontorio di Miseno, ancora oggi strumento indispensabile per la comprensione della topografia locale, ed il volume curato da Paolo Amalfitano, Giuseppe Camodeca e Maura Medri, con una puntuale descrizione di tutte le strutture flegree, fondamentalmente gli edifici baiani si presentano quasi del tutto inediti e necessitano di un attento e nuovo aggiornamento alla luce, soprattutto, degli studi più recenti in materia di edilizia romana. Infatti, attraverso questi lavori non si dispone ancora di una lettura completa dei dati strutturali, architettonici e topografici dei tre complessi, e questo per la settorialità degli interventi fatti dai vari studiosi che via via se ne sono occupati. Eppure, essi costituiscono un documento di grande completezza nel campo dell'architettura campana di età romana, dal momento che, come si è detto, le loro vicende edilizie forniscono una serie di informazioni assai utili ai fini della ricostruzione del background socio-culturale del litorale baiano a partire dal I sec. a.C. In effetti, proprio sulla base degli studi esistenti, si è sentita la necessità di avvicinarsi in modo diverso alle strutture in ques-

tione, sulle quali sono state compiute analisi più approfondite, che, alla fine, hanno composto un quadro sufficientemente completo delle informazioni note, oltre che offrire nuove indicazioni per una più giusta interpretazione dei monumenti.

E proprio per procedere a tale definizione sarà necessario riesaminare nel particolare le strutture dei tre edifici in oggetto, in modo da poter determinare, per quanto possibile, i vari momenti del loro sviluppo edilizio e giungere all'individuazione degli elementi funzionali ad una più corretta interpretazione del loro assetto ed utilizzo.

IL COMPLESSO 'DELL'AMBULATIO'.

Il Maiuri considerava la villa 'dell'Ambulatio' come parte di una delle quattro terme principali da lui individuate nell'area della Sella di Baia, ritenendo che le terrazze intervallassero sale termali con quartieri di soggiorno, riposo e belvedere per gli utenti degli impianti stessi.²³ Guglielmo De Angelis d'Ossat, invece, in base al rinvenimento della dedica di un'ara ad Eracle Baiano da parte di una certa *Fabia Domitiana*, ha ritenuto che la villa facesse parte dei possedimenti dei *Domitii Ahenobarbi*, già potenti tra il II ed il I sec. a.C.²⁴ In base a questa possibile connessione, lo studioso riconosceva nella 'Villa dell'Ambulatio' la proprietà di Domizia, la zia di Nerone, di cui Tacito ricorda la magnificenza dei vivai e in cui lo stesso nipote imperatore aveva fatto costruire un ἡβητήριον.²⁵

La costruzione²⁶ si articola su sei terrazze parallele orientate NE-SO (dalla cima della collina verso il mare) e collegate da un'unica rampa di scale, che corre in senso E-O lungo il limite meridionale del complesso (fig. 2). Il livello più alto (terrazza A) non è più visibile per il cedimento della parete tufacea, per quanto, a titolo di pura ipotesi di lavoro, potremmo considerarlo come il piano di accesso dalla strada di crinale²⁷ all'edificio e occupato principalmente da spazi abitativi.

La successiva terrazza B, anch'essa a carattere residenziale, doveva essere molto più ampia rispetto a quanto si può vedere oggi, in quanto la parte anteriore, protesa verso il mare, è in gran parte crollata. Essa è divisa in tre parti nel senso della larghezza, ma solo le due porzioni più interne sono occupate da ambienti, mentre la terza formava un loggiato affacciato sul litorale e sul livello sottostante. Partendo da S, si accede ad un ambiente rettangolare (1), voltato a botte (come si evince dalla linea guida dell'imposta ancora *in situ*), completamente rivestito in marmo²⁸ e con pavimento in *opus sectile* (fig. 3),²⁹ che immette in una sala rettangolare (2), franata nella porzione anteriore e



Fig. 3. Terrazza B, ambiente 1.

anch'essa voltata a botte,³⁰ con la parete O caratterizzata da una nicchia semicircolare con alto podio interno. Il suo angolo S, poi, risulta tagliato, per quanto il muro relativo continui nel muro adiacente, mentre l'estremità N è inglobata in un pilastro con base laterizia. Superato un piccolo vano di passaggio (2a), si entra in un peristilio interno (3), raggiungibile anche dalla scala di accesso alla terrazza A, sul quale si apre un ambiente rettangolare (4),³¹ che funge da vestibolo di un retrostante *triclinium* (5). Quest'ultima sala, chiusa da volta a botte e pavimentata a grandi piastre marmoree, presenta un'abside centrale con nicchia interna sulla parete settentrionale, dietro la quale si colloca un piccolo vano-scala (fig. 4).³² L'ambiente 6, accessibile dall'adiacente e di non chiara lettura vano 7,³³ presenta un basso basamento di letto in muratura, in asse con un'ampia finestra sul lato E, e pavimento di modulo composto, non più ricostruibile con esattezza. Accanto si trova un grande *oecus* (8), vero elemento centralizzante di tutta la terrazza, aperto sul mare e pavimentato a grandi lastre di marmo, a cui fanno seguito quattro piccole *dietae* di varia ampiezza (9-12), tutte intercomunicanti e servite da un corridoio finestrato raggiungibile dal terrazzo attraverso un'apertura posta in corrispondenza dell'ambiente 11.³⁴ Oltre la fila delle *dietae*, un'altra rampa di scale, metteva in comunicazione il terrazzo B con gli ambienti voltati del livello sottostante: inizialmente questa era praticabile dalla *dietà* 12, ma, successivamente, a seguito dell'apertura di un passaggio dalla balconata antistante, la porta di collegamento venne tamponata.³⁵ In aggiunta alla scala descritta, la sottostante terrazza C poteva essere raggiunta anche attraverso una seconda scalea, posta a N del livello B, lungo le pareti della quale si notano due aperture: quella sulla parete N forse è moderna,³⁶

quella sul muro S, invece, costituisce lo sbocco di uno stretto canale discendente E-O, certamente l'alloggiamento per una tubatura o uno *specus* per l'approvvigionamento idrico.

La terza terrazza C ospita un lungo corridoio (l'*ambulatio* eponima della villa) diviso in due navate da una fila di pilastri con andamento N-S (due conservano tracce della decorazione a stucco policromo), relativi ad un sistema di archi,³⁷ internamente affrescati di bianco e decorati con un candelabro stilizzato intorno a cui si avvolgono racemi verdi.³⁸ Su tale sistema poggiava la copertura a volta, dalle tracce lasciate dalla sua imposta, sebbene non sia chiaro se essa si limitasse alla parte posteriore del corridoio, funzionando al tempo stesso come sostruzione per la balconata del superiore terrazzo B, oppure se, al contrario, coprisse interamente il corridoio con una doppia volta, interrompendosi, nel qual caso, in corrispondenza della parte centrale per consentire un originale effetto scenografico. L'individuazione di un tratto di muro lungo il margine orientale del terrazzamento porterebbe a supporre qui l'esistenza di un criptoportico finestrato, verosimilmente con un'apertura maggiore in corrispondenza della sala centrale, da cui poteva essere visto tutto il paesaggio del *Baianus sinus*. La presenza del criptoportico, a questo punto, consente di rendere più verosimile l'ipotesi della doppia volta a botte per l'*ambulatio*. Questa sala, corrispondente al vano centrale del livello superiore, consta di un'aula rettangolare absidata con alto podio e volta a catino, ingresso tripartito da due colonne (le basi sono ancora *in situ*) e nelle pareti tre nicchie rettangolari poco profonde, inquadrare da pilastri in opera vittata, nelle quali è stato aggiunto un successivo basamento per rialzarne il piano, che oblitera parte della decorazione a stucco di colore rosso (figg. 5-6). Inoltre, le pareti affrescate presentavano uno zoccolo marmoreo. Oltre il muro N si colloca un secondo ambiente rettangolare più piccolo con *opus sectile* sulle pareti,³⁹ volta a botte e pavimento a piastrelle quadrate di marmo (ca. 41 cm),⁴⁰ raggiungibile dall'*ambulatio* e con un ulteriore accesso (lato O) su un corridoio di servizio, che gira tutt'intorno posteriormente all'aula absidata. Sebbene non sia comprensibile la funzione precisa di questo passaggio, è necessario fare alcune osservazioni a riguardo: 1) sulle pareti del tratto meridionale si nota una risega di fondazione, che indicherebbe l'esistenza di una scala o di una rampa; 2) dallo stesso lato non c'è un passaggio verso l'*ambulatio* (quello ora visibile è un taglio moderno); 3) nell'angolo SE dello stesso tratto meridionale si nota un discendente, che dal muro confluisce in una cana-



Fig. 4. Terrazza B, ambiente 5 (lato N).



Fig. 5. Terrazza C, Aula absidata (lato O).



Fig. 6. Terrazza C, Aula absidata (lato N).

letta rivestita di tegole, che percorre in senso E-O l'*ambulat*io. E' probabile, data la sua conformazione, che si trattasse di un corridoio di servizio, funzionale alla grande sala absidata centrale, comunicante anche con il terrazzo B. Ad O l'*ambulat*io è delimitata da un muro continuo,⁴¹ al di là del quale si col-



Fig. 7. Terrazza C, muro O (tratto S).



Fig. 8. Terrazza D, criptoportico.

loca una serie di locali voltati, interrotta al centro dalla sala absidata e dal contiguo ambiente N, dei quali, dopo la loro creazione, quelli a S furono chiusi e impiegati come cisterne, mentre quelli settentrionali, serviti da un corridoio (coperto?) con il piano pavimentale assai pendente in senso N-S, furono intonacati e adibiti a vani di servizio.

Scendendo la rampa N, in prossimità dell'angolo orientale dell'abside dell'*ambulat*io,⁴² si raggiunge la sottostante terrazza D, delimitata ad O da un muro continuo, che funge da contenimento per il settore superiore. Questo quarto livello prevede una seconda *ambulat*io a pilastri con archi E-O, che sorreggevano il lato orientale di una volta a botte, mentre il lato opposto insisteva sui pilastri addossati alla parete O del corridoio (fig. 8). E' possibile, inoltre, che questi stessi pilastri sorreggessero una



Fig. 9. Terrazza D, aula centrale.



Fig. 11. Terrazza F. prospetto.



Fig. 10. Terrazza E.



Fig. 12. Terrazza F, ambienti medievali.

seconda serie di archi, questa volta con andamento N-S, creando un movimentato quanto scenografico prospetto dal mare, reso visibile dal fatto che la parte anteriore della terrazza D era scoperta e, forse, chiusa solo da una balaustra. Al centro della terrazza, in asse con gli ambienti mediani dei livelli superiori, si apre un ambiente rettangolare con volta a botte e lato di fondo absidato, davanti al quale è collocata, ad una quota inferiore, una struttura in muratura che possiamo identificare con una fontana, poiché in corrispondenza di questa si notano alcune condutture idriche e lo sbocco della canaletta che convogliava le acque di drenaggio dei terrazzamenti sovrastanti (fig. 9).

Proseguendo per la stessa scalea N utilizzata prima, si raggiunge la quinta terrazza (E), tradizionalmente indicata come sede degli *hospitalia* per i frequentatori dei complessi termali di Baia. E, in effetti, è possibile che già durante le primissime fasi di frequentazione della villa questo livello abbia avuto una destinazione simile o, tut-

t'al più, una funzione di servizio. Ad ogni modo, il terrazzo è definito da numerosi ambienti, organizzati in due file parallele servite da un corridoio antistante, la cui volta a botte era sostenuta da un sistema di pilastri addossati alle pareti (figg. 10 e 13). Il lato occidentale è occupato da una successione di undici vani voltati a botte (uno è conservato solo parzialmente), rivestiti di intonaco bianco con il pavimento interno leggermente superiore rispetto al piano del corridoio. Anche qui deve esserci stato un abbassamento del calpestio interno degli ambienti, dal momento che sulle pareti si notano le riseghe di fondazione poste a quote diverse: infatti, mentre all'inizio, dovendo fungere unicamente da sostruzioni, si adattavano all'orografia del suolo, in seguito, per diventare praticabili, il loro piano è stato livellato e abbassato. Gli ambienti si susseguono a ritmo costante fino all'VIII arcata, poi, la distanza quasi raddoppia tra l'VIII e la IX, in corrispondenza della fontana e del canale discendente dalle terrazze superiori. Agli archi



Fig. 13. Prospetti delle terrazze E, F e G.

della facciata si alternano in alto lunette cieche, a movimentare il prospetto a mare del terrazzamento E: è molto probabile che questi ambienti fossero in origine semplici sostruzioni chiuse almeno fino all'imposta della volta, per cui il prospetto esterno risultava scandito dall'alternanza di archi semiaperti e lunette cieche. La parte più esterna della terrazza doveva essere chiusa da un criptoportico illuminato da finestre a gola di lupo, che costituisce un secondo corridoio parallelo al primo e ad esso collegato attraverso due stretti passaggi (in corrispondenza dell'arcata II e tra le arcate VIII e IX). L'attuale organizzazione del terrazzamento è, evidentemente, il risultato di molteplici trasformazioni dovute alla lunga frequentazione del sito. Tuttavia, l'individuazione di numerose strutture di approvvigionamento idrico e condotti di scarico fa ipotizzare che su tale livello, almeno in una delle sue fasi edilizie, fossero collocate delle *latrinae* e/o *balnea*. Infine, in corrispondenza dell'arcata IX si colloca una scalinata di collegamento con il piano inferiore.

Il livello F, raggiungibile con la consueta rampa meridionale o con la scala appena detta, consiste in una semplice area scoperta lasciata a giardino, con il prospetto occidentale ad arcate cieche inquadrature da semicolonne intonacate e dipinte di bianco (figg. 11 e 13).⁴³ A queste ultime, successivamente, furono addossate almeno quattro stanze a pianta rettangolare,⁴⁴ allineate l'una accanto all'altra e realizzate con tecniche edilizie diverse e materiale di spoglio (fig. 12). A N è sistemata, inoltre, una scalea che conduceva ad un tempo alla terrazza superiore E, a quella inferiore G e ad un altro quartiere posto a N della villa, oggi non più ricostruibile per intero, perché distrutto dal successivo inserimento della struttura termale alle spalle del 'Tempio di Mercurio',⁴⁵ di cui avanzano tre ambi-

enti, che, insieme alla scala, risalgono ad una fase di occupazione successiva a quella dell'impianto della 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*', e, anzi, è molto probabile che presuppongano la perdita della funzione residenziale dell'intero complesso: infatti, la scala e gli ambienti si sovrappongono alle strutture della terrazza E.

La terrazza G, che chiude il sistema della *basis villae*, è anch'essa un ampio spazio aperto delimitato a S da una continuazione di ambienti affrescati in IV stile con sfondo azzurro⁴⁶ e ad O da un prospetto scandito da pilastri marmorei (fig. 13). Tale sistemazione sostituisce l'impianto originario, che, al contrario, prevedeva un *viridarium* porticato, del quale due colonne sono inglobate in uno degli ambienti del lato meridionale, con il prospetto liscio e semplicemente intonacato.

Appare lampante come l'aspetto attuale del complesso 'dell'*Ambulatio*' costituisca la somma di una serie di interventi, che con il tempo ne hanno modificato, talvolta anche in modo radicale, la fisionomia originaria, dando vita ad una situazione così complessa da renderne difficile la lettura. Tuttavia, è possibile, nonostante tutto, distinguere una sequenza di fasi edilizie assai utile nella ricostruzione della storia del monumento. Al momento della sua costruzione, la villa, realizzata completamente in opera reticolata (*cubilia* di 9-12 cm di lato) con ammorsature in tufelli (20-28 cm x 8-10 cm), sembrerebbe aver già previsto il sistema di sei livelli digradanti a valle, denunciando così una realizzazione architettonica improntata ad una spoglia linearità ed impostata sull'insistente *Leitmotiv* della successione delle terrazze a mare. Di esse, quelle superiori sembrano aver avuto un carattere residenziale, mentre quelle inferiori dovevano essere lasciate a giardino o, ma più difficilmente, riservate alla piscicoltura.⁴⁷ Generalmente questa fase è collocata tra la fine del II e gli inizi del I sec. a.C., soprattutto in base allo schema delle sostruzioni ad arcate e criptoportici finestrati, un modello architettonico che si diffonderebbe proprio in questo periodo.⁴⁸ Ma, una simile datazione, a ben vedere, sembra troppo alta per il complesso baiano: infatti, proprio l'opera muraria qui impiegata e la messa in opera dei materiali edilizi impongono di scendere fino alla seconda metà del I sec. a.C., quando, appunto, si colloca la prima fase della villa.⁴⁹

Pochi decenni dopo la realizzazione della *basis villae* vengono apportate alcune variazioni al progetto iniziale, tutte caratterizzate dall'uso di pareti piene di reticolato con ammorsature angolari e testate rinforzate da tufelli, ma con *cubilia* leggermente più piccoli (9 cm di lato) e più regolari nel

taglio e nella forma rispetto a quelli adoperati nella fase precedente, così come più regolare ne è l'allettamento, con strati di malta spessi (2-3 cm) e rifilati con la stilatura.⁵⁰ A questo momento risale il riutilizzo delle sostruzioni voltate della terrazza B, delle quali quelle meridionali, chiuse e rivestite di cocciopesto, sono trasformate in cisterne e quelle a N diventano ambienti di servizio, piuttosto che acquisire una funzione abitativa,⁵¹ con l'abbassamento del livello del calpestio interno, l'intonacatura delle pareti, l'aggiunta dei muretti di delimitazione delle soglie relative e la creazione del corridoio di accesso. Una simile ristrutturazione si registra anche nella terrazza E, con le sostruzioni voltate del piano soprastante trasformate in ambienti intonacati preceduti da un corridoio coperto.

Ancora pochi anni più tardi si assiste ad un ulteriore cambiamento, che modifica in senso scenografico lo spazio residenziale della villa: il muro O della terrazza D viene rinforzato con una nuova fodera in reticolato, a cui viene addossato il sistema di archi E-O, con i pilastri in laterizi e tufelli; nel mezzo della terrazza C è inserita la sala absidata; sul suo lato occidentale viene aggiunto un ulteriore paramento in opera reticolata (dallo spessore raddoppiato lungo il tratto S per renderlo parallelo a quello N), su cui poggiare la nuova copertura a doppia volta con fila centrale di pilastri ed archi, progettata in funzione dell'avanzamento verso il mare della soprastante terrazza B: qui, infatti, si nota un'alternanza di muri in reticolato e tufelli, ai quali è semplicemente giustapposta una sequenza di strutture con zoccolo laterizio. Infine, è molto probabile che a questa stessa fase siano pertinenti pure le lesene in tufelli del prospetto della terrazza D. Tutte queste operazioni non oltrepassano la metà del I sec. d.C., sia per le tecniche murarie impiegate sia per la tipologia della sala absidata del livello C, che ripete fedelmente lo schema del Ninfeo di Punta Epitaffio, se non la medesima funzione.⁵³

Al II sec. d.C. vanno riferiti solo modesti interventi di manutenzione, come testimonierebbero i pavimenti marmorei⁵⁴ e la pittura in avanzato IV stile degli ambienti meridionali della terrazza G, mentre più significativi risultano gli interventi riferibili al periodo compreso tra l'età severiana ed il IV sec. d.C., quando, cioè, la villa viene defunzionalizzata o, comunque, sembra perdere il suo carattere residenziale,⁵⁵ forse a seguito di un crollo. Nel contempo viene messa in comunicazione con la 'Villa della Sosandra' e, quasi certamente, viene creata la lunga scala meridionale, mentre sulla terrazza G si allestiscono gli ambienti meridionali,

con la soppressione del precedente peristilio.⁵⁶ A questo momento potrebbe risalire anche un cambiamento di funzione della sala absidata della terrazza C, connessa all'innalzamento dei piani delle nicchie e del podio nell'abside. Molto successivi, forse di età medievale, sono gli interventi in opera incerta di materiale riutilizzato, che alterano ulteriormente la fisionomia delle terrazze E ed F, ora ripartite in piccoli ambienti, a costituire un grande annesso dei vicini settori termali, plausibilmente la prima con una serie di piccoli *balnea* e la seconda con spazi destinati al riposo ed ai massaggi,⁵⁷ tutti serviti da un criptoportico finestrato.

LA VILLA 'DELLA SOSANDRA'

La tradizionale interpretazione della struttura come impianto termale si basava sulla ricostruzione del Maiuri, che voleva l'ultimo livello occupato da una grande *natatio*, laddove il de Franciscis, invece, in base alla pianta ed ai rinvenimenti statuari, vi riconosceva il *palatium cum stagno* indicato dalla fiaschetta vitrea di Piombino.⁵⁸ Per De Angelis d'Ossat, che recupera una notizia di Cassio Dione, si tratterebbe dell'ἡβητήριον vero e proprio, l'edificio a carattere ludico-ricreativo fatto costruire da Nerone per ingraziarsi i *classarii* di Miseno.⁵⁹ Più verosimile è l'interpretazione di Cairoli Fulvio Giuliani, che la considera tipologicamente vicina agli schemi delle ville su pendio, tipiche del periodo compreso tra la fine del I sec. a.C. e la prima età imperiale,⁶⁰ mentre Paola Miniero vuole l'iniziale fase di occupazione del suolo al II-I sec. a.C. e la villa vera e propria agli inizi del I sec. d.C.⁶¹ E, in effetti, il monumento si presenta con certezza come un complesso residenziale, che solo in un secondo momento viene inglobato all'interno di un unico grande impianto termale.

La villa⁶² è a S del complesso 'dell'*Ambulatio*' e si organizza su quattro terrazze parallele, sviluppate in senso E-O a valle verso il mare (fig. 19).

Il terrazzamento superiore o I livello al presente non è più accessibile, essendo in parte frantumato ed in parte invaso da una fitta vegetazione, ma che Fikret Yegül interpreta come un impianto termale allineato con quello delle 'Piccole Terme' più a S,⁶³ di cui si parlerà in seguito. Ad oggi, si scorgono ancora i resti di un ambiente voltato e della scalinata di collegamento al livello sottostante, impostata sul margine settentrionale del terrazzamento.

Al momento si accede al complesso tramite un passaggio moderno, che immette direttamente nella seconda terrazza o livello II (fig. 14),⁶⁴ occupata su tre lati (S, O e N) da un colonnato, mentre

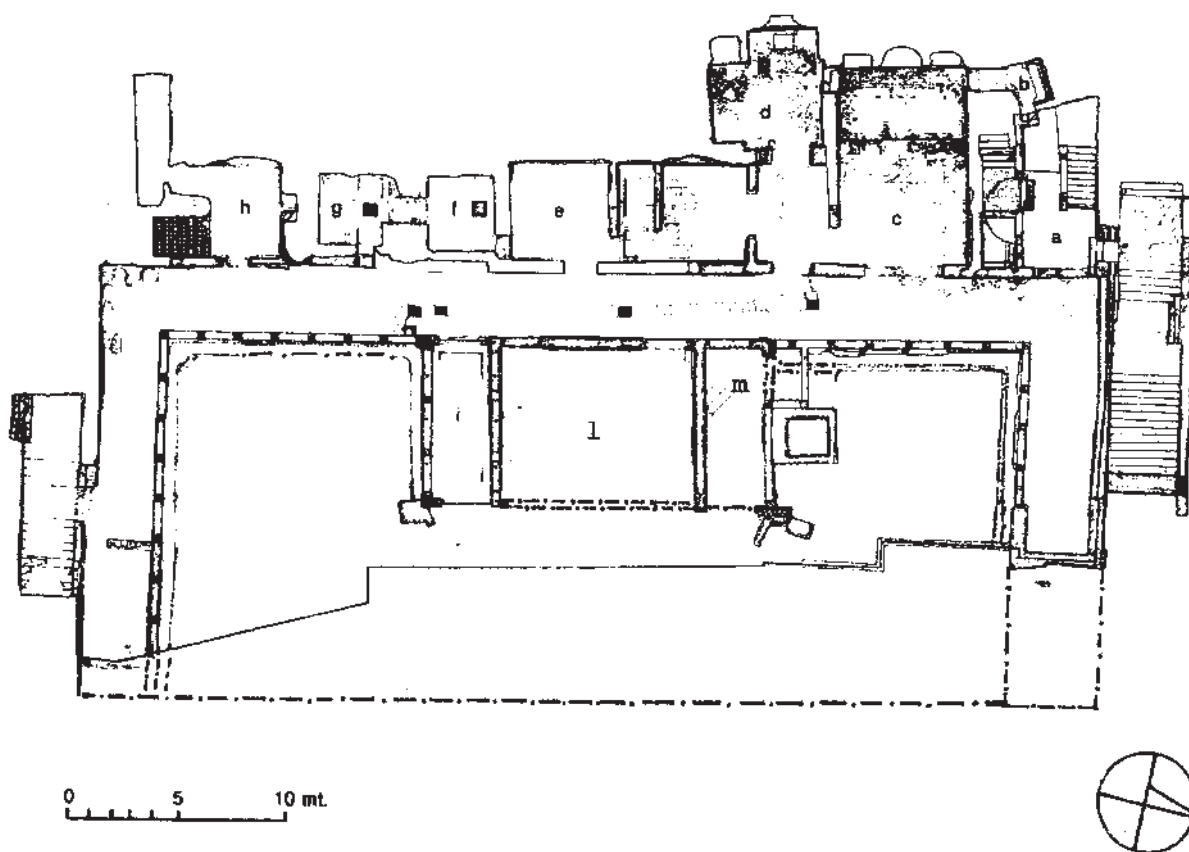


Fig. 14. Baia. 'Villa della Sosandra'. Livello II, ipotesi ricostruttiva (rielaborazione di Amalfitano et alii 1990).

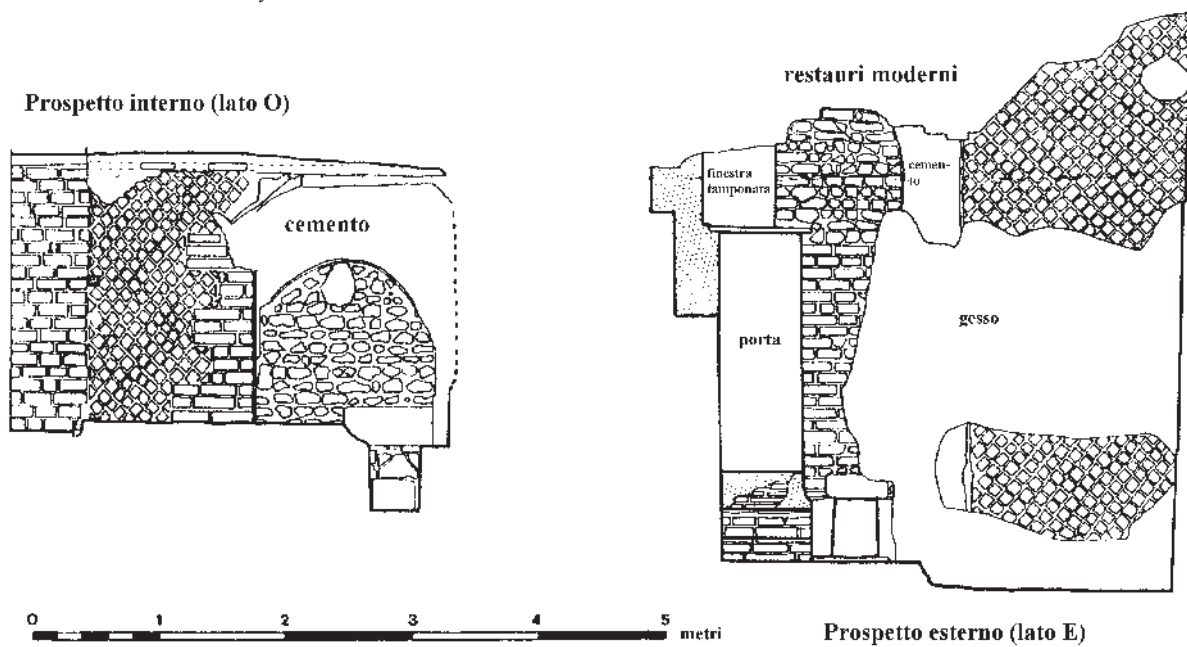


Fig. 15. Balneum (b) (Ling 1977).

il quarto lato può aver previsto un portico a pilastri oppure essere stato semplicemente chiuso da una balaustra, come sembra più verosimile, visto che tale soluzione avrebbe lasciata libera la vista sul golfo. Il braccio occidentale del colonnato è interrotto al centro da un grande ambiente rettangolare (*l*), che ne costituisce una sorta di corpo avanzato sul giardino pensile: questo, accessibile da due ingressi sul lato O, prevedeva una pavimentazione a lastre marmoree, una copertura esterna a doppio spiovente e, forse, una volta a botte internamente, particolare che porterebbe a giustificare il forte spessore dei suoi muri perimetrali (60 cm), la cui singolarità restava ad oggi ancora non spiegata in modo efficace. Sebbene i restauri moderni abbiano alterato la pianta originaria, tanto che il lato occidentale appare suddiviso in tre vani aperti a S, in realtà questo ambiente era probabilmente un *oecus*, fiancheggiato da due porticati ad 'U' (*i* ed *m*), con pilastri in mattoni su basso muro in cementizio e copertura a spioventi, ai piedi dei quali corre la canaletta di scolo, tipologicamente assai vicino al grande salone interno della Villa di Poppea a Torre Annunziata.⁶⁵ Di questi portici, quello S (*i*) è pavimentato con un mosaico policromo,⁶⁶ mentre nell'altro (*m*) si conserva l'impronta di lastre marmoree:⁶⁷ è possibile che questa sistemazione non sia dovuta ad una cattiva comprensione da parte dei restauratori moderni, quanto, piuttosto, che il restauro stesso abbia ricomposto in modo filologicamente corretto una situazione di ristrutturazione posteriore all'impianto del complesso 'della Sosandra', ma, comunque, determinatasi già in antico. Sotto il lato O del peristilio si apre, poi, una serie di vani con un orientamento di poco divergente da quello degli altri ambienti, in seguito regolarizzato. Nell'angolo NO del livello II, sullo stretto ballatoio (*a*) della scalinata di collegamento con il I livello, si colloca un piccolo *balneum* (*b*) in reticolato e ammorsature angolari di tufelli (*fig. 15*) con pianta ad 'L' e decorazione a stucco sul soffitto e nella lunetta della parete orientale, riscaldato naturalmente incanalando l'acqua di una sorgente calda posta sotto la struttura stessa. Dal suddetto ballatoio si origina una scalinata divisa in più rampe, che scende in senso E-O fino al livello più basso del complesso, collegandone tutte le terrazze. Al termine della prima rampa è sistemata una fontana a cascata, parzialmente scavata nel banco tufaceo della Sella ed illuminata da una piccola apertura a gola di lupo (parete N), dalla quale si origina una canaletta sotterranea che arriva all'ultimo livello del complesso (*fig. 16*). A S del *balneum* (*b*) c'è l'ambiente *c*, dalla funzione ancora incerta, a pianta rettangolare e suddiviso



Fig. 16. Fontana a cascata.



Fig. 17. Livello II, ambiente *c*.



Fig. 18. Livello IV. Particolare.

apparentemente in due spazi autonomi dal punto di vista decorativo, per quanto strutturalmente non ci siano distinzioni: la parte aperta sul terrazzo costituisce una sorta di vestibolo d'ingresso con

le pareti decorate in parte in *opus sectile* analogamente al pavimento, dove ricorre il motivo del rombo inscritto in un quadrato; la parte più interna, con lo stesso *opus sectile* pavimentale, sebbene con uno schema mutato,⁶⁸ presenta sul lato di fondo una nicchia centrale semicircolare (forse ospitava una copia dell'Afrodite di Kalamis eponima della villa⁶⁹), affiancata da due nicchie rettangolari più basse e poco profonde (fig. 17). In un primo momento questa stanza comunicava sia con il *balneum* che con l'ambiente *d* sul lato S, come stanno ad indicare le due soglie marmoree ancora visibili sotto i suoi lati lunghi e la tamponatura in reticolato dell'accesso al vano meridionale,⁷⁰ quest'ultima in fase con la decorazione degli stessi ambienti *c* e *d*. Il vano *d*,⁷¹ invece, è un *cubiculum* a doppia alcova, con volta a botte nella parte meridionale, volta a crociera nella parte opposta e pavimentazione a lastre di marmo, di cui restano solo la preparazione e qualche grappa,⁷² oltre ad ampie porzioni di pitture di IV stile. Seguono quattro vani intercomunicanti coperti da volta a botte, di cui la funzione non è affatto evidente, né, tantomeno, si comprende bene quale sia stata la loro suddivisione originaria: gli ambienti *e*,⁷³ *f* e *g*⁷⁴ appaiono riadattati a cisterne collegate alle cisterne della terrazza sottostante della 'Villa della Sosandra' attraverso dei pozzi; l'ambiente *h* era un vano di passaggio alle 'Piccole Terme' ed era abbellito da una fontana a camera, come provano la canaletta lungo il muro N e le due condotte nel muro O. Da questo livello, infine, tutte le terrazze successive possono essere raggiunte da due corridoi paralleli (uno a S e uno a N), costituiti dall'alternarsi di rampe e di scalinate.

Il III livello è occupato da un grande emiciclo, una sorta di esedra-ninfeo, alle cui spalle sono collocate le grandi cisterne (almeno cinque) a cui si è fatto ora riferimento: questa struttura, centralizzata da una vasca circolare (ø 6 m),⁷⁵ presenta un prospetto aperto verso il mare e scandito da arcate inquadrature da semicolonnine in tufelli, in seguito utilizzate per ricavare dodici vani abitativi voltati.⁷⁶ Dietro le cinque cisterne vi sono altrettanti ambienti scavati nel retrostante banco tufaceo della Sella di Baia, tra i quali il secondo ed il quarto conservano piccole porzioni di affreschi in III stile, mentre il terzo deve aver ospitato una fontana-ninfeo, decorato con pitture di IV stile (affine a quello dell'ambiente *d* del livello superiore), stese su un precedente affresco in III stile (regolarmente picchiettato per accogliere l'intonaco più recente), e con un canale in muratura sotto la pavimentazione in cocciopesto, che alimentava la vasca dell'emiciclo esterno.

Prendendo la rampa di scale a S, oltre a raggiungere il 'Settore di Venere', una struttura termale contigua al nostro complesso,⁷⁷ si arriva al IV livello della villa 'della Sosandra', caratterizzato da un portico a colonne laterizie stuccate (si conservano solo i lati S ed O), che negli angoli diventano binate,⁷⁸ ed il cui lato O è stato ristretto in un periodo posteriore a quello dell'impianto per ricavare alcuni locali. I muri del peristilio sono affrescati in un tardo IV stile, che copre un precedente rivestimento marmoreo (probabilmente *opus sectile*, a giudicare dai frammenti di terracotta nella malta di preparazione) per un'altezza di ca. 2 m dal piano di campagna, e da un affresco 'egittizzante' di avanzato IV stile nella fascia superiore, preservato nell'angolo SO (fig. 18).⁷⁹

Al centro del peristilio vi è un ampio spazio aperto non completamente scavato e posto ad almeno 3 m più in basso rispetto al calpestio attuale, su cui si aprono ambienti voltati, almeno sui lati N ed E.⁸⁰ Infine, va riferito che *in situ* non è conservato alcun elemento architettonico, anche se il de Franciscis pubblica una foto di scavo con pezzi ivi rinvenuti (soffitti, architravi, cornici e stipiti), che trovano riscontri nell'architettura palaziale romana.⁸¹ Maiuri, inoltre, ha supposto che il peristilio circondasse una *natio*⁸² e che l'emiciclo del III livello fosse una sorta di *odeum* scoperto e affacciato su un sottostante spettacolo di giochi d'acqua e di vasche. Tuttavia, la funzione precisa del IV livello resta tutta da chiarire. E' possibile, comunque, che quella indicata come piscina fosse una cisterna a cielo aperto oppure, più semplicemente, una grande vasca termale, attorno alla quale si aprivano sale per massaggi e per l'intrattenimento dei frequentatori, come anche non è da escludere che possa trattarsi di un giardino circondato da ambienti per l'*otium*, che fungono al tempo stesso da sostruzioni per il porticato superiore. In ogni caso, tutte queste strutture vengono ad impiantarsi su una successiva terrazza, del tutto autonoma, della *basis villae*, aggiungendo così un V livello alla tradizionale sequenza della 'Villa della Sosandra'.

Per quanto la pianta si presenti sostanzialmente omogenea e l'impianto sembri essere frutto di un unico intervento, le vicende edilizie del complesso 'della Sosandra' risultano alquanto complicate (fig. 19). Vediamo, dunque, di fare il punto della situazione.

Per i primi due livelli (I e II) non disponiamo di elementi che consentano di sostenere o negare l'esistenza di strutture precedenti l'impianto, e lo stesso discorso vale anche per il livello IV. Al contrario, il ninfeo del III livello ha fatto rilevare, come



Fig. 19. Prospetto a mare.

si è visto sopra, l'esistenza di fasi decorative antecedenti gli ultimi interventi in IV stile. In più, nell'ambiente a N dell'emiciclo, sul muro settentrionale, si notano le tracce delle travi del soffitto che parlano di un orientamento diverso rispetto all'attuale muro di chiusura E. A ciò si aggiunga che tutto il III livello è contraddistinto dalla presenza di piccoli ambienti di forma irregolare, dall'utilizzo incerto, ma che non possono essere altro che il risultato di successive risistemazioni, oltre al fatto che nell'angolo NO della terrazza, alle spalle dell'emiciclo, si registra la giustapposizione di una struttura ad andamento curvilineo ad un muro rettilineo N-S. Sulla scorta di quanto rilevato è plausibile ipotizzare per questa prima fase edilizia del III livello un prospetto liscio, sebbene non si possa indicare con certezza il complesso di pertinenza. Sulla scorta di queste osservazioni, è possibile stabilire che l'edificio si sia impiantato in un'area priva di insediamenti precedenti in una data collocabile entro la prima metà del I sec. d.C.

In una fase successiva, riferibile probabilmente già alla metà del I sec. d.C., lo spazio viene organizzato come nella vicina 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*' (si ha quasi l'impressione che si tratti di uno schema divenuto consueto a *Baiæ*), con le due terrazze superiori (livello I e II) a carattere residenziale e le altre destinate allo svago. A questo periodo risalgono la pavimentazione marmorea degli ambienti *c* (fascia interna), *l* e *m*⁸³ e gli affreschi del *cubiculum d* nel livello II, insieme alla ridecorazione del ninfeo posteriore del livello III ed alla sistemazione dell'emiciclo esterno. Allo stesso modo, la terrazza IV viene rimaneggiata, con l'inserzione dell'ampio colonnato e degli ambienti voltati finemente stuccati.

Una terza fase edilizia, intorno alla metà del II

sec. d.C. (piena età antonina),⁸⁴ prevede una parziale ristrutturazione del complesso, con la conseguente modifica degli spazi interni: al II livello l'ambiente *c* viene diviso in due spazi ed è rifatta la decorazione pavimentale della parte anteriore del vano (con l'inserzione di marmo verde antico sulle pareti⁸⁵), viene decorato a stucco il *balneum*⁸⁶ ormai defunzionalizzato (è unicamente un corridoio di collegamento), vengono ricavati gli ambienti *e* ed *i*, che vengono pavimentati a mosaico,⁸⁷ e l'ambiente *m*, che, al contrario, conserva il pavimento marmoreo del portico,⁸⁸ nel IV livello, invece, viene ridecorato il peristilio con marmo ed affreschi a soggetto egittizzante.

Nella quarta fase, infine, gli interventi di ristrutturazione dell'edificio sembrano enfatizzare il carattere termale della zona a discapito di quello residenziale, il che avrebbe favorito il moltiplicarsi di ambienti a danno delle aree di passeggio e di svago, in funzione soprattutto dei diversi complessi termali sorti tutt'intorno alla villa, raggiungendo il culmine tra la metà del III ed il IV sec. d.C., stando alle diverse modifiche ed ai grossolani interventi edilizi individuabili in tutta la struttura.⁸⁹ A quest'epoca l'emiciclo del III livello viene suddiviso in dodici ambienti separati da tramezzi in opera reticolata, giustapposti alla parete di fondo (in molti casi sovrapposti all'intonaco precedente), mentre in alcune arcate furono creati dei passaggi per sfruttare anche gli ambienti retrostanti, ricoprendo la precedente decorazione con uno strato di intonaco bianco. Interventi di restauro si individuano anche nel II livello, dove, per esempio, gli ambienti *e-g* diventano cisterne ed il vano *b* torna ad essere un *balneum*, con l'aggiunta

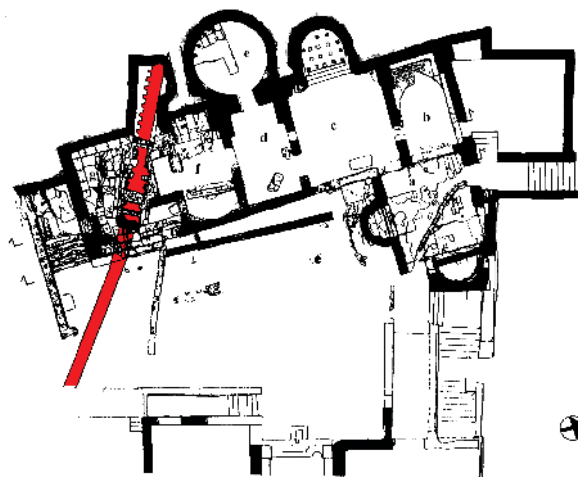


Fig. 20. Baia. 'Piccole Terme'. Pianta (rielaborazione di Amalfitano et alii 1990).

di *tegulae mammatae* e *tubuli* e con la tamponatura in opera vittata del passaggio voltato sulla parete O e dell'altro accesso lato E. Sui lati S ed O del peristilio del livello IV furono ricavati ulteriori ambienti e fu rifatta la decorazione parietale. A questa stessa fase, poi, sembrano risalire anche la creazione di un collegamento sia sul lato S che sul lato N dell'edificio, tra il complesso 'della Sosandra' e la 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*', il varco di comunicazione con le 'Piccole Terme', attraverso l'ambiente *h* del II livello, e, infine, il restauro del pavimento dell'ambiente *e*.⁹⁰ Tutti gli interventi di questa fase, che costituiscono le ultime ristrutturazioni fino all'età medievale (allorché cessa l'uso del complesso), sono realizzati in opera vittata, con tufelli di dimensioni regolari e strati di malta spessi ca. 3 cm.

LE 'PICCOLE TERME'

Il nucleo originario delle 'Piccole Terme' deve aver fatto parte di una struttura residenziale da ricercarsi a monte e a S del nostro complesso, in una zona non ancora esplorata della pendice orientale della Sella di Baia.⁹¹

La costruzione (fig. 20),⁹² in opera reticolata con *cubilia* di tufo giallo e ammorsature in tufelli, si conserva per gran parte della sua altezza originaria (per quanto sia stata fortemente interessata da restauri successivi) e, a differenza degli altri due complessi precedenti, si sviluppa unicamente su un solo piano, posto grosso modo alla stessa quota del I livello della 'Sosandra' e della terrazza B dell'*Ambulatio*'.

L'accesso attuale avviene tramite una scala posta nell'angolo SO del II livello della 'Sosandra', ma in origine si accedeva direttamente da un porticato ad O della facciata delle 'Piccole Terme' (resta un'unica colonna d'anta in laterizi all'estremità S), a costituire un loggiato panoramico sul *Baianus lacus*. L'ingresso, così, avviene dal *frigidarium* (*a*), dalla pianta appena regolare, adattata al preesistente muro perimetrale della 'Villa della Sosandra', e con due vasche sui lati S ed O rivestite di lastre marmoree. Ad E, con un passaggio ottenuto abbattendo la parete, si entra in un vano rettangolare (*b*), forse un *apodyterium*, coperto da volta a botte, affrescato in IV stile (parete O)⁹³ e pavimentato con un mosaico bianco con due fasce nere, di cui resta un'esigua porzione.⁹⁴ La sala attigua (*c*) presenta sul lato O un'ampia nicchia con volta a catino, in cui è collocata una vasca per immersioni, e nell'angolo SO una nicchia più piccola anch'essa con un bacino. Il *tepidarium* (*d*) funge da anticamera per il *laconicum* (*e*), che conserva integra la cupola con *oculus*

centrale: questo è ricavato nel banco tufaceo della collina retrostante e riscaldato da un sistema ad ipocausto con *suspensurae*, che sfrutta i vapori naturali.⁹⁵ Anche il *calidarium* (*f*) doveva servirsi del medesimo sistema di riscaldamento, come fa pensare il condotto sotto il piano pavimentale e le vasche dei lati O e S.⁹⁶ Affianco ad esso vi è un ambiente di servizio (*g*), percorso da un grande canale di captazione, che doveva servire al riscaldamento delle sottostanti 'Terme di Venere'.⁹⁷ A S di questo canale si nota una struttura quadrangolare in opera quadrata di blocchi di trachite su conglomerato cementizio inglobata in strutture successive. In effetti, in questo sistema, interpretato suggestivamente come relativo ad un santuario con oracolo dei morti e datato al VI-V sec. a.C.,⁹⁸ vanno riconosciuti in modo inequivocabile i resti della costruzione anteriore all'impianto delle 'Piccole Terme', che non poteva avere che un carattere termale, almeno in questo punto.

Dunque, prima della sistemazione dell'edificio noto come 'Piccole Terme', l'area era occupata da una struttura in opera quadrata, i cui resti sono incorporati nell'ambiente di servizio a S del canale di captazione dei vapori caldi naturali. Di questa fase più antica, databile intorno alla metà del I sec. a.C., rimangono con certezza solo il *laconicum* (*e*) e, forse, la parte occidentale dell'ambiente *c*, che doveva ospitare la vasca per il bagno freddo.

A questi furono aggiunti già in età augustea (II fase), forse in relazione con la costruzione dell'*Aqua Augusta*,⁹⁹ i quattro ambienti ad O (*b*, *c*, *d*, *f*), mentre il vano *g* viene adibito ad ambiente di servizio, con la struttura a blocchi della fase precedente rivestita di cocciopesto e trasformata in cisterna; in questo periodo, inoltre, l'accesso al complesso avviene dall'ambiente *f*, il *tepidarium* (*d*) è un vano di passaggio, la stanza *e* resta un *laconicum*, *c* è un *frigidarium* e *b* è uno spazio di intrattenimento. Tutti gli interventi di questo periodo, inoltre, utilizzano un reticolato di *tesserae* di taglio irregolare e dimensioni variabili (10-12 cm ca.), allentate grossolanamente secondo un allineamento obliquo.

Cronologicamente poco distante da questi interventi (metà - seconda metà del I sec. d.C.) è l'aggiunta di un portico antistante il lato E del complesso, con colonne in laterizio. Probabilmente, in concomitanza con la costruzione della 'Villa della Sosandra', si verifica una totale ristrutturazione delle 'Piccole Terme', con uno stravolgimento dei percorsi interni, non più organizzati intorno alla *sudatio*, ma, lasciando quest'ultima a margine, ora distinti nella successione *frigidarium* - *tepidarium* - *calidarium*. In questa III fase l'ingresso avviene dall'ambiente *c*, che funge anche da *apodyterium* -

frigidarium, *d* diventa un *calidarium* sfruttando la sorgente naturale che riscalda la *sudatio* (*e*), *f* viene trasformato in un secondo *calidarium* (vengono ricavate due vasche nello spessore dei muri S ed O, mentre il muro E viene absidato per l'inserzione di un *labrum*) e *g* mantiene la sua funzione di ambiente di servizio, accessibile, però, solo dall'esterno (e non più tramite *f*). A questa fase risalgono le pitture in IV stile degli ambienti *b* e *d* (ne rimane una minima parte sulla parete O) e il mosaico dell'ambiente *b*. Dal punto di vista dell'apparecchio murario, si registra ancora l'uso del reticolato, ma con *cubilia* dal taglio e dalle dimensioni più regolari (ca. 9 cm), ammorsature in tufelli e colonne in laterizio, la cui quasi totale perdita, tuttavia, non consente di formulare alcun giudizio sulle caratteristiche del materiale impiegato.

La IV fase, databile tra la metà del III ed il IV sec. d.C. (piuttosto che alla seconda metà del II sec. d.C.) e caratterizzata dall'impiego di opera reticolata regolare, per quanto gli alzati relativi siano scarsi, è in relazione con le trasformazioni che si registrano in tutti i complessi della pendice orientale della Sella di Baia, legati soprattutto alle caratteristiche termali della zona ed alla realizzazione del nuovo impianto termale tra le 'Piccole Terme' e le sottostanti 'Terme di Venere'. Proprio in funzione di questo nuovo collegamento il cortile delle terme viene ridotto e il portico retrostante viene abolito per l'inserimento di un nuovo *frigidarium* (*a*)¹⁰⁰ e, probabilmente per renderle raggiungibili dalla 'Villa della Sosandra', viene inglobato il vano a N dell'ambiente *b*, anche se il suo utilizzo non è ancora chiaro. Inoltre, nell'angolo esterno SO del vano *a* viene creata una *latrina*, sistemata in un punto che sfrutta l'acqua di scarico del *frigidarium*; l'ambiente *b* viene riscaldato con la conseguente distruzione del pavimento a mosaico per la creazione del vano ipocausto, è tamponata la nicchia della parete E (favorendo la conservazione della pittura di III fase e di una piccola porzione di mosaico) e vengono installati dei banchi in muratura lungo i lati N e S; pure l'ambiente *c* viene riscaldato; nel vano *f* sono aggiunte due vasche sui lati E ed O; l'ambiente *g* subisce ulteriori trasformazioni in funzione della manutenzione del canale di captazione, ingrandito per servire anche le 'Terme di Venere'. Infine, in questo momento viene aggiunta la lunga scalinata a N del nostro complesso, così da collegare direttamente le strutture sottostanti ('Terme del livello intermedio' e 'Terme di Venere').

L'inserzione di bacini ed alcuni altri piccoli interventi edilizi si registrano ancora in momenti successivi, da ascrivere, molto probabilmente,

all'età medievale, a testimonianza della lunga persistenza d'uso della struttura. Tali operazioni, in conformità con quanto si registra contemporaneamente negli altri settori considerati, sono in opera vittata con piccole specchiature in reticolato, realizzate con materiale di spoglio.¹⁰¹

CONSIDERAZIONI CONCLUSIVE

La ricostruzione delle vicende edilizie, fin qui tentata, delle ville 'dell'*Ambulatio*' e 'della Sosandra' e del complesso delle 'Piccole Terme' di Baia consente di rintracciare non pochi dati rilevanti, che concorrono inequivocabilmente a definire in modo più puntuale il quadro storico-sociale in cui si è venuta a determinare ciascuna fase costruttiva di ciascun monumento considerato. Accanto a questi, però, va considerato un aspetto in particolare, che, per quanto sia sotto gli occhi di tutti da sempre, è stato troppo sottovalutato in passato: si tratta dell'ampio arco cronologico di utilizzo di queste strutture, dal periodo repubblicano al tardo-antico, fino a giungere al Medioevo, che rende impossibile pensare ad esse come a qualcosa di statico e di concluso sia dal punto di vista dello sviluppo edilizio sia da quello dell'utilizzazione sia, infine, da quello socio-economico. E questo già da solo impone un cambio di prospettiva veramente radicale nell'approccio agli edifici baiani: ciò che vediamo oggi è, certo, il risultato di un inglobamento di tutti i monumenti della zona, trasformati in settori di un medesimo impianto termale, ma questo non sembra essere avvenuto gradualmente nel corso dei secoli. In effetti, la tradizione vuole che la porzione della pendice orientale della Sella compresa nei limiti del Parco Archeologico di Baia sia rientrata prestissimo all'interno del demanio imperiale, quando, all'opposto, le evidenze archeologiche obbligano ad una valutazione diversa della situazione. L'area pare, infatti, essere divisa in una sequela di proprietà private, sorte le une accanto alle altre, al fine di sfruttare al meglio le peculiarità paesaggistico-termali di *Baiae*, riferibili a quegli esponenti della nobiltà equestre e senatoria (se non, addirittura, notabili locali che ne tentavano l'emulazione), che cominciarono a frequentare le coste della Campania dopo la II guerra punica. Questo carattere si pone, così, all'origine dell'aspetto architettonico così singolare del *Baianus sinus*.

Un punto di partenza importante in questo discorso, benché passato sotto silenzio, è senza dubbio la rampa E-O tra le ville 'dell'*Ambulatio*' e 'della Sosandra', per la quale non è stato chiarito ad oggi se spartisse fin dal principio i due complessi oppure se sia stata costruita quando i vari settori

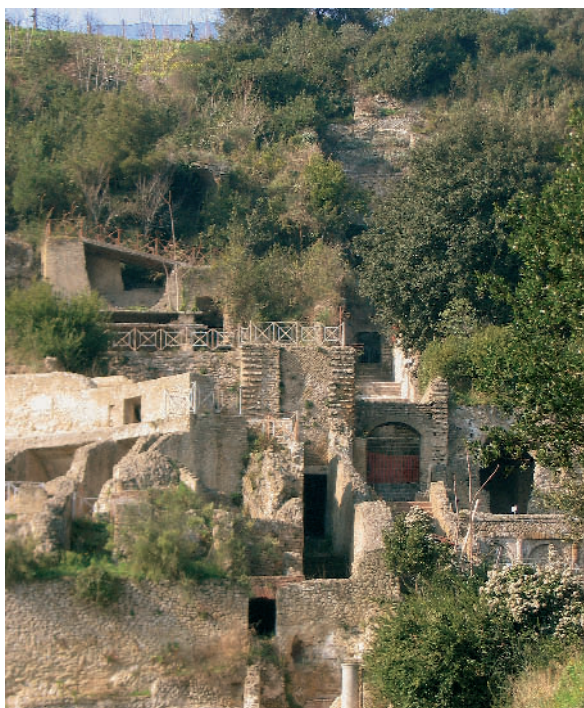


Fig. 21. Baia. Clivus tra 'Villa dell'Ambulatio' e 'Villa della Sosandra'.

dell'area furono resi comunicanti (fig. 21). Certamente la rampa deve aver subito delle trasformazioni nel corso del tempo (sebbene in parte imputabili agli interventi di restauro moderni), forse per modificarne la pendenza, stando alle riseghe di fondazione sulle pareti laterali poste ad una quota più alta rispetto all'andamento attuale. Oltre al fatto che sul piano planimetrico i due edifici citati si mostrano come organismi autonomi e ben distinti, un aiuto a riguardo potrebbe venire soprattutto da un dettaglio fornito dalla 'Villa della Sosandra': sul lato meridionale della rampa, in prossimità dell'accesso al II livello, si nota una finestra a gola di lupo, che doveva servire all'illuminazione di quel punto della scalea di comunicazione interna della villa stessa (rampa N). Ebbene, una tale apertura non si sarebbe resa necessaria se fin dall'origine il corridoio sotterraneo del complesso avesse affacciato in un altro percorso coperto, per l'appunto, la rampa in questione. Non solo, ma nel tratto terminale di quest'ultima i gradini sono delimitati da uno stretto canale per lo scorrimento delle acque pluviali coerenti con l'impianto, il che consente di proporre, se non altro, una sua iniziale fase priva di copertura. Sulla scorta di queste osservazioni, non dovremmo essere troppo distanti dal vero consi-

derando questa rampa come un iniziale *clivus*, con la funzione di spartire proprietà confinanti e di fornire un collegamento tra la strada di crinale sulla Sella di Baia e la spiaggia sottostante. E questa stessa situazione deve ripetersi anche per il margine N della 'Villa dell'Ambulatio', come indicherebbe la presenza della rampa sotterranea che scende all'estremità di tutte le terrazze della *basis villae*, e, ancora, a S della 'Villa della Sosandra', dove, anche lì, il *clivus* diventa successivamente un collegamento coperto (tra le 'Terme del livello intermedio' e quelle 'di Venere'). Una simile ricostruzione, a questo punto, consente di considerare la 'Villa dell'Ambulatio' e, probabilmente, anche quella 'della Sosandra' come due distinte proprietà private,¹⁰² che si sviluppano in senso E-O dalla strada sulla collina fino alla spiaggia a valle, insieme al fatto che la rampa tra i due complessi esiste fin dall'inizio, per quanto a cielo aperto e con una funzione assolutamente diversa.

Altro elemento da sottolineare è che per niente verosimile appare una considerazione delle strutture esaminate come parte di un ipotetico *palatium* imperiale o di un possedimento pubblico. Infatti, anche se non considerassimo la totale assenza di epigrafi menzionanti liberti imperiali o membri della casa regnante, dobbiamo tener presente che negli ambienti che si trovano al I livello della 'Villa della Sosandra' si sono recuperate alcune *fistulae* che registrano nomi di privati cittadini. E il carattere privato dei complessi sembra mantenersi anche quando questi vengono annessi ai vicini impianti termali, nei quali, in base a graffiti sulle pareti, si praticava anche la prostituzione per incrementare le entrate, un'attività, questa, niente affatto compatibile con una proprietà imperiale. La stessa analisi delle decorazioni pavimentali rivela una qualità artistica di livello medio, con l'impiego di motivi assai diffusi e sistematicamente ripetuti, e senza un particolare lusso nella realizzazione,¹⁰³ così come anche la modestia della statuaria non parla in favore di una frequentazione imperiale delle nostre strutture.¹⁰⁴ Naturalmente, l'idea di un grandioso *palatium* imperiale a Baia non va eliminata, specie per la testimonianza delle fonti, ma, di certo, questo non va riconosciuto nelle strutture del Parco Archeologico e meno che nei tre edifici considerati.

Vediamo, allora, di ricostruire il paesaggio della parte che stiamo considerando della collina della Sella, servendoci, a questo punto, dei dati emersi nel corso di questo studio.

Dunque, la prima struttura ad occupare l'area del Parco Archeologico di Baia è il complesso a cui afferiscono le 'Piccole Terme', del quale esse

costituiscono concretamente il quartiere termale. L'edificio, che va restituito *more baiano* come una *basis villae* adeguato all'orografia locale, viene impiantato verso la metà del I sec. a.C., sulla base delle indicazioni tecnico-strutturali evidenziate sopra.

Poco dopo, a N, viene costruita la 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*', impostata analogamente al complesso precedente (sebbene con orientamento diverso, per adeguarsi al cambiamento morfologico del territorio) e compresa tra i *clivi* E-O che scendono dalla Sella di Baia. Nella nuova villa, inoltre, il quartiere termale vero e proprio è sistemato ad un livello più basso rispetto a quello delle 'Piccole Terme' (terrazze E-F). Un'ipotesi relativamente recente ha considerato le due strutture come relative ad una medesima costruzione (almeno al momento del loro impianto), essenzialmente sulla base di un settore termale ipogeo, collocato all'altezza della terrazza superiore della futura 'Villa della Sosandra' e del tutto simile a quello della 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*' e delle 'Piccole Terme' (fig. 1).¹⁰⁵ Eppure, alla data di costruzione delle due prime strutture (che, tra l'altro non coincidono tra loro, essendoci uno scarto almeno di qualche decennio), il *clivus* rasente il lato meridionale della 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*'¹⁰⁶ risulta ancora praticabile a cielo aperto e con la specifica funzione di limite di proprietà privata. Ragion per cui, tra le due strutture, al momento della loro costruzione, corre lo spazio che sarà occupato in un secondo momento dalla 'Villa della Sosandra', quand'anche non si volesse ipotizzare per quest'ultima una fase più antica, magari coeva ai complessi in questione, oggi non più documentabile.

E, in effetti, per la 'Villa della Sosandra' non sembra possibile proporre una data antecedente lo scorcio del I sec. a.C. e, comunque, non oltre i primi decenni del secolo successivo (entro l'età di Claudio). Questa villa si viene così ad incuneare tra le 'Piccole Terme' e la 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*', a cui si uniforma per allineamento e per tipo di sviluppo planimetrico-architettonico, ma restando una proprietà autonoma, divisa a N, e verosimilmente anche a S, da un *clivus*.

Verso la metà - seconda metà del I sec. d.C., invece, si registra una prima e significativa modifica al quadro dei possedimenti appena delineato: mentre alla 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*' si sta operando un riassetto, soprattutto dei livelli residenziali, in senso più scenografico (avanzamento della balconata della terrazza B, inserzione dell'*ambulatio* e della sala absidata centrale sulla terrazza C, nuovo prospetto della terrazza D), senza sfiorare oltre i propri confini, la 'Villa della Sosandra' sembra in-

globare le 'Piccole Terme', che, poco dopo, vengono riorganizzate, con la creazione di nuovi ambienti caldi e vani di passaggio, insieme all'inserzione del portico-*palaestra* prospiciente il mare.¹⁰⁷ Non possiamo dire se sia stato il proprietario della 'Villa della Sosandra' o quello della villa delle 'Piccole Terme' ad operare l'acquisto, quella che, però, emerge è la possibilità reale che in questa operazione sia stata coinvolta esclusivamente la parte alta del secondo complesso (fino al quartiere termale), lasciando fuori i livelli inferiori della *basis villae*, che, qualche tempo dopo saranno occupati dalla costruzione delle 'Terme del livello intermedio' e dalle 'Terme del livello inferiore - Terme di Venere' (II sec. d.C.).

E' utile rilevare, inoltre, che in questo periodo, che vede tutta l'area della Sella di Baia assumere gradualmente, ma in maniera radicale, una funzione esclusivamente termale, il carattere privato della 'Villa dell'*Ambulatio*', in ogni caso, sembra restare inalterato fino al III sec. d.C. (presumibilmente in età severiana), allorché si determina un nuovo drastico mutamento. Infatti, il complesso viene acquisito dalla 'Villa della Sosandra', come testimoniano la copertura del loro *clivus* di divisione e le nuove aperture di collegamento operate. Difficile dire che cosa possa aver determinato una simile situazione, anche se un indizio potrebbe essere fornito dalla costruzione coeva degli ambienti del 'Settore di Mercurio' sovrapposti al margine settentrionale delle terrazze E ed F in un momento in cui la villa 'dell'*Ambulatio*' deve essere stata defunzionalizzata o, comunque, deve aver perso il suo carattere residenziale, come afferma Giuliani.¹⁰⁸ E' possibile che si fosse determinato un crollo nella parte in causa della villa, che ne avrebbe causato l'abbandono e, quindi, da un lato, l'inglobamento nella 'Villa della Sosandra', dall'altro, l'impianto del nuovo 'Settore di Mercurio'. Ad ogni modo, queste operazioni si svolgono in concomitanza, verosimilmente, con la conversione di tutti gli edifici circostanti in una grande ed estensiva area termale, che comporta simultaneamente il collegamento di tutti i diversi nuclei, in origine indipendenti, della pendice orientale della Sella di Baia.

NOTE

* Orazio, *Ep.*, 1.1. Traduzione: "Nessuna insenatura al mondo è più incantevole di quella di Baia".

¹ Livio, 61.16, 3-4.

² Cassio Dione, 48.51; Cassiodoro, *Variae* 9.6.6; Cicerone, *Ad fam.* 9.2.5; id., *Att.* 15.13.5; Flavio Giuseppe, *Ant. Jud.* 18.249; Marziale, *Epigr.* 1.63; 4.57; Orazio, *Ep.* 1.1.83; Ovidio, *Ars amat.* 1.255-258; Plutarco, *Mar.* 34.1; Pro-

- perzio, 1.11.29-30; Seneca, *Ep.* 51.3; 55.7; Stazio, *Silv.* 1.5.57; 5.3.169-171; Suetonio, *Aug.* 2.16.1; Strabone, 5.4.5 e 7; Tacito, *Ann.* 15.52; 6.42-43, 9.58; 10.13; 11.80; Tibullo, 3.5.1-4; Plinio, *N.H.* 30.1.5; Vitruvio, 2.6.2. Sul golfo di Baia, Maniscalco/Severino 2002; Scognamiglio 2002, 47-51.
- ³ D'Arms 1970, 171.
- ⁴ Borriello/D'Ambrosio 1979, 19; Jolivet 1987; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 186; McKay 1998, 158-159; Lafon 2001, 94-95 e 395-406.
- ⁵ Plinio il Giovane, *Ep.* 9.7.3.
- ⁶ M. Pagano (1983-84, 142), riferendosi in modo specifico al lago Lucrino, sostiene che la maggior parte delle ville marittime locali si sia impiantata solo dopo la definitiva sconfitta dei pirati da parte di Pompeo nel 36 a.C.
- ⁷ Lafon 2001, 66-67.
- ⁸ Tra gli altri Di Fraia 1993; Lombardo 1993; Scognamiglio 1997; 2002, 51; Bugno 2007, 163, nota 59.
- ⁹ D'Arms 1970, 77.
- ¹⁰ Cassio Dione, 59.17.2-11; Malloch 2001; Wardle 2007.
- ¹¹ *CIL* 5. 5050. Sul complesso, da ultimi Brenda et al. 2002. J. D'Arms (1970, 93) opinava che quasi certamente nei pressi della dimora imperiale dovettero svilupparsi le proprietà di liberti e personaggi gravitanti intorno alla corte.
- ¹² Cassio Dione, 61.17.2; Tacito, *Ann.* 13.21.6; 14.40.50 e 52. In proposito, anche D'Arms 1970, 95 e 206; Maniscalco 1999, 147-156.
- ¹³ Il rinvenimento di *fistulae* con il nome di Domiziano ha portato F. Maniscalco (1999, 148) a ritenere che gran parte dei terreni prospicienti il mare fosse stata confiscata in età neroniana, entrando così a far parte del demanio imperiale.
- ¹⁴ Di Fraia 1993.
- ¹⁵ Frontone, *Ad M. Caes.* 2.6.3; Tac. 7.5-6; SHA, *Alex. Sev.* 25.5-7 e 9-10. A riguardo NSc 1891, 320; D'Arms 1970, 107; Borriello/D'Ambrosio 1979, 89-92, n°59.
- ¹⁶ Nasti 1997; Maniscalco 1999. Dal Ninfeo provengono undici condutture idriche con impressi i nomi di Settimio Severo, Caracalla e Alessandro Severo, oltre ad una gran quantità di elementi architettonici coevi.
- ¹⁷ Per esempio, nell'estate del 270 d.C. in una villa di Baia sarebbe morto il filosofo Plotino. Càssola 1995.
- ¹⁸ Sulla questione della crisi in Campania, Peduto 2000; ma anche Vitolo 2005.
- ¹⁹ Simmaco, *Ep.*, 6.9; 1.3.3-5; 2.26.1; 5.93; 7.24; anche Amm. Marc. 28.4.18-19; D'Arms 1970, 206 e 226.
- ²⁰ Pagano 1983-1984, 179-187; Maniscalco 1997, 98-104 e 134. Nel periodo compreso tra la metà del III sec. d.C. e gli inizi di quello successivo, si registrano restauri e rifacimenti in quasi tutte le strutture baiane, compreso il Ninfeo di Punta Epitaffio, tutti caratterizzati dall'impiego di *vittatum* e di *vittatum mixtum*, talvolta utilizzando materiale di reimpiego, a testimonianza dell'ancora intensa frequentazione della zona.
- ²¹ Sgobbo 1929; 1934.
- ²² Maiuri 1951; 1962, 169-175; 1963; de Franciscis 1965.
- ²³ Maiuri 1963, 73.
- ²⁴ Carlsen 2006.
- ²⁵ Tacito, *Ann.* 12.21.2. Per De Angelis d'Ossat (1977, 274) i vivai decantati da Tacito sarebbero stati collocati sulle varie terrazze, per poi suggerire anche di riconoscere l'intervento neroniano nella villa 'della Sosandra' per spiegarne la particolarità della pianta.
- ²⁶ Maiuri 1963, 73; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 199-205; Miniero 2000, 34. A parte i rilevamenti durante gli scavi Sgobbo, la prima vera pianta fu eseguita solo nel 1958 a cura del
- Maiuri. I muri, con fondazione a sacco in opera incerta di scapoli allettati per piani orizzontali e risega sporgente, sono realizzati in cementizio con paramento su entrambe le facce (spessore medio 60 cm). Gran parte delle pareti in opera reticolata costituisce unicamente la fodera della parete tufacea a cui le sostruzioni della villa si appoggiano; i pilastri hanno una base di laterizi da cui parte il paramento in tufelli; i muri in opera incerta delle terrazze E ed F non hanno un nucleo interno ed hanno uno spessore di circa 30 cm.
- ²⁷ La strada, diverticolo dell'arteria proveniente da Cuma che valicava la Sella di Baia, è l'unica via d'accesso ai complessi dalla pendice orientale della collina finora testimoniata.
- ²⁸ I fori delle grappe alle pareti si conservano fino ad un'altezza di 5 m circa dal calpestio.
- ²⁹ Delle piastrelle di modulo rettangolare listellato (30 cm x 60 cm) si conservano alcune porzioni e le impronte in negativo sulla preparazione.
- ³⁰ Il muro N presenta la linea guida della volta a botte, senza, però, chiarirne il funzionamento in corrispondenza del muro absidato O.
- ³¹ Questi ultimi tre spazi sono lastricati con formelle di modulo quadrato di ca. 41 cm di lato.
- ³² La scala era un altro accesso alla terrazza A.
- ³³ Gli ambienti 5-7 erano tutti coperti da volta a botte.
- ³⁴ I vani 7 e 11 erano pavimentati con un mosaico bianco delimitato da una doppia fascia nera.
- ³⁵ La rampa di scale è collocata dietro la quarta sostruzione voltata del lato NO dell'*ambulatio* e vi si accede da un'apertura praticata in un secondo momento nella parete di fondo della sostruzione stessa.
- ³⁶ Questa apertura, infatti, immette direttamente nella cisterna retrostante, completamente rivestita di cocciopesto, per cui la sua presenza appare piuttosto sospetta.
- ³⁷ Gli elementi architettonici attualmente collocati lungo l'*ambulatio* sono stati recuperati in mare e non sembrano appartenere alla villa (tranne due capitelli, ancora di ignota provenienza). Maniscalco 1997.
- ³⁸ Questo tipo di decorazione si ritrova a Pompei in età neroniano-vespasiana.
- ³⁹ Almeno fino a 2 m dal calpestio attuale, come fanno pensare i frammenti di anfore incastrati nella malta.
- ⁴⁰ Esposito 1997.
- ⁴¹ Questo muro presenta nel tratto N una doppia cortina di rivestimento in reticolato e nel tratto S tre strati nella stessa tecnica. L'aggiunta di diversi strati di muratura ha fatto pensare ad interventi edilizi differenti, mentre De Angelis d'Ossat (1977, 228) notava come fungessero da base per coperture a volta. Se si osserva con attenzione, infatti, si nota: che il muro più interno è quello che regge il livello superiore di sostruzione; che il secondo strato del tratto S chiude gli ambienti voltati, quando vengono trasformati in cisterne, e rende questa parte parallela al tratto N, dal momento che il fianco montuoso non è rettilineo, ma inclinato in senso NE-SO; infine, che il terzo strato S ed il secondo N reggono la copertura del tratto più interno dell'*ambulatio*.
- ⁴² Oggi si accede dalla rampa esterna al lato S del complesso della villa.
- ⁴³ Questo tipo di decorazione dei prospetti esterni si diffonde tra la fine del II e gli inizi del I sec. a.C. e trova molti confronti sia nel Lazio sia in Campania. Giuliani 1973.
- ⁴⁴ Essendo franata la parte N del terrazzamento, non possiamo essere sicuri del numero esatto di ambienti.
- ⁴⁵ Sul 'Tempio di Mercurio': De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 234-

- 237; Rakob 1988; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 205-209; Rakob 1992; Miniero 2000 37-38. Sul 'Settore di Mercurio', Amalfitano et al. 1990, 207. Questo quartiere consta di un piccolo ambiente quadrangolare con volta a crociera a sesto ribassato (*a*) con a S un ambiente (*d*) parzialmente crollato e la cui volta a crociera conserva il rivestimento a mosaico, che interessava anche le pareti. Quest'ultimo è preceduto da un condotto quadrangolare, dove confluisce una sorgente termale tiepida ancora attiva. Nell'angolo NO è collocata una scala conservata solo parzialmente, mentre ad O si susseguono tre ambienti: a S l'ambiente *c* a pianta ottagonale, in opera vittata, volta a crociera ('a ombrello') e nicchie nelle pareti disposte a lati alterni; al centro l'ambiente *b*, in opera vittata, a pianta quadrangolare con il lato O absidato, che ospita, ad un livello leggermente inferiore, una vasca con alcuni gradini; a N il vano *e*, con volta a botte pertinente ad un piano superiore non più raggiungibile.
- 46 L'affresco si daterebbe al pieno I sec. d.C.
47 La proposta è di De Angelis d'Ossat (1977, 274).
48 De Angelis d'Ossat 1973, 45-49; Giuliani 1973, 79-115; Gros 1996, 113-120; 2001, 289-292.
49 Della stessa opinione è Lafon 2001, 94.
50 Contro la possibilità di una tale differenziazione nei materiali da costruzione e nel sistema di messa in opera, De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 228.
51 Di un tale avviso, invece, è Giuliani 1977, 374-375.
52 Nella terza fase compare il laterizio negli ambienti residenziali della terrazza B, dove i muri, ancora realizzati in reticolato e ammorsature angolari di tufelli, presentano uno zoccolo laterizio alla base (h 1 piede di 5 ricorsi di mattoni) ed una catena orizzontale (h 1 piede). I mattoni sono impiegati altresì in alcune ammorsature angolari, per legare i nuovi muri a quelli già esistenti e per rinforzare le testate delle porte di accesso. In questa fase sono inseriti anche alcuni pilastri in vittatum con tufelli (18-20 cm x 8 cm), oltre ai pilastri delle due *ambulationes* (terrazze C e D) in opera vittata con base di due o tre ricorsi di mattoni.
- 53 Di fatto, non sono stati mai effettuati scavi in profondità per verificare la presenza di infrastrutture tipiche di un ninfeo, tuttavia, non va esclusa *a priori* una tale ricostruzione, per la presenza di una grande canaletta in corrispondenza dell'angolo esterno SE della sala.
54 Esposito 1997, 614-615.
55 Giuliani 1977, 372.
56 Tutte le parti aggiunte e le modifiche gravitano intorno alla 'Sosandra'. De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 232; Giuliani 1977, 375.
57 De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 231.
58 Maiuri 1951, 360; de Franciscis 1965, 174; Zawadzki 1997.
59 Cassio Dione, 61.17; De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 143; Miniero 2000, 35-36; Yegül 1996, 155-156.
60 Giuliani 1977, 374.
61 Esposito/Miniero 2000, 254.
62 De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 238-243; Giuliani 1977, 374; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 209-217; Miniero 2000, 34-37. Disegni e rilievi SANaCe 1979, con rilievi aggiornati nel 1989 (progetto 'Eubea').
63 Yegül 1996, 141.
64 Tutte le strutture di questo terrazzamento sono in opera reticolata con *cubilia* regolari e ammorsature in tufelli (dente di tre tufelli alto 1 piede e sporgente 1 piede); le inserzioni laterizie in questa parte si limitano a pochi interventi di restauro, circoscritti ai muri esterni.
- 65 Pesando 2006, 279-285 (in particolare, 281); Ciardiello 2007.
66 Avilia 2001, 129-130, n° 39.
67 Esposito 1997, 611-612.
68 Esposito 1997, 609 e 612.
69 Napoli, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, inv. 153654; h 183 cm; marmo bianco; II sec. d.C. Gasparri 1995, 176.
70 Ovviamente l'apertura sul lato N viene tamponata in funzione della trasformazione in terma dell'ambiente *b*.
71 Sembra che la statua di Hermes, rinvenuta nel 1953 nel complesso 'della Sosandra', trovasse posto su un piedistallo all'interno di questa sala. Miniero 2000, 34-35.
72 Esposito 1997, 610.
73 Il vano è pavimentato con un mosaico policromo a maschere, mentre quello antistante ne prevede uno a tessere bianche e fascia nera. Esposito/Miniero 2000, 255-258 e 260-261; Avilia 2001, 124-129, nn° 37-38.
74 I tre ambienti sono in reticolato a parete piena con ammorsature angolari di tufelli, ma presentano una fascia di sei ricorsi di mattoni a 2,70 m dal calpestio attuale, in corrispondenza dell'imposta della volta, ascrivibile ad un restauro moderno realizzato con materiale antico reimpiegato.
75 Neuerburg 1965, 139, n° 47; Letzner 1999, 413-414, n° 259.
76 Al momento ne restano undici. In questo punto la fodera muraria della parete tufacea a cui la terrazza si appoggia è costituita da una specie di opera incerta di scapoli più o meno regolari.
77 Rakob 1961; Auberson 1964; De Angelis d'Ossat 1977, 243-256; Borriello/D'Ambrosio 1979, 76, n° 46; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 226-231; Yegül 1992, 101-103; Rakob 1992; Yegül 1996, 143-144; Jacobson/Wilson Jones 1999; Miniero 2000, 38-39.
78 Il portico è stato interamente ricostruito dal de Franciscis (1965, 177).
79 De Franciscis 1965, 177. La seconda decorazione è stesa direttamente sull'affresco di prima fase (per l'occorrenza picchiettato) e sulla malta di preparazione del rivestimento marmoreo, completamente asportato già in antico. Le pitture trovano confronti in quelle della 'Caupona del Pavone' di Ostia della seconda metà del III sec. d.C, mentre, per quanto riguarda il fregio 'egittizzante', Mariette de Vos lo ritiene di non alto livello e poco preciso e lo data all'età adrianea. Gasparri 1970; de Vos 1990, 13 e 25-26, tav. 9, 1.
80 I conci di queste coperture sono disposti radialmente, ad eccezione dell'ambiente dell'angolo NE, la cui volta prevede conci disposti per piani orizzontali.
81 De Franciscis 1977, 338, fig. 6.
82 Maiuri 1951; ma anche Giuliani 1977, 374 e Yegül 1996, 145-146.
83 Esposito 1997, 608.
84 Ling 1977, 30-33. Ci sarebbe anche un intervento intermedio di età tardo-flavia, individuabile nell'ambiente voltato, non più visibile, dell'angolo NO della c.d. 'piscina' del IV livello, con stucchi databili tra la fine del I e il II sec. d.C. Ling 1977, 34; McKay 1989, 161-162.
85 Esposito 1997, 612.
86 Gli stucchi sono vicini a quelli della Tomba dei Valerii sulla via Latina, datati al 159 d.C. Ling 1977, 41-43; Amalfitano et al. 1990, 212-213.
87 Esposito/Miniero 2000, 258 e 261. Per la Esposito il mosaico dell'ambiente *e* si colloca nel II sec. d.C.
88 Per Avilia (2001, 124-128 e 129-130, nn° 37-39) il mosaico dell'ambiente *i* si data al tardo II sec. d.C.
89 Nell'ambiente al centro della c.d. 'piscina' sono collocate vasche in muratura simili a quelle sistemate nelle sale adiacenti al 'Tempio di Mercurio', di età medievale. Miniero 2000, 37.

- ⁹⁰ Brenda et al. 2001.
- ⁹¹ Si ricordi che a monte della struttura nel 1887 si recuperò uno dei Dioscuri con protome equina del Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (età adrianea). Gasparri 1995, 183-184; Miniero 2000, 41 (per quanto indichi erroneamente questa zona come luogo di rinvenimento per entrambe le statue).
- ⁹² Amalfitano et al. 1990, 218-223; Miniero 2000, 39-41; Medri et al. 1999.
- ⁹³ La pittura si data alla seconda metà del I sec. d.C.
- ⁹⁴ Il mosaico, che si data alla seconda metà del I sec. d.C., è stato distrutto in seguito ai lavori eseguiti per ricavare un ipocausto al di sotto del pavimento. Amalfitano et al. 1990, 221; Avilia 2001, 130, n° 40.
- ⁹⁵ Per lo sfruttamento dei vapori naturali e per i complessi termali senza fornaci, Vitruvio, II, 6, 2.
- ⁹⁶ Nei pressi dell'accesso al vano e ed in corrispondenza della nicchia O dell'ambiente f si conserva una piccola porzione della decorazione a stucco con cornicetta, da collocare negli anni 40-30 del I sec. a.C.
- ⁹⁷ Il canale è a 50 m sotto la superficie della collina ed è stato esplorato per circa 300 m. Yegül 1996, 142.
- ⁹⁸ Paget 1967; *contra* Giuliani 1977, 370-372.
- ⁹⁹ Medri et al. 1999, 210. Sull'acquedotto del Serino, Cristilli 2004-2005, 175.
- ¹⁰⁰ Yegül 1996, 144; Medri et al. 1999, 215.
- ¹⁰¹ Per un vicino confronto cronologico e geografico, Arthur 1999 (in particolare 137 e 145).
- ¹⁰² Dello stesso avviso, del resto, è Giuliani (1977, 372), che considera 'Sosandra' e 'Ambulatio' come due ville, che, non sappiamo quando, vengono ristrutturare con uno sfruttamento estensivo dello spazio e una riduzione delle aree di passeggio, implicando forse anche un cambiamento di funzionalità, che rese necessario anche rendere intercomunicabili le due proprietà. Lo studioso ritiene, inoltre, che il decadimento delle ville repubblicane diede il via ad una generale trasformazione dell'insediamento a scapito delle residenze private.
- ¹⁰³ Mingazzini 1977, 275-281; Esposito 1997, 613.
- ¹⁰⁴ Sulla questione Yegül 1996, 155-156.
- ¹⁰⁵ Medri et al. 1999, 215.
- ¹⁰⁶ E questo se proprio non vogliamo credere all'esistenza di un altro vicolo al margine N delle 'Piccole Terme'.
- ¹⁰⁷ Medri et al. 1999, 215-218. Secondo gli autori, è possibile che in questo periodo le 'Piccole Terme' siano state aperte al pubblico o, in ogni caso, ad un numero maggiore di frequentatori.
- ¹⁰⁸ Giuliani 1977, 372.

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The Temple on the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia Antica

L.B. van der Meer

Abstract

The temple on the so-called Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia was built just before AD 96. Domitian who founded a collegium Flavialium may have been responsible for building it. It stands on one of the most frequented spaces of Ostia, in the axial middle of the quadriporticus, a garden, behind the Theatre. In or around AD 140, lateral annexes were added to the temple. From that time onward until AD 249 at least 21 marble bases (16 with inscriptions), originally supporting male marble statues, were placed around it. Comparison with other porticus temples, an inscription mentioning cultores found in the cella, the find of a giant marble arm near the temple and several other indications show that the temple may have been a templum divorum.

The tetrastyle temple in the *porticus post scaenam*, better known as Piazzale delle Corporazioni, the space behind the Theatre at Ostia (Reg. II, Ins. VII, 5), was in all probability built in the last years of Domitian (fig. 1).¹ The date is based on brick-stamps and the form of the Corinthian capitals.² During the reign of this emperor Ostia underwent important changes: in many places the building level was raised, the *Basilica* and the *Curia*, the Baths of the Swimmer were built, the eastern city gate, now called Porta Romana, was restored, and the Barracks of the Firemen and the Baths of Neptune were initiated.³ Of the latter two buildings only foundations under the Hadrianic Barracks and Baths have been found.⁴ They were not finished, maybe due to the fact that the emperor was struck by a radical *damnatio memoriae* in AD 96. His shields and statues were torn down, inscriptions erased and all records of him obliterated.⁵

As is well known, the Theatre was built by Marcus Agrippa probably in 18/17 BC but certainly before 12 BC. The four *porticus*, together forming a *quadriporticus*, enclosing a garden, were built at the same time. The colonnades were meant to afford protection to the audience when sudden rains interrupted the *ludi*; in addition, they might also provide space to set up stage machines. The space, famous for its many *stationes* with mosaics in and in front of them along three of the four corridors, has a complicated building history, well studied by I. Pohl.⁶ Vitruvius does not write about temples inside *porticus* of theatres. The space should be a *viridarium* (garden).⁷ The idea of placing a temple between *porticus* may have been influenced, for example, by a structure in the centre of the crypta Balbi, a *porticus* behind the Theatre of Balbus

(13 BC) at Rome, visible on a fragment of the *Forma Urbis*. It is not known whether the structure was a temple.⁸

The Piazzale garden itself was a public and not a sacred space, since it was not the *pontifex Volcani* but the city council which gave permission to erect statues there, as inscriptions on some statue

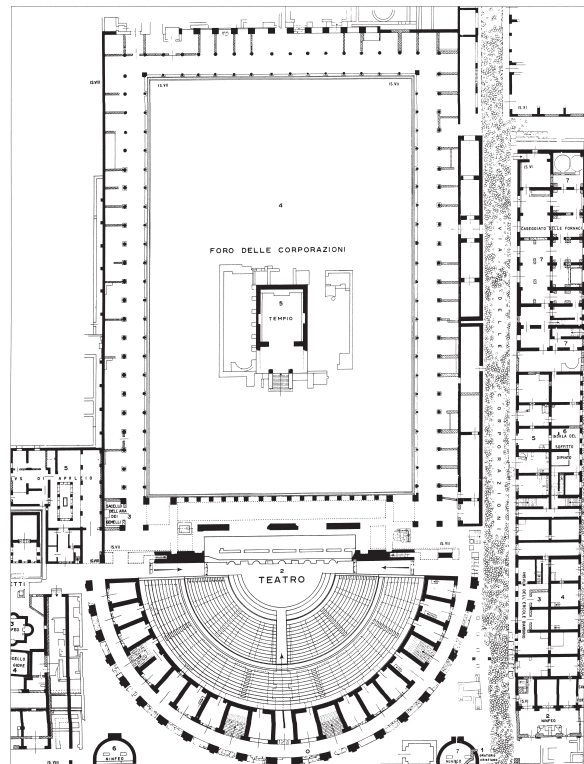


Fig. 1. Ostia: theatre and porticus (from Calza 1953).

bases mention the abbreviation *L.D.D.D.P.*: *locus datus decreto decurionum publice*.

Four questions arise: why and by whom was the temple built, by whom enlarged and to which deity or deities dedicated? Unfortunately, and this applies to several temples in Ostia, no inscriptions found *in situ* shed direct light on its function. No altar has been found in or in front of the temple.

As D. Steuernagel writes, there is much speculation about the god or gods worshipped in the temple: R. Lanciani and Pohl suggest Ceres, A.-K. Rieger Pater Tiberinus,⁹ F. Coarelli Volcanus, and P. Pensabene argues that emperors were worshipped there.¹⁰ According to R. Meiggs it might be a guild temple.¹¹ In the same vein, Steuernagel suggests that *collegia* or *corpora* may have held reunions in the temple as the interior of the *cella* has stone benches on three sides. He leaves open the question of the god(s).¹²

Pensabene's arguments are most interesting. He presumes that the *porticus* temple was a *templum divorum*, in view of an inscription on a fragmentary marble slab found in the pavement of one of the rooms in the Terme del Foro, reading *ab urbe co(ndita)*... and in five columns from left to right *divos Hadrianus* and *divo[s] Traian[us]*, and originally *divos Vespasianus*, *divos Titus* and *divos Nerva*. The inscription was made on a decision of the decuriones, members of the city council.¹³ The *terminus post quem* of the inscription is AD 139, a date to be remembered. As the slab has been discovered in a secondary position, we cannot be sure about its original place. The Temple of Roma and Augustus, near the Terme del Foro already mentioned, would be a good candidate. But secondarily used architectural elements (*spolia*) have often been found at hundreds of metres from their original context.¹⁴ In addition, we do not know whether the temple of Roma and Augustus was also used for the worship of later *divi*. Pensabene's second argument is that the *porticus* temple has two large water basins along its flanks (in fact to the sides of the stairs), which is supposed to have been a characteristic feature of temples of the imperial cult in Roman *Hispania* and *Lusitania* (he quotes the temple at Ebura/Évora).¹⁵ These temples, however, stand alone and not in a theatre *porticus*. His third argument is the 'frequent' find of 'altars and statue bases', dedicated to *flamines* of the deified Vespasian, in the *porticus* area.¹⁶ As we will see, four of the sixteen bases (no altars!) mention *flamines* of three different *divi*: Titus, Vespasian, and Hadrian.

What escaped the attention of Pensabene and Steuernagel is a comparison already made in 1959

by J.A. Hanson.¹⁷ The Ostian temple has a central position like the temple in the *porticus* behind the Theatre at Lepcis Magna (fig. 2).¹⁸ Its inscription mentions that it was dedicated *Dis Augustis* ('to the Augustan gods') by Q. Marcius C. f. Barea when he was consul for the 15th time and was built at his own expense by Iddibal Tapapius, son of Mago, a man from Lepcis. This happened in AD 43. The *cella* contained three bases that must have carried the statues of Caesar, Augustus and Livia. Later a small annex and an impressive quadruple base dedicated to the Severan family were added, respectively just to the east and to the west of the temple, which may prove a continuing cult of emperors. Hanson presumes that the form of the *quadriporticus* with an axial temple was influenced by the Ptolemaic Kaisareion, which has its parallel in the Caesareum at nearby Cyrene.

Lepcis Magna does not provide the only parallel. An earlier one is found at Minturnae, dating from the Augustan period. The *triporticus*, originally a forum, behind the Theatre encloses the Temple of Concordia Augusta and the Capitolium.¹⁹ Both are older temples, not in axial position.²⁰

Now my arguments for the theory that the Piazzale temple was used for the emperor cult are the following:

1. The formal, contextual and functional comparison with the *porticus* temple in Lepcis Magna just mentioned.

2. Suetonius, *Domitian* 4.10 mentions a *collegium Flavianium* seated by Domitian's side in games at Rome: evidently a 'guild' of priests, founded by Domitian himself, involved with the cult of the deified Flavian emperors, Vespasian and Titus.

It seems likely in view of Domitian's other activities in the former *ager publicus*, namely his initiative to build the Barracks of the Firemen and the Baths of Neptune, that Domitian was initiator of or was involved with the building of Ostia's temple. In Rome, on the Quirinal hill, stood a *templum Flaviae gentis*,²¹ probably also mentioned by Martialis in his *Epigramma* 9.3.12: 'why shall I speak about Flavian temples added to the Latin heaven?'²² In view of inscriptions at Ostia mentioning *flamines Titi* and *flamines Vespasiani*, also Ostia probably had a temple for the cult of Flavian emperors.

3. A fragment of a marble tablet with an incomplete inscription showing only the final words ... (*cultoribus. ornamentis. restituerunt*) has been found in the *cella* of Ostia's *porticus* temple. Paschetto supposes that it belonged to the protruding part in the centre of the bench of the *cella*'s rear wall.²³ The text says that 'they restored (temple, *cella* or statue(s)) with ornaments *cultoribus*', which may

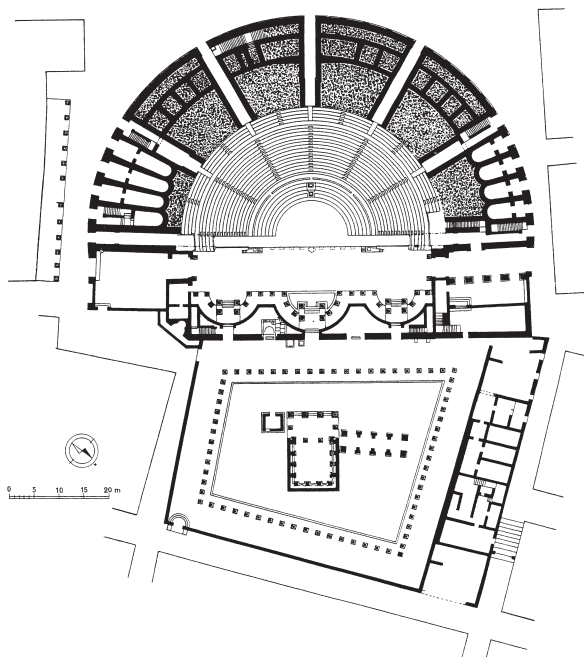


Fig. 2. Leptis Magna: theatre and porticus (from Di Vita 1998).

mean 'for the worshippers'.²⁴ However, other reconstructions are possible, like *cum* or *volentibus cultoribus*, 'with' or 'according to the will of the worshippers'.²⁵ But worshippers of whom? The strange and exceptional fact is that the word *cultoribus* here is not followed by a genitive mentioning a deity or deities, which is usually the case in Latin inscriptions mentioning a *cultor* or *cultores*.²⁶ Frequent are inscriptions reading *cultores Larum et imaginum Aug(usti)* or *Augustorum* or *dominorum nostrorum*, *domus divinae* or *domus Augustae*, or similar. The implication is that it must have been obvious to everybody which deities were intended. So, it seems very likely that the *cultores* worshipped divine emperors and/or members of the imperial house. The restoration may have been necessary after the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian in AD 96.

There are also material indications of emperor cult.

4. An arm (length 1.30 m) of a colossal statue, buried near a travertine water-drain in the southwest corner of the Piazzale, may indicate that statues of emperors stood in or near the temple.²⁷ It may have belonged to a statue of Domitian. A marble head of the emperor, found in a drain near the Hercules temple, also has colossal dimensions.²⁸ In the Via delle Corporazioni a marble head of Trajan (ca AD 112) and two other parts of marble statues, possibly of emperors, were found.²⁹

5. As mentioned earlier, the temple has annexes along its length sides. As the entrances are at the back, they may have had a service function as archive and/or *aerarium*. The additions have been dated to the reign of Antoninus Pius, around the middle of the 2nd century AD.³⁰ This type of widening is unique in Ostia.

It is extremely likely that an *album* on a lost marble tablet mentioning, *inter alia*, *ordo corporator(um) qui pecuniam ad ampliand(um) templum contuler(unt)* refers to this widening.³¹ The inscription mentions imperial and consular dates of 140, 151, 156, 163, 170, and 172, all belonging to the Antonine period. In this case *ampliare* means to extend horizontally. If vertical amplifying were intended, the inscription would have mentioned the words *a solo* or *a fundamentis* ('from the ground' or 'from the foundations upward'). It is striking that the name of the temple is not specified. This applies also to a second, interestingly slightly later *album* mentioning consuls of 179, 182 and 187 and the words *ordo corporatorum qui pecuniam ad t(emplum) contulerunt...*³² Fragments of a third *album* mention as *patronus* Cn. Sentius Felix who is also present in the other two *alba*.³³ P. Cicerchia and A. Marinucci have shown that the three *alba* belonged to the *corpus traiectus Luculli*,³⁴ one of the five *corpora* of *lenuncularii*.³⁵

Given the *stationes*, their inscriptions and inscriptions found nearby, the highest concentration of *corpora* activities at Ostia can be found on the Piazzale. As a *genius ordinis corporatorum* is not known, it seems likely that the *ordo* worshipped god(s) of common interest: deified emperors. The earliest consular date on the tablet, AD 140, is almost contemporary with the Terme del Foro slab with the names of at least five *divi*, dated to AD 138, mentioned above. As we will see, the statue bases on the Piazzale can all be dated after the Hadrianic facelift of this space.

Several inscriptions testify that the *corpus lenunculariorum traiectus Luculli*, its *quinquennales*, *quinquennalicii* and *curatores* gave statues to Antonine and later emperors.³⁶ It seems likely that this 'guild' sponsored the enlargement of the Piazzale temple from AD 140 onward. One of the earliest statue bases, dated to AD 147, mentions C. Veturius Testus Amandus, *patronus* and *defensor* of the *V corpora lenunculariorum Ostiensium* (see below, base no 15), so that we cannot rule out that all five 'guilds' of ferry- and tug-boat owners were involved.

6. The dedication of statues on bases in the garden around the temple (oldest exact date: AD 147) seems to have started soon after the temple was extended. In total twenty one bases have been



Fig. 3. Base no 1 (photo author).



Fig. 4. Base no 8 (photo author).



Fig. 5. Base no 10 (photo author).

found;³⁷ sixteen bear inscriptions on the front, sometimes in combination with a brief inscription on the left or right side indicating a date, starting with the word: *dedicata (statua)*, often written in a smaller letter type. Twelve bases with and four without inscription were re-used as *spolia* between 385 and 389 when the *praefectus annonae* Ragonius Vincentius Celsus restored the Theatre.³⁸ They were stacked horizontally in the central corridor under the *cavea*, next to the *orchestra*.³⁹ Three inscribed bases have been found on the Piazzale itself (see below, nos 3, 6 and 14). For this reason it is presumed that the *spolia* originate from the same place. One base was re-used by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus himself (see below, no 4). It still stands to the southeast of the Theatre, near the *decumanus*. Around 1911, the *spolia* from the Theatre were put back in the garden of the Piazzale, but certainly not in their original place.⁴⁰ Now seven bases carry headless, marble statues of men, *togati* with or without a *capsa* (chest) at their left foot but it is not known which statue belongs to which base.⁴¹ Their dates, ca 60-50 BC and the beginning of the 1st century AD, proposed by R. Calza, do not seem

to be correct.⁴² Most of them must belong to the 2nd century AD, as can be deduced from the inscriptions on the statue bases.

I list the names of the honorands of the inscriptions on sixteen statue bases in alphabetical order of family names, their *CIL*- or *AE*-number, date, find spot, and dedicants:⁴³

1. C. Acilius Fuscus = *CIL* XIV 154; date: probably around 184 (fig. 3);⁴⁴ Theatre. Dedicants: *corpus me(n)sorum frument(ariorum) adiutorum et acceptorum ost(iensium)*.
2. Q. Aeronius Antiochus = *CIL* XIV 4140; date: end of the 2nd century; Theatre. Dedicant: *Aninia Anthi coniuux*.
3. P. Aufidius Fortis = *CIL* XIV S 4620; date: ca 146; Piazzale (southwest corner).⁴⁵ Dedicants: *corpus mercatorum frumentariorum*.
4. P. Aufidius Fortis = *CIL* XIV S 4621; *AE* 1910, 195; date: ca 146;⁴⁶ found to the southeast of the theatre (fig. 6); placed and inscribed (at the back) in secondary way (*CIL* XIV 4716) by Ragonius Vincentius Celsus (385-389; fig. 7). Dedicants: *(Fa)ustinianus, Epictetus, Frosynus, Ianuarius*.



Fig. 6. Base no 4 (photo author).

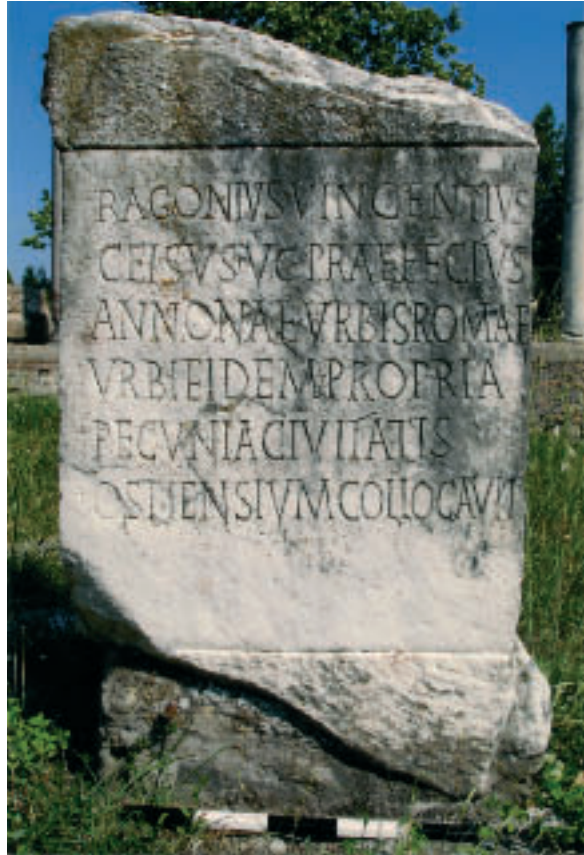


Fig. 7. Base no 4 (photo author).

5. Q. Calpurnius Modestus = CIL XIV 161; date: ca 161-180; Theatre. Dedicants: *corpus mercatorum frumentariorum*.

6. P. Flavius Priscus = AE 1913, 189; date: 249;⁴⁷ Piazzale (southwest corner). Dedicants: *corpus me(n)sorum frum(entariorum) ost(iensium)*.

7. C. Iulius Tyrannus = CIL XIV 370; date: 166/167; Theatre.⁴⁸ Dedicants: *universi honorati* (sc. of the *collegium fabr(um) tignuar(iorum) ostiensium*).

8. M. Iunius Faustus = CIL XIV 4142; date: 173; Theatre. Dedicants: *domini navium afrarum universarum item sardorum* (fig. 4).

9. M. Licinius Privatus = CIL XIV 374; date: 198; Theatre.⁴⁹ Dedicants: *universus numerus caligatorum collegi fabrum tignuariorum ostiens(ium)*.

10. P. Non(ius) L(ivius) Anterotianus = CIL XIV 390; date: 161-180; Theatre. Dedicant: *Livia Marcelina* (fig. 5).

11. P. Nonius Livius Anterotianus = CIL XIV 391; date: 161-180; Theatre. Dedicant: *T. Tinuncus Sospheanes* (fig. 8).

12. Q. Petronius Melior = CIL XIV 172; date: 3 February 184; Theatre. Dedicants: *corpus me(n)sorum*

frum(entariorum) ost(iensium).

13. Sex. Publicius Maior = CIL XIV 4143; date: probably 161-180;⁵⁰ Theatre. Dedicants: unknown.

14. Rubrius = CIL XIV S 4664; AE 1913, 190; date: probably end 2nd century;⁵¹ Piazzale (now in the southwest corner). Dedicant: *T. Rubrius Eupator* (fig. 9).

15. P. Veturius Testius Amandus = CIL XIV 4144; date: 147; Theatre. Dedicants: *universi navigarii corpor(a) quinque* (i.e.: *lenuncularior(um) ostiens(ium)*).

16. Inscription on side of base = CIL XIV 4148; date: 30 December 166.⁵² Theatre. The inscription on the front is erased. Dedicants: unknown.

The dates, based on the number of *lustra* of guilds, the imperial and consular names mentioned in the inscriptions, range from 146, 147, 150, 166, 166/167, 173, 161-180, 184, and 198 to 249 AD. The bases with a 'probable date' belong to the 2nd century in view of their form, the frame of the inscriptions, the layout and the letter types.

No bases can be dated before ca 146. This may be explained by the fact that during Hadrian's reign



Fig. 8. Base no 11 (photo author).

the Piazzale level was raised, the *porticus* were doubled, and the back entrance (at the Tiber side) closed.⁵³

Now the question arises whether the inscriptions shed light on the function of the temple and the Piazzale. In nine cases *collegia* are involved, not only 'guilds' related to corn trade but also 'guilds' of the *fabri tignuarii* and the *lenuncularii*. Therefore there is no reason to suggest that the temple was dedicated to Ceres.

It is interesting to note that five of the fourteen known dedicants are not 'guilds' but private persons. This implies that the Piazzale was not only a place 'peculiarly associated with the guilds' as suggested by Meiggs.⁵⁴ Interestingly in the five private dedications the honorand is, among others, priest, *sevir aug(ustalis)* (no 2), *flamen* of a deified emperor, Titus (no 8), Vespasian (no 14), and Hadrian (nos 10 and 11). Nonius (nos 10-11) and Rubrius (14) were also *decuriones adlecti* but not members of *corpora*. Iunius (no 8) was successively *decurio adlectus*, *flamen divi Titi*, *mercator frumentarius*, *quaestor aerari*, *flamen Romae et Augustae*,



Fig. 9. Base no 14 (photo author).

patronus corporis curatorum navium marinarum. This shows that a *flamen Titi* was not automatically *flamen Romae et Augusti* and that in consequence he was successively related to two temples of *divi*. His dedicants are *domini navium afrarum universarum*, the anonymous owners of all African ships but not a 'guild'.

The inscriptions do not prove that the Piazzale temple was dedicated to deified emperors, but the striking correspondence between private dedicants and the function of *flamen divi* of four honorands rather favours than disproves my interpretation. There is, however, another strong indication.

7. The inscription on a monumental tomb just outside the *Porta Romana*⁵⁵ informs us that the city council honoured the *eques romanus* C. Domitius Fabius Hermogenes with a public funeral and an equestrian statue on the Forum: he was *flamen* of the deified Hadrianus, in *cuius sacerdotio solus ac primus lud[os] [scaenic]os sua ple[cun]ia fecit...*, which means that 'during his priesthood he was the only and first person who sponsored theatrical performances with his own money'. This implies that sponsoring of Theatre activities took place for the first time after AD 139. Since it was in his capacity of *flamen divi Hadriani* that he took the initiative to sponsor games, it looks likely that he was connected with the temple behind the Theatre.

Nine bases on the Piazzale were placed according to a decree of the *decuriones*. The abbreviation *L.D.D.D.(P)* is not mentioned at the end of the inscriptions of no 1 (Acilius, *procurator annonae*, who had several functions outside Ostia), nos 3 and 4 (Aufidius, *Ilvir, quaestor aerari ostiensium*), no 6 (Flavius, *equestris ordinis*), and no 12 (Petronius, *procurator annonae*), perhaps because no permission was necessary in view of their top positions.⁵⁶

The bases with statues were intended to commemorate men with special *merita*. They are also

interesting for ritual reasons. At the occasion of the dedication of a statue among others *sportulae* (baskets) with food were distributed and *ludi*, obviously in the Theatre, were sponsored.⁵⁷ This 'euergetic' behaviour shows the link between hon-orands and the Theatre. It supports Steuernagel's suggestion that proprietors of *stationes* may also have sponsored theatrical performances.⁵⁸

In conclusion we can say that from the end of the 1st century onward the temple in the garden must have served gods who were of common interest: deified emperors. The last deified emperor mentioned in Ostian inscriptions (so far) is Septimius Severus.⁵⁹ Maybe, after his reign the emperor cult was transferred to the Tempio rotondo in the centre of the city, built between ca AD 225 and 250.⁶⁰

NOTES

- ¹ Calza 1953, 121; 221, 234 (with an Appendix of H. Bloch (about the brick-stamp 1449 a)); R. Lanciani, *NSc* 1881, 113. As for the Theatre see Sear 2006, 129 (with bibl.). Temple measurements: 19.85 m x 11.20 m; *cella*: 11.60 m x 8.50 m, height of stylobate: 2.20 m.
- ² Pensabene 1996, 213; 2002, 205-207. Contemporary are the oldest mosaics, in *stationes* 1-2, 58 (lower level); see Pohl 1978, 332. Most others date to ca AD 200.
- ³ Meiggs 1973, 65-67, 546, 582-583.
- ⁴ Pavolini 2006, 34, 62.
- ⁵ Suetonius, *Domitian* 23.1.
- ⁶ Pohl 1978.
- ⁷ Vitruvius, *De arch.* 5.9.5 (*media vero spatia quae subdiu inter porticus, ad ornanda viridibus videntur*).
- ⁸ Steinby 1993, 327, fig. 191 (D. Manacorda).
- ⁹ Rejected by Pensabene 2005, 502-503. Also by Fr. van Haepren, *AntCl* 74 (2005) 241-242.
- ¹⁰ Steuernagel 2004, 76-77, n. 350 (with litt.). Pensabene 1996, 213; 2002, 205; 2005, 502-503.
- ¹¹ Meiggs 1973, 329.
- ¹² Steuernagel 2004, 200.
- ¹³ Pensabene 1996, 213; 2002, 279-280. For the inscription see Bloch, *NSc* 1953, 248-250, no 16. Cicerchia/Marinucci 1992, 210, C 92. The slab was part of an architrave or of a statue base.
- ¹⁴ The transfer of *spolia* is often centripetal, as can also be deduced from the many funerary inscriptions, re-used all over the city. In late antiquity (inscribed) marbles were often transferred to the centre, for example from the area of the Aula dei Mensori to the Temple of Hercules (ca 100 m) and to the Domus del Mosaico del Porto (ca 150 m). See e.g. Bloch 1953, 266 no 29.
- ¹⁵ About the deity of the Temple in the city centre of Évora (Portugal), nothing is certain, however.
- ¹⁶ Pensabene 2002, 205. There are, however, bases only, no altars.
- ¹⁷ Hanson 1959, 95-96. Eingartner 2005, 127-128.
- ¹⁸ Di Vita 1998, 34-35 (ill.), 68 (map). Gros 2002, 292-293, fig. 346. The *exedra* of the *porticus* of the theatre at Augusta Emerita (Mérida) was dedicated to Augustus. See Gros 2002, 292, fig. 345.
- ¹⁹ Sear 2006, 94; Coarelli 1993, 372-376.
- ²⁰ I do not exclude that the famous Pilatus inscription, used in a secondary manner in the theatre at Caesarea

Maritima (Har Qesari), originally belonged to a *porticus* temple near the theatre. The theatre dates from 20 BC but it got a facelift in the 4th century AD. The inscription reads:

[---]s . tiberievom
[- po]ntivus . pilatus
[praef]lectvvs . iuda[ea]
[-----]

The temple or building in honour of Tiberius can be dated between AD 22 and 36. See AE 1963, 104. EDH, no HD004074. See further Lehmann/Holum 2000, 67-70, especially 69.

²¹ Suetonius, *Domitian* 1.1; 15.4.

²² *Templa* is sometimes translated as a poetic plural in order to indicate one temple. As for Domitian's three temples for his family in Rome see Darwall-Smith 1996, 154-165.

²³ Paschetto 1912, 369-370. *CIL* XIV 115; *NSc* 1881, 113 (Lanciani).

²⁴ Cf. AE 1974, 229 (EDH 010620): [Bo]n[o] Event(ui) sacr(um) / [---Ae]milius Maxi / [mu]s pr(aetor) Ilvir / [cul]torib(us) d(onum) d(edit). I do not know a collective of gods who had the epithet *Cultores*. In theory *cultoribus* might be a mason's error: cf. *CIL* XIV S 4733 ...*additis cultioribus ornamentis*.

²⁵ Cf. AE 1922, 93 (...*volentibus cultoribus*...).

²⁶ An exception, e.g., is the syntagm *lucorum cultores* but no god is mentioned there.

²⁷ *NSc* 1912, 346-347, fig. 1 (photo of the Piazzale showing the water-drain).

²⁸ Meiggs 1973, 66.

²⁹ Calza 1964, nos 84 (head of Trajan), 183 (cuirass statue; ca AD 100), 187 (military person; Antonine period).

³⁰ Rieger 2004, 244.

³¹ *CIL* XIV 246; Meiggs 1973, 335. Paschetto 1912, 174-175 already mentions the possibility that the inscription refers to the Piazzale temple.

³² *CIL* XIV S 5356; Meiggs 1973, 336. The phenomenon of not mentioning the temple's god is also visible in AE 1940, 64 and 65: ...*in templo fori vinarii*...

³³ Cicerchia/Marinucci 1992, 198-199 C 60 (cf. C 18, 46, 65 and 115). See also Rieger 2004, 300 (MM 91).

³⁴ Ibidem, 199, rejecting the interpretation of Meiggs 1973, 335-336 (*corpus* related to the *forum vinarium*).

³⁵ See Meiggs 1973, 296-298; Bloch 1953, 278-282, no 42.

³⁶ AE 1987, 176a, 176b, 193, 194, 197; 1989, 128 (they are dated between ca 135 and 244).

³⁷ Their height varies from 176 to 80 cm, their length from 89 to 58 cm, and their width from 75 to 52 cm. The inscriptions were made on the spot, since some bases have mouldings but no inscriptions.

³⁸ Paschetto 1912, 335-338, nos 6-17 (with references to *NSc* 1880, 470, 472, 474, 475, 476; 1886, 56-57). Meiggs 1973, 96 n. 7; 424.

³⁹ Paschetto 1912, 277 fig. 61 no 25, 279, 335.

⁴⁰ After the excavations in 1880-1886 and until 1911 some of them stood in the niches of the *frons scaenae* and some others on the east side of the Piazzale.

⁴¹ One statue was found in *taberna* 4 of the Theatre. *NSc* 1910, 173, 176 fig. 8.

⁴² R. Calza 1964, nos 167, 169 (both found in Via delle Corporazioni) and 168 (found in a *taberna* of the Theatre).

⁴³ For comment on the honorands see Meiggs 1973, index (see family name).

⁴⁴ The inscription frame and the layout of the text are similar to those of no 12. Cf. further *CIL* III 1439.

⁴⁵ Paschetto 1912, 334 (found together with a statue; the base is now without statue). *NSc* 1881, 115. [- P. Au-

- fi]dius Fortis is mentioned in the *Fasti Ostienses* (AD 146), see Bargagli/Grosso 1997, 47.
- ⁴⁶ His son, *flam(en) Romae et Aug(usti) flam(en) divi Titi*, is mentioned in *CIL XIV S 4622*, on a tablet dedicated by the the four freedmen mentioned in no 4. The tablet was found in Regio I, ii, 5 (Caseggiato del Thermopolium). It is attached there to a wall of a *taberna* along the *decumanus* opposite the Caseggiato dei Triclini. It is certainly not its original place. The options are: the Temple of Roma and Augustus nearby or, more likely, the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in view of the two statue bases dedicated there to his father.
- ⁴⁷ Meiggs 1973, 210, n. 3 dates this Flavius around AD 150 but the base to AD 249. Bloch 1953, 226 no 29 lists other inscriptions which prove that Flavius lived around AD 249. Cf. Meiggs 1973, 84, n. 1 now with correct date. The letter O in the inscription on the base front is oval, not round as in 2nd century inscriptions. See further Cicerchia/Marinucci 1992, 169 C14 (date: AD 253-268).
- ⁴⁸ See also *AE* 1972, 70; 1974, 123 (with comment).
- ⁴⁹ Meiggs 1973, 330-331.
- ⁵⁰ Like P. Nonius (nos 10 and 11), Publicius was *equo publico exornatus* (maybe also knighted by Marcus Aurelius). In the three inscriptions the words are written just below the *cognomina*.
- ⁵¹ The frame of the inscription, layout of the text and size of the letters are similar to those of no 2.
- ⁵² Under the inscription a prow, or more likely, a stern with swan head is rendered vertically.
- ⁵³ Pohl 1978, 333. An inscribed marble tablet dedicated to Hadrian by sailors who were allowed to navigate on the Tiber (dated between AD 126-138) was found in the south part of the Piazzale. Bloch, *NSc* 1953, 286-287, no 45 (inv. no 1015). Maybe the sailors belonged to a *corpus* of *lenuncularii*.
- ⁵⁴ Meiggs 1973, 330, 432.
- ⁵⁵ *CIL XIV S 4642*; *AE* 1910, 181. *EDH* 029949; cf. *CIL XIV* 353 (statue base on the Forum).
- ⁵⁶ Two marble slabs, stray finds from the Piazzale, mention a *praefectus annonae* (C. Minicius Italus), who was presented with a gift *a divo Vespasiano* (!) and a *procurator annonae* (M. Flavius Marcianus Ilisus). See *NSc* 1916, 139-140; *CIL XIV S 4456*. Another slab, *CIL XIV S 4468/70* mentions a *procurator ad diocesis Alexandr(iae)*.
- ⁵⁷ See for example *CIL XIV* 160: M. Vettius Mercurius gave baskets because of the dedication of a statue to his boss, P. Bassilius Crescens. As for the numerous inscriptions all over the Roman world mentioning gifts (*sportulae*, *epulum*, *crustum*, *mulsum*, *panis*, *vinum*, *nummi*, *denarii*, *ludi*, etc.) to the people *ob dedicationem statuae/arum* Steuernagel 2004, 199-200.
- ⁵⁸ Steuernagel 2004, 199-200.
- ⁵⁹ *CIL XIV* 373.
- ⁶⁰ Cf. Rieger 2004, 184.

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Granite and rock crystal quarrying in the *Civitas Ammaiensis* (north-eastern Alentejo, Portugal): a geoarchaeological case study

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Abstract

This paper presents the results of a geoarchaeological research project in the north-eastern Alentejo region of Portugal. The study focused on the granite and rock crystal exploitation in the territory of the Roman town of Ammaia. By means of non-destructive survey methods, performed by an interdisciplinary team of archaeologists, geomorphologists and geologists, the main quarries in the Civitas Ammaiensis were identified and investigated. The survey project aimed at gaining a clearer insight in the extractive industries of the town and, on a higher level, at gaining a better understanding of the economic and spatial organization of the town and its hinterland.

INTRODUCTION

Until recently little scientific attention has been given to Roman stone exploitation in Portugal. This is surprising considering that the extraction of building stones is an essential part of the urban development of a specific region and, therefore, of the urbanization process. It was not until the last decade of the 20th century that Portuguese archaeology engaged in the study of the provenance of Roman building material. Nonetheless, the archaeologists mainly concentrated on localizing the quarries of the luxury stones that provisioned the main urban centres.¹ Research on quarries that provisioned smaller provincial towns with local building stones is only seldom engaged.

Since 2001 a multidisciplinary geoarchaeological survey project of Ghent University is being organized in the territory of the Roman town of *Ammaia* (north-eastern Alentejo, Portugal).² One of the aspects of the study comprises the stone provisioning of the town and seeks to identify and analyze the main Roman granite and rock crystal quarries in its territory by means of non-destructive investigation methods. The research is partly based on the results of archaeological excavations, conducted in the city area since 1995,³ and partly on survey activities organized in the territory of the town.⁴

A second phase of the *Ammaia* survey project of Ghent University (started in 2008) will include a Site Catchment Analysis for the ancient Roman town. This part of the research builds on the geomorphological and geological research of the first phase and aims at elaborating the archaeological

component of the study. The main focus will be defining the relationship between town and countryside. More specific: what conditions determined the location of the town, how was the countryside used by the inhabitants in terms of economic needs, etc. The case study on the stone extraction is a good example of this approach.

AMMAIA AND THE CIVITAS AMMAIENSIS

Location

The ruins of the Roman city are situated in the territory of São Salvador da Aramenha, in the community of Marvão (district of Portalegre, Alentejo, Portugal). The exact location has long-time been the subject of discussion among academics. Until the beginning of the 20th century archaeologists and historians were convinced that the remnants of *Ammaia* were located beneath modern Portalegre, circa 10 km in south-western direction, while the ruins in São Salvador da Aramenha were identified as the ancient city of *Medobriga*. This assumption was based on epigraphic finds in the Espírito Santo church in Portalegre mentioning the *Municipium Ammaiensis*.⁵ It was not until 1935 that Leite de Vasconcelos refuted this hypothesis and proved the ruins in São Salvador da Aramenha as being those of Roman *Ammaia*.⁶

The landscape surrounding the city is dominated by the Serra de São Mamede, a mountain range of circa 40 km in length and with a maximum altitude of 1027 m (figs. 1, 2). The presence of this mountain range causes orogenetic rains in the region, which results in an abundance of sources

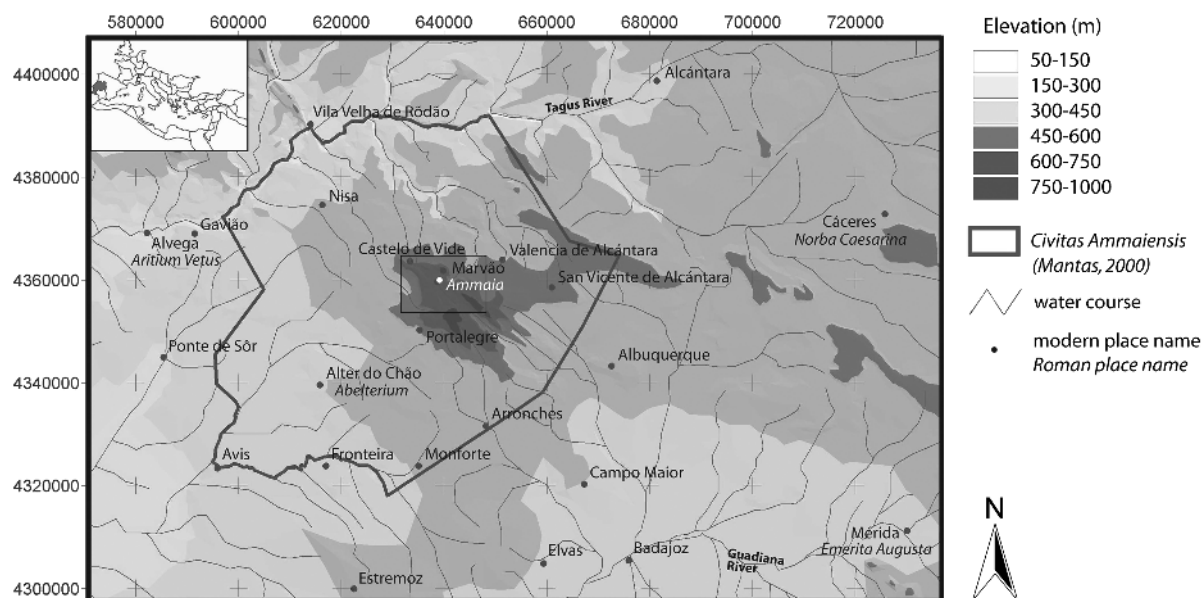


Fig. 1. The Civitas Ammaiensis. (inset: Provincia Lusitania, frame: area depicted in figures 2 and 9; UTM-coordinates in metres) (after Mantas 2000).

and streams, among which the Sever river. Combined with a fertile soil in the river valleys, these conditions provided satisfactory water and food provisioning in the immediate vicinity of the town.⁸ This is in striking contrast with most other parts of the Alentejo region that has, as a consequence of the drought and the dominance of hard rock near the surface, a low soil fertility.⁸

Ammaia was in Roman Imperial times the capital city of the *Civitas Ammaiensis*, an administrative entity that comprised a territory of approximately 60 x 60 km (fig. 1).⁹ It was part of the *Provincia Lusitania* and was situated at the juncture of some of the major Roman roads in the Iberian peninsula. One of these roads linked *Olisipo* (modern Lisbon) with *Emerita Augusta* (capital of the *Provincia Lusitania*, modern Mérida, Spain). The central location of the town in this road system entailed a high economic development of the city and its surroundings (fig. 2). In modern geographic terms, the *civitas* stretches along both sides of the Portuguese-Spanish border and abuts the river Tagus in the north.

The main economic activities in the area were agriculture (e.g. wine, oil and cereals) and extractive industries.¹⁰ Already in the Roman period, the territory was famous for its richness in minerals and stones. The foremost extracted stone was granite, to a lesser degree quartzite, schist and gneiss were also present in the vicinity of the town.¹¹ The mineral wealth comprises gold, silver, lead, hematite and rock crystal.¹² Judging from the fact

that the only ancient literary reference to the *Civitas Ammaiensis* is in connection with rock crystal,¹³ it is certain that this mineral played an important role in its economy.¹⁴

Historical background

Ammaia was probably a newly founded Roman town, without a pre-Roman precursor. The city site does not correspond in any way to the characteristic image of a protohistoric *oppidum*, which is generally located on a defensible hilltop with a good view on the surrounding land. Notwithstanding, several indications of a pre-Roman origin of the town's inhabitants have been encountered. The members of the native Lusitanian tribe were in all probability forced by the Roman conquerors to abandon their settlements and move to a newly founded town, whose location met the Roman needs for administration and accessibility.¹⁵

Since archaeological data for the earliest occupation phase are absent, the exact time of the foundation is still unclear. The first inscriptions that mention the *Civitas Ammaiensis* date from the period of emperor Claudius, from which can be deduced that the town already existed at the end of the first half of the 1st century AD.¹⁶ A second important source for dating the foundation is the *Historia Naturalis* by Pliny the Elder. In book IV the author enumerates the *civitates* of *Lusitania* in the time of emperor Augustus. However, this list

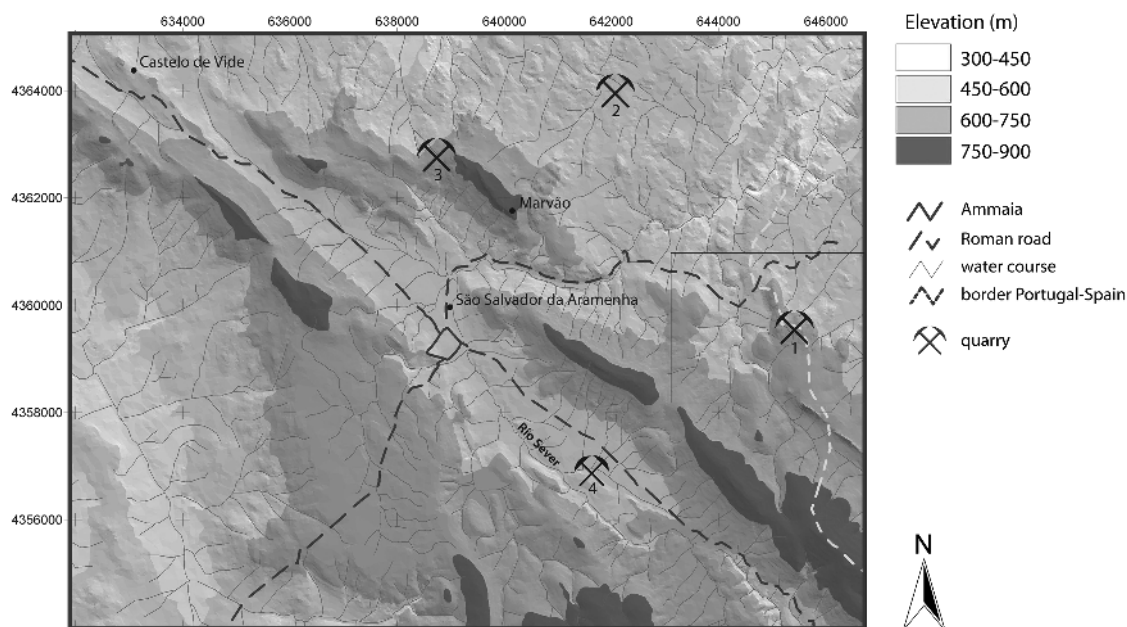


Fig. 2. Geographical situation of Ammaia. 1. Granite quarry of Pitarenha, 2. Granite quarry of Santo António das Areias, 3. Granite quarry of Marvão, 4. Rock crystal quarry of Naves (frame: area depicted in figure 10; UTM-coordinates in metres) (map by Sarah Deprez).

does not cite *Ammaia*, which could mean that the town did not exist yet. A second possibility is that Pliny forgot to mention it, as was the case with some other Roman *civitates*.¹⁷ If this last option is valid, the establishment of the town was the result of the territorial reorganization of the Iberian peninsula by Augustus, an event that resulted in the foundation of numerous cities in Hispania and Lusitania.¹⁸

Towards the end of the 1st century AD, in all probability during the reign of emperor Vespasian, *Ammaia* received the status of *municipium*.¹⁹ This event probably had no serious consequences for the government of the town and its territory, but the urban centre developed a monumental core.²⁰

In comparison to large parts of the Western Empire there are no indications of the region undergoing a deep crisis in the Late Roman period. The opposite is true: the town knew a certain economic prosperity.²¹ Indications of this prosperity are the large quantity of 4th-century coins, Late Roman Terra Sigillata and African Red Slip ware found in different parts of its urban area.²² A study of the *villae* in the hinterland produces the same results. Large structural improvements during the 4th century AD and the presence of high quality mosaics (e.g. *villa* of Torre de Palma) confirm this picture. The economic bloom was a consequence of the rise of the commerce with North Africa, in which the

Civitas Ammaiensis played a transitional role between the harbour of *Olisipo* and *Emerita Augusta*.²³

In the early years of the post-Roman period the urban area remained relatively densely inhabited. During the Visigothic domination the town's layout was even altered at several places (e.g. the *porta sul* area and the *Quinta do Deão* area) in order to meet new urban standards.²⁴ Contrary to the 4th and 5th-century prosperity, the archaeological data for the 6th century AD (e.g. imported ceramics are being replaced by local wares) indicate a clear decline in the prosperity and the occupation. Gradually *Ammaia* depopulated and the inhabitants settled in small villages in the hinterland of the Roman town.²⁵ The causes for this decline are to be found in the general political instability of the period and the complete disappearance of the Roman economic system.

As early as the 9th century AD, during the Moorish domination, the town site was already largely reduced to ruins.²⁶ The following centuries meant a further degradation of the town site, Roman constructions were looted and the building material was reused in medieval structures, primarily for the nearby cities of Portalegre, Marvão and Castelo de Vide.²⁷

As the town has never again been inhabited since its 6th-7th century AD disintegration, rem-

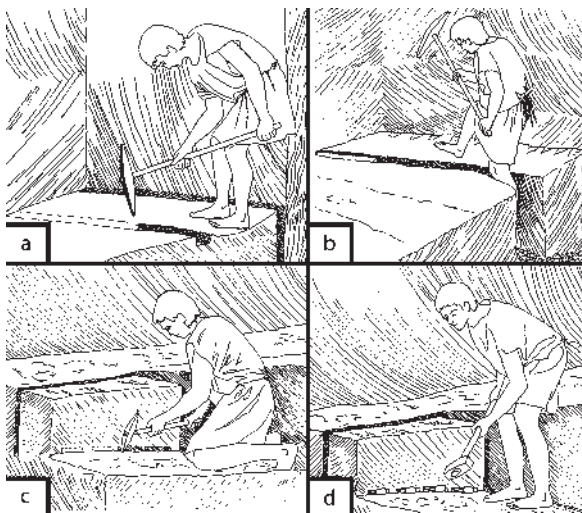


Fig. 3. Sequence of the Roman extraction of a stone block, using the wedging technique (Bessac 1996, 211, 222).

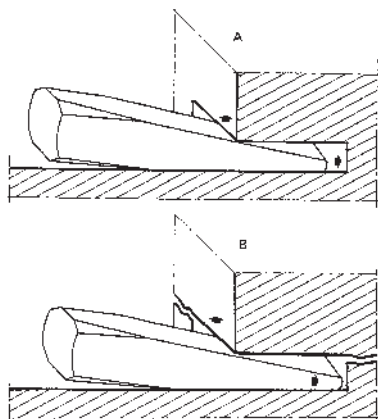


Fig. 4. Principle of the wedging technique (Bessac 1996, 99).

nants are reasonably well preserved. This causes *Animaia* to be one of the most promising and interesting Roman city sites for modern archaeological investigation in the northern Alentejo region and even in the whole of *Lusitania*.

ROMAN QUARRYING

The use of stone in regional Roman architecture

Stone occupied a central place in the Roman architecture of *Lusitania*. It was most often used for monumental, public constructions (e.g. the *forum*, the baths, the *basilica*, the city wall, etc.), while for domestic and non-monumental buildings, brick and more perishable materials were dominant.²⁸

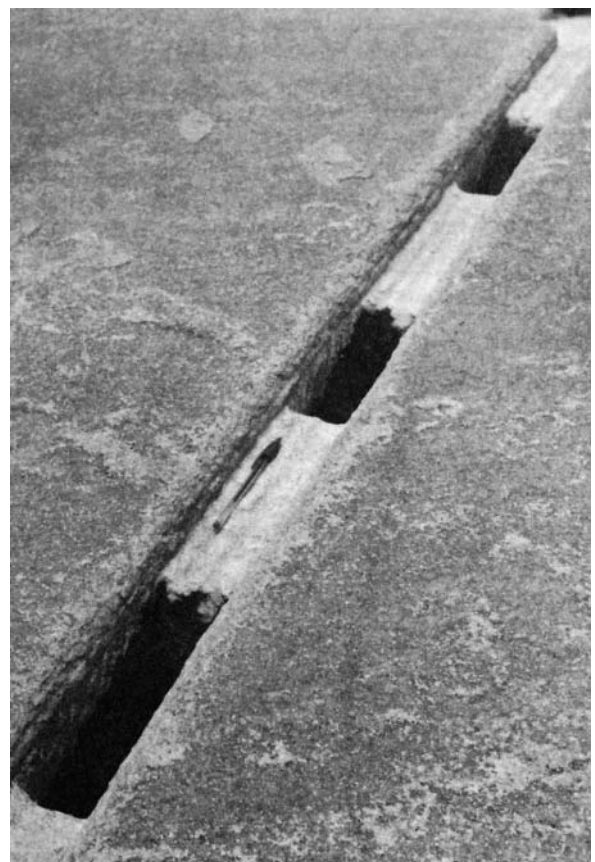


Fig. 5. Wedge holes implanted in shallow channel (Dodge/Perkins 1992, 18).

In large parts of the province the local tribes did not develop any advanced architectural accomplishments in pre-Roman times. The extensive use of stone, brick and concrete was one of the most important innovations introduced by the Roman conquerors, creating a real economy of construction in this region.²⁹

According to the stone's physical (durability, hardness, etc.) and aesthetic characteristics, it was applied either for constructional or for decorative purposes. For both types, Roman architects preferred locally available stone, in order to reduce the need for expensive transport.³⁰

Roman quarrying techniques

Ancient quarrying experienced only a minor evolution between its origin, ca 3000 years ago in ancient Egypt, and the 19th century AD.³¹ It was not until deep in the 19th century AD that, as a result of the introduction of electrical appliances and the invention of gunpowder, stone extraction methods



Fig. 6. Pointillé technique (Adam 2005, 33).



Fig. 7. Ashlar block extracted from the bedrock with the sawing method (Adam 2005, 34).

fundamentally altered.³² Nevertheless, the Roman period brought one significant innovation in the stone industry: the standardization of the extraction, as a consequence of the increase in scale of the quarrying process. The extracted blocks were from this time onwards all more or less the same shape and dimensions.³³

After the preparation of the extraction front, the quarrymen demarcated the shape of the block in the bedrock. Grooves were carved out with pickaxes along three sides.³⁴ On the fourth side small cavities

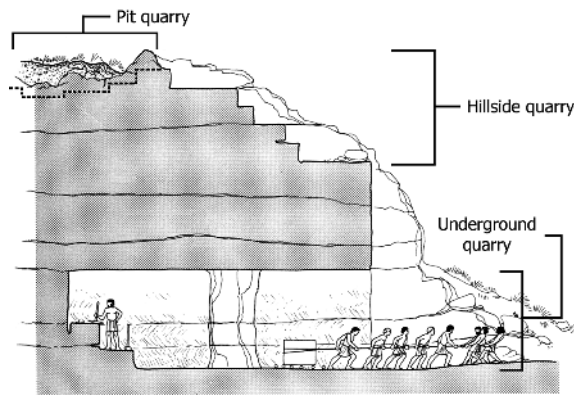


Fig. 8. Drawing representing the different types of quarries in the Roman period (Adam 2005, 25).

were made at regular intervals, intended for placing wedges (fig. 3). The most appropriate tool for this action was the chisel.³⁵ The wedges were hit with a large hammer in order to cause a fracture along the imaginary line between the holes (fig. 4). This wedging technique was the most frequently applied one in classical times.³⁶ In some cases the wedge holes were made in a shallow channel to have better control on the fracture (fig. 5).³⁷

A second extraction method, referred to as the pointillé technique, relied largely on the same principles. The holes were replaced by small circular cavities (fig. 6). To cause the block to split, it was hammered at one of the corners.³⁸

A final, rather exceptionally applied, method of extracting stone was sawing the block from the bedrock (fig. 7). Because of the long duration of this process, it was only seldomly used and exclusively with valuable and rare stone types in order to limit the loss of stone material.³⁹

Once the block was extracted from the bedrock it still had to be modelled to its final shape. For this the use of hammers, whether in combination with different types of chisels or not, was indispensable.⁴⁰ The processing of the rock occurred in workshops on the quarry site or in its immediate surroundings.⁴¹ The ashlar blocks were now ready for transport to the construction site.

Quarry types

Two types of quarries can be distinguished in the Roman period: the opencast and the underground quarry. In both cases the extraction method differed little or not.⁴²

It was preferred to build an opencast quarry, considering this was less time- and work-consum-

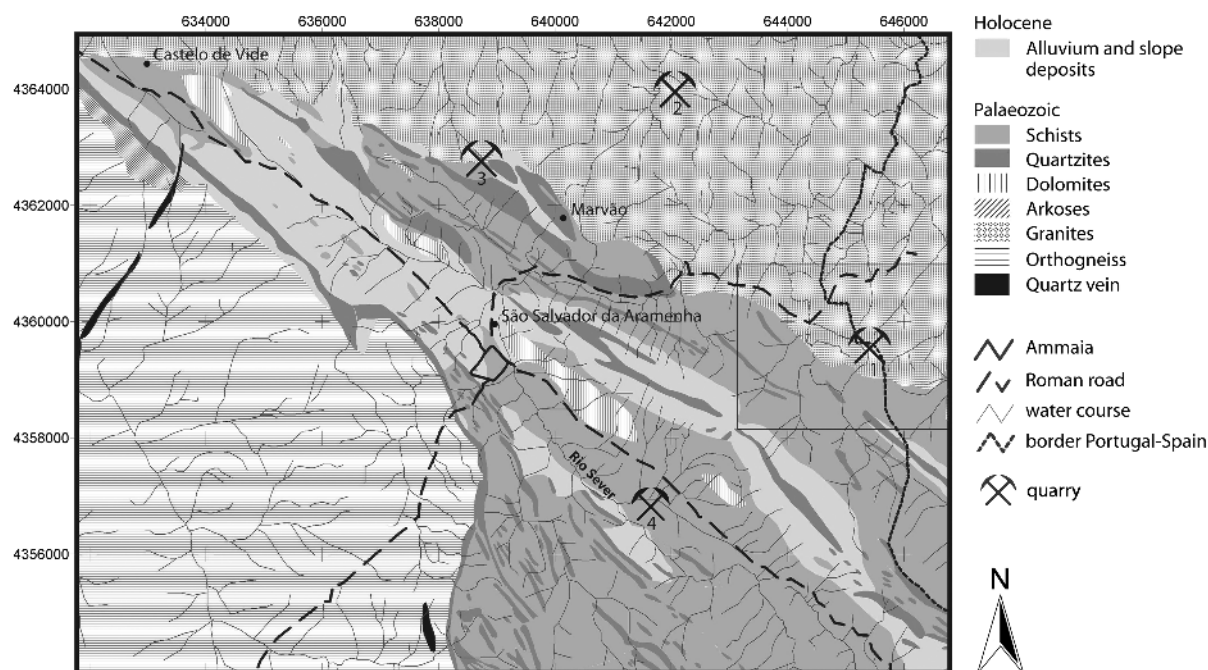


Fig. 9. Geological situation of Ammaia. 1. Granite quarry of Pitaranha, 2. Granite quarry of Santo António das Areias, 3. Granite quarry of Marvão, 4. Rock crystal quarry of Naves (frame: area depicted in figure 10; UTM-coordinates in metres) (map by Sarah Deprez).

ing (and therefore less expensive) and it required less technical skills (e.g. to construct subterranean passages).⁴³ This quarry type was implanted on places where the required stone was outcropping or where it was present on limited depths. Depending on the terrain topography it concerned a pit or a hillside quarry.⁴⁴ A pit quarry originated when a zone, the extraction front, was demarcated and the quarrymen extracted the upper layer of stone. Subsequently the same took place on a second level, creating a pit (fig. 8).⁴⁵ A hillside quarry, however, developed against the slope of a hill (fig. 8). Combinations of these two types were also possible: a hill quarry where the workmen decided to extract in depth.⁴⁶

The underground quarry was developed in places where the stone was situated too deep below the earth's surface to remove the upper lying ground (fig. 8).⁴⁷ In order to guarantee the solidity of the quarry and to diminish the danger of collapse, the quarrymen left stone columns in place at regular distances.⁴⁸

GRANITE AND ROCK CRYSTAL QUARRYING IN THE CIVITAS AMMAIENSIS

Since *Ammaia* was a newly founded town and the region around the Roman city was not acquainted

with a highly developed stone architecture in the pre-Roman period, it was necessary to open up a number of quarries to provide the city with a large quantity of construction material. The most appropriate stone type directly available for architectural means in the north-eastern part of the Alentejo region was granite, not a remarkable observation in respect of the durability and the abundant presence of the stone in the vicinity of the town (fig. 9). The partly excavated city wall, constructed with large granite blocks and smaller quartzite pebbles, and the *porta sul*, built out of ashlar and finished off with marble slabs,⁴⁹ both utilize granite as main building material.⁵⁰ Other investigated structures (the forum temple and the forum baths) confirm the widespread use of this type of stone. In addition to these building remains, several individual column elements, millstones and building blocks, carved from granite of the granite zones of the *Civitas Ammaiensis*, have been recovered from various places around the town. Further excavations are, however, necessary to shed more light on the kind of stone used for the construction of the private houses and the lesser monumental structures in the town.

One of the most important economic trumps of the region was the frequent occurrence of pure quartz or rock crystal. Contrary to granite and mar-

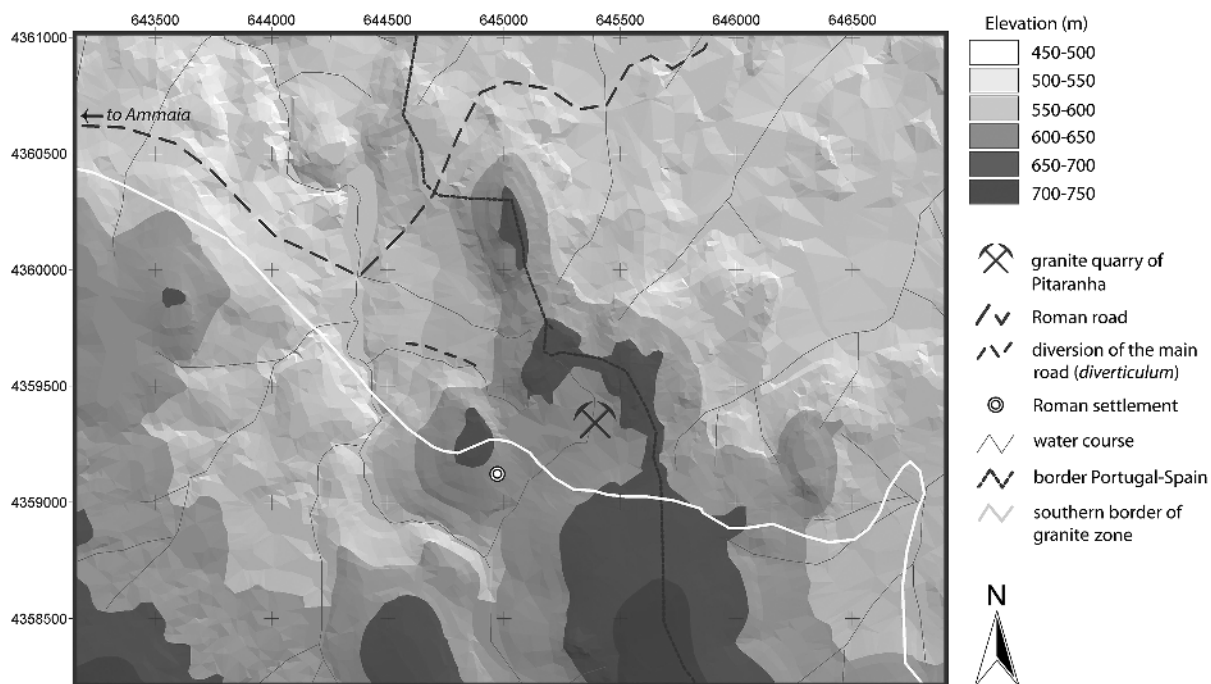


Fig. 10. Detailed location of the granite quarry of Pitaranha (UTM-coordinates in metres) (map by Sarah Deprez).

ble, rock crystal had no architectural value and was mainly used for the production of jewellery and glass.

Three antique granite quarries, which could have provided the building projects in the *civitas* capital, and one rock crystal quarry, have been identified so far during the Ghent University survey campaigns (figs. 2, 9).⁵¹ In two of the three granite quarries indications are present of large quartz veins that also contained rock crystal. The joint appearance of both minerals was a significant advantage, given that only one extraction site had to be opened to obtain both products.

Due to the lack of datable archaeological artefacts, it is still too early to propose a detailed chronology of the extractive activities in these quarries. Indirectly however, it is possible to determine the periods in which the quarries were being worked. Since the quarries did not function continuously, but only when there was need for building material, the periods of large-scale building activity in the town can be linked to intensive granite exploitation. Dating the known archaeological structures in *Ammaia* is in this respect essential. A first exploitation phase can therefore be dated in the beginning of the Imperial period (first half of the 1st century AD), at the time of the foundation of the city. A second phase of significant quarrying

activity has to be attributed to the monumentalization of the town centre in the second half of the 1st century AD, as a consequence of the promotion to *municipium*.

In view of the lack of literary sources concerning stone exploitation in this region and the fact that no quarry marks have yet been encountered on the blocks, it is hard to determine who was responsible for the quarrying activities. The only source of information are two inscriptions found in the town's territory, each mentioning the name of a Roman family that can be linked to extractive activities in other parts of the Iberian peninsula: the *Helvii* and the *Clunia* family.⁵²

The quarrymen were presumably, by analogy with Roman mines, seasonal workers.

Pitaranha

The quarry of Pitaranha was the largest granite quarry in the *Civitas Ammaiensis* (fig. 10). With an area that covered approximately 10 ha, it is the largest known ancient granite quarry in the northern Alentejo region. In addition to granite the presence of large quartz veins, and even rock crystal, is detected. The combination of both granite and rock crystal extraction made this exploitation site economically profitable.



Fig. 11. View on the hillside quarry of Pitaranha (photo: Sarah Deprez).

The quarry of Pitaranha is a typical hillside quarry (fig. 11). At various places alongside the extraction front and at the foot of the hill semi-extracted and semi-finished granite blocks are visible. The presence of these semi-extracted and semi-finished blocks indicates the seasonal nature of the quarrying activities, meaning that the exploitation was suspended during the winter months. The cutting marks on these blocks reveal the use of the wedging technique (fig. 12).

As most large quarries, the Pitaranha quarry was presumably the property of the *civitas*. Nevertheless in all probability the exploitation was not carried out by *Ammaia* itself, but the right of extraction was subcontracted to private enterprises: vertically placed stone slabs inside the quarry site divided the entire zone in smaller units (fig. 13). Each unit is characterized by the presence of one or more semi-finished stone blocks and waste mounds. The marked plots corresponded to a concession or *officina* and were worked independently. Moreover, the presence of the ashlar and the waste mounds denotes a primary processing of the stone on the quarry site.

In the vicinity of the extraction front and the processing zone of the quarry there are indications of an ancient forge, used for the production and the reparation of iron tools (e.g. wedges, hammers, pick axes, etc.): a rectangular cavity in a granite block with dimensions of 73 x 25 x 10 cm served as a water basin (fig. 14) and nearby remnants of an ancient oven, where the iron could be heated, are visible.

Near the quarry site, on the Monte da Sobrosa, remains of a small Roman settlement, found in association with Roman ceramics, building material (*tegulae* and *imbrices*) and iron slags, are visible (fig. 10).⁵³ The settlement might have functioned as a temporary residence for the quarrymen, where they could stay overnight during the working season.

Despite the fact that to this day no datable artefacts linked to the quarrying activities are found, the typology of the archaeological remains and the whole context allow us to state that the quarry dates to the Roman period. Moreover, it can be presumed that the quarry was the main provider of stone material for the town of *Ammaia*. Elements that indicate an extraction in the Roman period are: the extraction method and organization, the presence of a small Roman settlement in the vicinity, the proximity of an important Roman road that connected *Ammaia* and *Norba Caesarina* (modern Cáceres, Spain) and indications of a possible *diverticulum* in the direction of the quarry site (fig. 10). The limited distance to the urban centre (circa 8.5 km), the quality of the granite, the size of the quarry, the means of transport via the Roman road and the presence of rock crystal are arguments to state that this quarry had the provisioning of the *civitas* capital as its main purpose.

Santo António das Areias

In Santo António das Areias a small, possibly Roman, granite quarry has been encountered. It

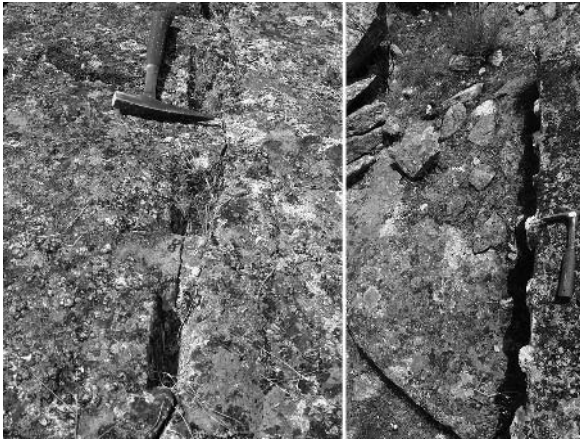


Fig. 12. Wedge holes on semi-extracted and semi-finished granite blocks on the quarry site of Pitaranha (photo: Sarah Deprez, Devi Taelman).



Fig. 13. Vertically placed stone slabs divide the Pitaranha quarry in concessions or officinae (photo: Devi Taelman).

concerns a hillside quarry with a surface of some 10 m². The most important advantage of the granite found in this quarry is the advanced development of joints in the stone. This natural phenom-



Fig. 14. Water basin of the probable ancient forge at Pitaranha (photo: Sarah Deprez).

enon causes large blocks of granite to detach almost entirely from the bedrock. Moreover, the arrangement and the size of the fractures network are such that the naturally formed blocks already have more or less the right size and shape to be used as building blocks (fig. 15). The quarrying of building blocks in this site was by consequence very simple: it sufficed to wrench the granite blocks with wooden or iron levers.

As a consequence of the lack of archaeological artefacts on the quarry site, it is impossible to determine an exact chronology of the quarrying activities. The absence of cutting marks, as result of the used extraction method, also hampers the dating of such activities. The fact that the naturally detached blocks are not found at the foot of the hill indicates a human intervention. Moreover, the large quantity of slowly growing lichens on the extraction front denotes a non-recent stabilization of these natural processes. The quarry has possibly been utilized in the Roman age, but there are no



Fig. 15. Granite quarry of Santo António das Areias.
Fig. 16. Granite quarry of Marvão. (Photos: Devi Taelman.)

arguments to exclude an extraction in a later period.

The limited scale of the quarrying activity lets us assume that if the Romans were active in this quarry, the exploitation was not aimed at the large scale provisioning of *Ammaia*, but more probably at the provisioning of a local town project or a small *vicus* or *villa* in the vicinity of the quarry.

Marvão

Alongside the modern road between São Salvador da Aramenha and Marvão, traces of ancient granite extraction are visible. In the vicinity of the quarry a large quartz vein, that contains some rock crystal, is detected. Indications of extraction in this quartz vein, however, have not yet been observed.

The quarry consists of a small extraction front that gradually deepens alongside a hill, creating a pit quarry. The extraction front clearly illustrates cutting marks which, considering their nature, indicate a historical exploitation (fig. 16). This hypothesis is supported by the abundant presence of slowly growing lichens on the quarry front.

Again it is not determinable with complete certainty that the quarry was Roman (and not later) and whether it functioned by order of *Ammaia* or in connection with a nearby villa or settlement.

Naves

A fourth quarry in the *Civitas Ammaiensis* is situated southeast of the *civitas* capital, next to the

Malhadais hill, alongside the Roman road that connected the town of *Ammaia* with *Butua* (modern Bótoa, Spain). Contrary to the previous quarries, the Naves quarry did not provide in granite, but only in rock crystal. At the quarry site traces of the dismantlement of the quartz veins, with the intention of obtaining rock crystal, are detected.⁵⁴

In the vicinity of the quarry fragments of Roman ceramics, building material (*tegulae* and *imbrices*) and rock crystal have been encountered.⁵⁵ In all probability these are evidence of a Roman farmhouse of which the owner was responsible for the extraction of the rock crystal.

The proximity of the Roman road and the presence of the Roman settlement let us presume a dating in the Roman period for the extraction activities.

CONCLUSION

Despite the fact that the exploitation of granite played a vital part in the urban, and to a lesser extent in the economic, development of *Ammaia* and its hinterland, the study of this aspect of the town's history started only recently. This geoarchaeological case study aimed at identifying and analyzing the main granite quarries in the town's territory.

The quarry of Pitaranha can be labelled, with almost complete certainty, as a Roman quarry that, considering the large-scale extraction and the vicinity to the Roman road system, functioned to provision the principal urban centre of the *Civitas Ammaiensis*. The presence of quartz and rock crys-

tal on the quarry site was unmistakably a reason for the Romans to open a quarry in this location.

The granites of the two other quarries (Santo António das Areias and Marvão) could also have been used to erect buildings in the town of *Ammaia*, but they probably served mainly for provisioning smaller, local constructions.

The historically attested importance of rock crystal for this *civitas* is now archaeologically illustrated by the observation that some quarries (e.g. Naves) were opened up solely for extracting this mineral.

The discussed quarries are undoubtedly not the only ones in the territory of *Ammaia*. Presumably a number of ancient exploitation zones have not yet been discovered, as consequence of the vastness of the territory, or they are not recognizable as a result of more recent extraction activities. Granite is nowadays still widely exploited in the north-eastern Alentejo region as it still remains the main building material.

We are convinced that further research on the granite and rock crystal quarries, but also on quarries of other stone types, is necessary to gain a clearer insight in the geo-economy of stone in the *Civitas Ammaiensis*, as well as in the extraction methods applied in the most western province of the Roman empire. More detailed archaeological research of the already identified quarries is also required to date their extraction activities. In the near future a petrographic study will be carried out in order to thoroughly compare the granites of the quarries with the granite blocks used in the different constructions in the town.

NOTES

- ¹ Bernardes 2002, 258.
- ² The international research team is composed of Belgian and Portuguese archaeologists, geomorphologists and geologists.
- ³ The excavations on the site of *Ammaia* have been conducted by teams of the universities of Évora and Coimbra (Portugal), the university of Ghent (Belgium), the university of Louisville (United States of America), the university of Cassino (Italy), the university of Dublin (Ireland), and by the Fundação Cidade Romana de *Ammaia*.
- ⁴ The survey activities have been financed by the municipality of Marvão. See now Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 1; see also Oliveira et al. 2007, 7.
- ⁵ Mantas 2000, 393.
- ⁶ Pereira 2005a, 35.
- ⁷ Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 5.
- ⁸ Corsi/Vermeulen 2007, 14-15.
- ⁹ Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 13.
- ¹⁰ Corsi/Vermeulen 2007, 17 + 25.
- ¹¹ Cerqueira 2005, 19.
- ¹² Corsi/Vermeulen 2007, 17; see also Pereira 2005, 37.
- ¹³ Pliny the Elder, *Historia Naturalis* 17.9.24.

- ¹⁴ Pereira 2005a, 37.
- ¹⁵ Mantas 2000, 396-397; see also Pereira 2005a, 36.
- ¹⁶ Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 9.
- ¹⁷ Alarcão 1990, 23.
- ¹⁸ Mantas 2000, 396, 410.
- ¹⁹ Mantas 2000, 412; 2002, 51; see also Pereira 2005a, 40.
- ²⁰ Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 9.
- ²¹ Carneiro 2003, 136.
- ²² Carneiro 2003, 140; see also Pereira et al. 2000, 65.
- ²³ Pereira 2005b, 63-64.
- ²⁴ Pereira 2005b, 65-67; see also Pereira et al. 2000, 57.
- ²⁵ Pereira 2005b, 68.
- ²⁶ Mantas 2000, 417.
- ²⁷ Mantas 2000, 417.
- ²⁸ Alarcão 1988, 80.
- ²⁹ Alarcão 1988, 80; see also MacDonald 1982, 143.
- ³⁰ Bedon 1984, 84-85; see also Bedon et al. 1988, 67.
- ³¹ Ward-Perkins 1972, 4.
- ³² Bedon 1984, 112; see also Bessac 1993, 211.
- ³³ Dodge/Ward-Perkins 1992, 25.
- ³⁴ Adam 2005, 25; see also Ward-Perkins 1972, 5.
- ³⁵ Adam 2005, 26; see also Bedon 1984, 125; Orlandos 1968, 19.
- ³⁶ Adam 2005, 33.
- ³⁷ Waelkens et al. 1988, 104-106.
- ³⁸ Dodge 1991, 30.
- ³⁹ Harrel/Brown 2002, 53-56.
- ⁴⁰ Bedon 1984, 125.
- ⁴¹ Orlandos 1968, 19.
- ⁴² Rockwell 1993, 161.
- ⁴³ Bedon 1984, 89.
- ⁴⁴ Rockwell 1993, 161.
- ⁴⁵ Rockwell 1993, 161.
- ⁴⁶ Rockwell 1993, 162.
- ⁴⁷ Dworakowska 1983, 155.
- ⁴⁸ Bedon 1984, 89.
- ⁴⁹ Given that marble does not occur in the territory of *Ammaia*, it is imported from the region of modern Estremoz, Vila Viçosa and Borba. The transport route for the marble was the Roman road that linked *Ammaia* with *Ebora* (modern Évora), passing through the Roman marble quarries that have been identified in these places.
- ⁵⁰ Mantas 2000, 414; see also Pereira 2005, 41-42, 44; Vermeulen et al. 2005, internet, ¶ 25.
- ⁵¹ Several survey campaigns have been organized around the Roman town of *Ammaia* by the Ghent team since 2001. Especially the 2006 campaign focused on the stone provisioning. We thank P. De Paepe, C. Corsi and S. Pereira for their help and advice.
- ⁵² Mantas 2002, 10-12, 15-16.
- ⁵³ Oliveira et al. 2007, 240.
- ⁵⁴ Oliveira et al. 2007, 266.
- ⁵⁵ Oliveira et al. 2007, 266.

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Did the Rabbis Reject the Roman Public Latrine?

Yael Wilfand

Abstract

*This study examines archaeological evidence and rabbinic texts in order to challenge recent scholarly claims that the rabbis in Palestine rejected the Roman public latrine because of the lack of privacy during 'bodily exertion'. By reevaluating both the written and material evidence within the appropriate geographical context (differentiating between Babylonian and Palestinian), I argue that there is no evidence that suggests rabbis living in Palestine rejected Roman public latrines. However, the evidence does suggest that in Babylonia, where Roman public latrines were not used, such a rejection did exist. In order to explain the different attitudes towards public latrines, I suggest that the Zoroastrian cultural environment may have influenced the Babylonian rabbis to develop their rejection.**

INTRODUCTION

In his article 'Slums, Sanitation, and Mortality in the Roman World', Alex Scobie pointed out the relation between privacy concerns and the design of latrines:

Privacy is ... felt to be a normal necessity in modern Western societies, both for defecation and sexual intercourse.... No extant Roman author gives his impression of a Roman *forica* where as many as sixty or more people, men and women, sitting on stone or wooden seats, relieved themselves in full view of each other...

It seems reasonably clear that Romans did not feel embarrassment or shame in *foricae*; otherwise different design features such as cubicles with doors would have been standard in these facilities.¹

Since 1986, when Scobie wrote these lines - suggesting the plausible relation between certain design features of toilets and the lack of embarrassment or shame - scholarly interest in the Roman public latrine (*forica*) has increased and recently has been extended to Judaic studies.²

The first and only article, 'The Latrine (Latrina) in the Land of Israel in the Roman-Byzantine Period' that deals with the Roman latrine in Palestine was published in 2004. In this comprehensive paper, Eyal Baruch and Zohar Amar illuminate many aspects of toilet habits in this period by using archaeological evidence and rabbinic literature.³ One of their claims is that the rabbis rejected the Roman latrine mainly because of the public display and lack of privacy during 'bodily exertions'. According to Baruch and Amar, the rabbis in Palestine emphasized the importance of

modesty in the toilet in order to deter the Jewish population from using these facilities.⁴ They imply that for this reason, Roman public latrines were found mainly in cities with a majority of gentiles, while in areas with a majority of Jews different latrines were used.⁵

If such a rejection of the Roman latrine prevailed among the rabbis in Palestine, it may affect scholarly understanding of Jewish concepts of privacy and modesty related to relieving oneself. In addition, a rabbinic rejection of the Roman public latrine may also suggest important differences between Jews and Romans at that time and would contribute to an understanding of Jewish and rabbinic attitudes towards Roman city life.

Baruch and Amar base their claim on archaeological findings and a variety of rabbinic texts that were developed over a long period.⁶ While the archaeological finds are from Palestine, the rabbinic texts stem from two different centers: Babylonia and Palestine. One has to consider the possibility that in these two centers of Jewish learning different norms existed concerning toilet habits. However, Baruch and Amar failed to consider this possibility and did not distinguish between the evidence from each center.

In contrast, the present study reevaluates the evidence (written and material remains) while distinguishing between rabbinic texts from Palestine and those from Babylonia. Thus, the goal of this study is to reexamine Baruch and Amar's claims and to ask: did the rabbis in Palestine really reject the Roman public latrine? And if it was rejected by the rabbis, can we find any archaeological remains or written texts that suggest a different design for a public latrine in Palestine? In order to answer these questions, I will first consider some of the aspects that were discussed among

scholars in relation to the acceptance of the Roman bath by the Jews. Some of these issues are relevant as background to the question of the acceptance of the Roman latrine. Secondly, I will briefly review Jewish and rabbinic views concerning nudity. Thirdly, I will reexamine the archaeological evidence. Then, I will discuss the rabbinic evidence suggesting methodological approaches for using these sources according to their place of origin, namely Babylonia and Palestine. These approaches will be used for exploring the issues of modesty in the latrine and its different design features.

THE JEWS AND THE ROMAN BATH

The rise of studies concerning the Roman bath and the bathing culture in the last two decades eventually extended to the field of Judaic studies. The first book about the Roman bath and the bathing culture in Palestine, by Stefanie Hoss, published in 2005, contributes to the body of articles dealing with the same issues.⁷

The flourishing of a public bathing culture in Palestine goes back to 180 C.E. and later.⁸ This flourishing is late in comparison to other parts of the Roman Empire. Scholars suggest a few reasons to explain this late acceptance: 1) scruples about public nakedness among Jews and others in the area; 2) Jewish religious legislation such as protection of the Sabbath, prohibition regarding ritual purity, pictorial representation of divinities, as well as nakedness; 3) the late Romanization and urbanization of the area.⁹

Scholars are not in agreement about these reasons and about the relevance of each of them to the 'late' popularity of the Roman bath in Palestine.¹⁰ However, it is clear that by the time of the Mishnah, the first rabbinic text (composed around 200 C.E.), the Roman bath was an integral part of Jewish life in Palestine. The presence of many baths in Palestine, dated to 180 C.E. and later, seems to confirm this assertion. In addition, rabbinic texts are filled with details about the baths and there is no rabbinic text that rejects the Roman bath. Further, there are many stories about pious rabbis in the bath.¹¹

The existence of Roman baths and their acceptance may be related to questions of the acceptance of the latrines since latrines were often part of the Roman bathhouse, as Fikret Yegül points out:

Roman baths often house public latrines. The basic hygienic nature of the institution, the considerable time spent in the baths by large groups of people, and the very practical technical advantages of sharing drainage and using dis-

charge water flushing, must have made the association a logical one.¹²

This association of bath and latrine is also common in rabbinic texts.¹³ In addition, many of the archaeological findings of latrines from Palestine are connected to baths (as will be discussed later).

In summary, since no rejection of the bath can be found in rabbinic texts, rabbinic rejection of the latrine, if it exists, should be explained separately from the attitude towards the bath.

JEWS AND RABBINIC CONCEPTS OF NUDITY

Another issue to deal with relating to acceptance or rejection of the latrine is the Jewish and rabbinic concept of nudity. The brief discussion here focuses on late antiquity.¹⁴ In his article 'Jewish Constructions of Nakedness in Late Antiquity' Michael Satlow suggests that nudity was only a problem in certain cases:

Jewish sources from antiquity construct male nakedness in a more or less consistent manner. Male nakedness is an offense to the sacred. Similarly, the divine - and his representatives here on earth, whatever they are king, priest, or rabbi - does not reveal himself to social subordinates. In nonsacral and nonhierarchical context male nakedness was not problematized. Working naked in a field, or going naked into a bathhouse, for example, incurs little or no rabbinic opprobrium.¹⁵

For female nakedness, Satlow suggests a different attitude:

The Rabbis understand female nakedness in a way that is radically different from the way that they understand male nakedness. Female nakedness, unlike male nakedness, is not seen as an offense against God. Nor does female nakedness make any statement about relative social hierarchy: a woman appearing naked before another woman is not interpreted as a statement of social status. Rather, female nakedness is understood by the rabbis entirely within a context of female modesty or propriety before men

... Respectable Jewish woman should not go out in public naked; and conversely, if a naked woman is seen in public, she must not be a respectable Jewish woman. 'In public', of course, means in front of men.¹⁶

Scholars argue that this rabbinic view - that it is immodest to display female nakedness in front of men - has been widespread among the Jews.¹⁷

In summary, for the rabbis the nudity of males appears as a problem of hierarchy and honor, or as 'an offense to the sacred'. However, no objection to nudity among the same gender in a bath setting is evident in rabbinic texts.¹⁸ Thus, in order to claim that the rabbis rejected the Roman public latrine because of nudity concerns, a specific explanation is required.¹⁹ A closer look at rabbinic sources may give an interesting outcome. But first, the archaeological evidence from Palestine will be discussed.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL REMAINS

The Roman public toilet became a regular feature of city life by the 1st century C.E. 'In the early 2nd century C.E., the Romans began to build fancier toilets'.²⁰ These toilets were called by Neudecker 'luxury latrines' (Prachtlatrinen).²¹ Romans built multi-seat toilets in or near public areas or buildings where they could be conveniently accessible. These toilet rooms were diverse in their shapes (some were rectangular, circular, semicircular, triangular, oval or square) in the lavishness of their decorations, and in the level of their ventilation and light.²²

These public latrines were often built near or inside public baths because of the advantages of sharing drainage and using discharge water for flushing.²³ The water (usually from the bath) flushed into a channel that was under the benches. In addition, a small trench was cut at the foot of the toilet bench in many Roman public toilets, especially those of the late 1st and 2nd centuries C.E. and later. The purpose of this trench is not completely clear. However, most scholars suggest that this trench 'was used for washing a sponge that was tied to the end of a short stick and used as toilet paper'.²⁴

Such public toilet facilities were also found in Palestine, including cities in which rabbis resided. In the next pages, some of the archaeological findings are reviewed, including details about the place, its population and whether there was a rabbinic presence.

Scythopolis (Beth-She'an)

This city was a *polis* during the Hellenistic period, rebuilt and extended by the Romans, then became an autonomous city of the Roman Empire and the chief city of the Decapolis.²⁵ The town became even more important in the Byzantine period.²⁶ Most of the population in Scythopolis was not Jewish. There is some evidence of rabbis visiting the city.²⁷

The public latrines found in Scythopolis are

connected to bath complexes. One latrine was part of the eastern bath that was rebuilt at the end of the 4th century C.E., after the earthquake of 363 caused a partial destruction of the city.²⁸ The latrine (14.7 x 12.5 m), consisting of 57 marble seats, 'was built as a square peristyle court with a mosaic pavement and was surrounded by three porticoes'. Under the seats 'runs a deep sewage channel, while a small fresh water channel is cut in the stone pavement. A second entrance to the latrine led from the square in front of the theatre'.²⁹ Two latrines (16.5 x 8.3 m and 12.6 x 9.3 m) were found in the western bath which was built at the end of the 4th century. One of these latrines is close to the main entrance, used by non-bathers.³⁰

Caesarea Maritima

Built by Herod the Great on the coast of his Judean Kingdom, this city served as a major focal point in the international commercial exchange network of the Mediterranean and Near Eastern world for over six centuries. It was a cosmopolitan center during the Roman and Byzantine Periods (up to the time of the crusades), where Jews and gentiles resided.³¹ There are many rabbinic texts that mention rabbis in Caesarea, including Rabbi Abbahu who had resided and was active in this city in the late 3rd to 4th century C.E.³²

A rectangular public latrine that was not related to a bath was found in Caesarea. The entrance for this latrine is located in the *decumanus* (an east-west oriented road in a Roman city) close to the *cardo*. The latrine is described as follows:

Channels 0.45 m wide and 1.75 m deep ran along its S and W walls. A horizontal recess above the channels indicated the level of a bench, probably of marble. The black and white mosaic floor was bordered by a strip of stones along the foot of the bench that had a shallow channel cut into it. Water emerged from a ceramic pipe for use in washing hands and flowed along this shallow channel, before draining into the main sewer beneath the *decumanus*.³³

In addition, in a nearby public bath, there was a small latrine which used the excess water from the cold room (*frigidarium*). This latrine was only for the use of bathers, without access from the street.³⁴

Another Roman public latrine was found in a suburb of Caesarea.³⁵ In this wealthy suburb, archaeologists found a latrine which was part of a bath dated from the end of the Byzantine period (about 550-640). The excavators suggest that 'the building did not serve the public' but 'it probably

belonged to another of the luxury villas built on the high ground to the northeast of Caesarea'.³⁶ The identification of the site as a private bath 'was based on the small size of the actual hot-bath facility that could accommodate no more than two bathers at a time'.³⁷ However, Fred Horton challenges this assumption, quoting Yegül's argument that 'there is an overall tendency in late antiquity towards the reduction of large communal pools in favor of small and individual bathing facilities - basins, tubs, and bathing alcoves'.³⁸ Therefore, according to Horton, the bath 'was established and maintained as a commercial enterprise'.³⁹

Eleutheropolis (Beth Guvrin)

This city is located in the ancient district of Idumaea, becoming the capital of the district in 40 B.C.E. In the year 200 C.E., Septimius Severus re-founded Beth Guvrin as the *polis* of Eleutheropolis. Since then, it served as the capital of Idumaea and controlled the largest city territory in late Roman Palestine. Eleutheropolis flourished through the Roman and Byzantine periods.⁴⁰ There was a majority of gentiles in the city but also a Jewish community, including rabbis, at least until the 4th century.⁴¹

In Beth Guvrin, only part of the public latrine was preserved (8 x 5 m) and the original area measurement is not clear. Channels of 0.60 m wide and 2.5 m deep ran along the walls. Most of the benches were not preserved.⁴²

Jerusalem

After the destruction of the city in 70 C.E., the Tenth Roman Legion was stationed in Jerusalem. Later, following the Bar Kokhba revolt (132-135), a colony, named Aelia Capitolina, was established on the ruins of Jerusalem. According to Dio Cassius, Hadrian banned the Jews from visiting or residing in the city. However, there is evidence of Jews visiting Jerusalem during the Roman and Byzantine periods and perhaps some even lived there.⁴³

Two public latrines were found in the Roman bath located west of the Western Wall (of the Temple Mount). According to Eilat Mazar, this bath was part of the Tenth Legion camp.⁴⁴

Mount Gerizim

This place was an important holy center for the Samaritans. At the end of the 5th century C.E. the Samaritan Temple was destroyed by the Byzantines and a church was built in its place. According to Y. Magen, in this church there was a public latrine

that was built above a sewer channel. Instead of the small trench that was cut at the foot of the toilet bench for washing a sponge in many latrines, there are stone plates with round holes. According to Magen, these holes were used for mobile containers of water for washing.⁴⁵

In summary, the archaeological remains of latrines in Palestine are not different from the remains of latrines in other parts of the Roman Empire. From the discussion above, it appears that public latrines were found in three kinds of communities: 1) in places where no Jewish community existed, such as Jerusalem and Mount Gerizim; 2) in places with a majority of gentiles, but also with Jewish communities, such as Eleutheropolis (Beth Guvrin) and Scythopolis (Beth She'an); and 3) in a gentile city where there was a big Jewish community such as Caesarea Maritima. As for the cities with a majority of Jews, such as Tiberias and Sepphoris, no archaeological remains of public latrines from the Roman-Byzantine periods have as yet been found. In addition, such facilities were not found in rural areas either.

These finds are the basis for Baruch and Amar's claim that Roman public latrines were found mainly in cities with a majority of gentiles, while in areas with a majority of Jews, different latrines or chamber pots were used.⁴⁶ Baruch and Amar base their claim not on archaeological remains of a special Jewish latrine, but on the lack of archaeological remains. My claim is that such a conclusion is not valid in this case.

First, there is no archaeological evidence for a different public latrine in the Jewish area. Since there are Roman cities in which public as well as private latrines were found, the remains of private latrines could not be used as evidence for Jewish rejection of the Roman public latrine.⁴⁷ More specifically, the use of chamber pots, for example, prevailed all over the Roman Empire and did not stem from a principal rejection of the public toilet.⁴⁸ Thus, it is quite reasonable that many Jews relieved themselves in this way, but the use of chamber pots in itself is not sufficient evidence for rabbinic or Jewish rejections of the Roman public latrine.

Further, in order to archaeologically prove such a rejection, it is necessary to find a public latrine with a different design. This claim is in accordance with Scobie's claim:

It seems reasonably clear that Romans did not feel embarrassment or shame in *foricae*; otherwise different design features such as cubicles with doors would have been standard in these facilities.⁴⁹

Since no public latrines with such design features - or with other designs that imply privacy - were found in the Jewish areas, there is no archaeological evidence as yet to support Baruch and Amar's claim that 'in areas with a majority of Jews, different latrines were used'.⁵⁰

Second, archaeological evidence may be found in the future. For example, even Baruch and Amar acknowledge that there was a public latrine in Tiberias since there is written evidence (*b. Berakot* 62a) for its existence.⁵¹ In this text, there is nothing that hints at a different design or practice from those used by the Romans. In addition, a considerable part of the city has not yet been excavated, and in the last excavation season a public latrine from the later Muslim period was found.⁵² Thus, it is reasonable to assume that such a facility did exist there before.

Third, according to Zeev Weiss, several scholars claim that:

The Jewish cities did not differ architecturally and artistically from other cities in Roman Palestine. The plans of Tiberias and Sepphoris, including the public buildings, reflect the general urbanization of Roman Palestine during the first centuries of the Common Era.⁵³

However, the cities with a majority of Jews differed from other cities in Roman Palestine in two architectural features: 1) they had fewer three-dimensional sculptures, and; 2) they had fewer pagan temples.⁵⁴ In order to add the Roman public latrine to this list, evidence is required.

In conclusion, it is impossible to prove that the Jews or rabbis rejected the public latrine on the basis of archaeological remains (or the lack of them); thus, the rabbinic written evidence should be examined in order to find out whether there was a rabbinic rejection of the Roman public latrine.

USING THE RABBINIC EVIDENCE: A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Before dealing with rabbinic texts that mention the public Roman latrine, it is important to lay a methodological approach. The rabbinic sources should be divided into two groups, according to the place of origin. One group includes texts that were created in Palestine under Roman and Byzantine rule, such as the Mishnah, the Palestinian Talmud (4th century C.E.), and midrashim, such as Genesis Rabbah and Leviticus Rabbah (5th-6th centuries). The second group includes the Talmud that was created in Babylonia, mostly under Sassanid rule.⁵⁵

The basic assumption of this paper is that despite the fact that in the Babylonian Talmud there are traditions about Palestinian rabbis or quotations from their teachings, it is not correct to use them as evidence for the Land of Israel without critical examination. These traditions in the Babylonian Talmud should be compared first to what is found in the Palestinian group of sources. In the case in which a specific tradition in the Babylonian Talmud contradicts or does not exist in the Palestinian group, we cannot simply assume that this tradition reflects a Palestinian source. In the case in which a specific tradition appears in both the Babylonian Talmud and Palestinian texts, a close comparison should be made in order to categorize the content and tendency of this tradition in each text.⁵⁶

This basic methodological approach is particularly important when dealing with facilities, such as the Roman public latrine, that did not exist under the Sassanid Empire where the Babylonian Talmud was composed.⁵⁷ In the next pages, the rabbinic traditions about the latrine will be divided into Babylonian and Palestinian traditions (groups) in order to reveal the attitude about latrines among the rabbis in each center.

As previously stated, the goal of this paper is to explore not only the rabbinic attitude about the latrine, but also its architectural design. However, it is not an easy task to reveal the design of the latrines from the rabbinic texts, primarily because the main expression that is used for toilet in these texts does not distinguish the Roman public latrine (*forica*) or any other public latrines from private ones. The Hebrew expression **בית הכסא**, which literally means the 'house of the chair', is a euphemism for a latrine - public and private as well. For this reason, only the context of each passage may disclose which facility is mentioned.

Another Hebrew expression **בית המים**, which literally means the 'house of the water', functions, in most of its occurrences, as a euphemism for a toilet that was flushed by water. Thus, the expression fits the architectural feature of the Roman public latrine (or the private latrine of the very wealthy).⁵⁸ However, the use of this expression is rare.⁵⁹

Thus, since the toilet terms in rabbinic texts often do not distinguish between private and public latrines, or between latrines that were flushed by water or other facilities that did not use water, in the next pages, when an architectural design could be reconstructed while discussing a specific text it will be mentioned.

THE RABBINIC EVIDENCE

As was said before, according to Baruch and Amar, the rabbis rejected the Roman latrine mainly because of the public display and lack of privacy of 'bodily exertions'. Thus, they claim that the rabbis in Palestine emphasized the importance of modesty in the toilet.

THE BABYLONIAN TRADITION

Close examination of the sources indicates that the traditions which emphasize modesty in the latrine appear in the Babylonian Talmud. Even when some of these Babylonian traditions quote Palestinian rabbis, no parallel texts could be found in the Palestinian group of sources. For example, in tractate *Berakot* 62a-62b of the Babylonian Talmud which is dedicated to the proper behavior in the latrine, many of the rabbinic traditions about the importance of modesty in the latrine appear. Therefore, this section of the Babylonian Talmud will be discussed in the next pages:

Said Rabbi Tanhum son of Hanilai, 'Whoever behaves modestly in the latrine is saved from three things: snakes, scorpions, and demons (מִיִּקִּין).' Some say, 'Also his dreams rest easy on him (*b. Berakot* 62a).'⁶⁰

This teaching encourages modest behavior in the latrine by explaining its benefits. It seems that these first three benefits exactly correspond to the dangers that one may encounter in the latrine. Snakes and scorpions may be common in the latrine, as well as the demons that according to traditions in the Babylonian Talmud, gather there. This teaching - like some of the following teachings in *b. Berakot* 62a-62b - presents modesty in the latrine as a safety measure against the demons of the latrine.

The rabbi who was quoted in the previous teaching is Rabbi *Tanhum*, son of Hanilai, a Palestinian rabbi; however, no parallel of this teaching could be found in any Palestinian text. Moreover, the theme of the demons in the latrine receives several references in the Babylonian Talmud; some of them will be mentioned here. In *b. Sabbat* 67a a suggestion appears relating what to say to the demon of the latrine in order to deal with him; in *b. Qiddushin* 72a there is a description of what the latrine demons look like; in *b. Gittin* 70a appears a warning of having sexual intercourse with one's wife soon after visiting the latrine since the demon of the latrine might follow a person from the latrine to his home and badly affect the future offspring;

in *b. Berakot* 62a appears a description of how a wife and a mother of important Babylonian Rabbis protect these rabbis against the latrine demons.⁶¹

According to Baruch and Amar, the appearance of such traditions - concerning demons in the latrine - in the rabbinic literature may stem from the rabbinic attempt to deter Jews from using the Roman public latrines.⁶² However, there are some problems with this claim; first, several of these Babylonian traditions do not distinguish between private and public latrines, thus the danger of the latrine demons is not exclusively related to the public latrine. Second, at least two of these traditions suggest practical ways to deal with the latrine demon. Therefore, the goal of these traditions is not to deter people from using these facilities. Third, no such tradition concerning a demon in the latrine has been preserved in Palestinian texts where Roman public latrines were in use. Fourth, the specific linking between demons and latrines may be explained with an examination of the Zoroastrian laws implemented by the Sassanid Empire in which the rabbis of the Babylonian Talmud resided. Jamsheed K. Choksy explains that according to Zoroastrian laws there is a fundamental link between demons and excrement:

All substances that leave or are separated from the human body become ritually polluted. At the moment they become polluted, these materials are regarded as dead matter and become capable of spreading impurity caused by the demons ... in Zoroastrian doctrine, these substances are termed excrement ... and are open to grave pollution by the Corpse Demoness.⁶³

Later in this paper, I will discuss scholarly suggestions concerning the cultural influence of the Zoroastrian laws upon the Babylonian Talmud. However, regarding demons, Isaiah Gafni shows that the demonology of the Babylonian Talmud was influenced by 'Iranian mythology'.⁶⁴ Therefore, it seems reasonable that the above-mentioned Babylonian Talmud traditions reflect Zoroastrian influence.

Yet, it is important to note that - concerning the latrine - this Zoroastrian influence on the Babylonian Talmud is limited to the association between the demons and the latrine. Concerning Zoroastrian concepts of pollution, neither rabbinic texts from Babylonia, nor those from Palestine assume excrement as causing ritual pollution.⁶⁵

All in all, the fact that such Zoroastrian influence concerning the latrine can be traced in the Babylonian Talmud raises questions of our ability to apply these traditions - as well as the next

Babylonian Talmud traditions - as evidence for Palestinian rabbinic concepts.

Another tradition regarding modesty in the latrine discusses the Babylonian rabbi, *Rav Nahman*: There was a funeral orator who went down before *R. Nahman* (to speak), and made the statement, 'The deceased was modest in his ways.' Said *R. Nahman* to him, 'Did you go with him to the latrine that you know whether he was modest or not modest?' 'For it has been taught on Tannaite Authority: "People are called modest only in respect to modesty in the latrine"' (*b. Berakot* 62a).

According to this tradition, the way one behaves in the latrine is the criterion for a modest man. The 'tannaite authority' at the end of this quotation is brought in to reinforce the message: 'People are called modest only in respect to modesty in the latrine.' This 'tannaite authority', which is supposed to represent a Palestinian early tradition (3rd century C.E. and earlier), cannot be found in Palestinian texts.

These two traditions stress the importance of latrine modesty, but do not explain its specific meaning. However, from reading *b. Berakot* 62a-62b, this explanation could be given for the Babylonian rabbinic opinion about modesty in bodily excretions - no other man should see another man's uncovered body during defecation or urination.⁶⁶ Such modesty is required from two sides - the watcher and the one who might be seen - as was thought from another teaching of a Babylonian rabbi:

Said *Abbaye* to rabbis, 'when you are going through the paths of *Mahoza* to go out to the field, do not look to this side or the other side, lest be men sitting around, for it would not be proper to stare at them.' (*b. Berakot* 62b)⁶⁷

A COMPARISON OF A BABYLONIAN TRADITION WITH A PALESTINIAN TRADITION

As previously stated, none of these Babylonian traditions has any parallel in Palestinian texts. However, the next stories do have a parallel in the Palestinian Talmud. Thus, a careful comparison between the following Babylonian text and its Palestinian equivalent could contribute towards understanding the different view of each center about the decent behavior in the latrine:

It has been taught on Tannaite authority:
Said Rabbi *Aqiba*, I once entered after Rabbi Joshua to the latrine and I learned the three things from him.

I learned that one defecates not on an east-west axis but on a north-south axis.

I learned that one uncovers himself not standing but sitting.

I learned that one wipes not with the right hand but with the left.

Said Ben Azzai to him, Do you behave that insolently toward your master?

He said to him, 'It is a matter of Torah, which I need to learn.'

It has been taught on Tannaite authority:

Ben Azzai says,

I once entered after Rabbi *Aqiba* to the latrine and I learned the three things from him.

I learned that one defecates not on an east-west axis but on a north-south axis.

I learned that one uncovers himself not standing but sitting.

I learned that one wipes not with the right hand but with the left.

Said *R. Judah* to him, Do you behave that insolently toward your master?

He said to him, 'It is a matter of Torah, which I need to learn.'

R. Kahana went and hid under *Rab's* bed. He heard [*Rab* and his wife] 'conversing' and laughing and doing what comes naturally. He said to him, 'It appears that *Abba's* mouth has never before tasted "the dish".'

He said to him, '*Kahana*, are you here! Get out! That's disgraceful!'

He said to him, 'It is a matter of Torah, which I need to learn.' (*b. Berakot* 62a)

The first two stories actually depict the same tradition with different rabbis. These stories demonstrate the idea that one's behavior in the latrine is part of the Torah, the religious law.⁶⁸ From the instructions themselves, one is related to modesty: 'I learned that one uncovers himself not standing but sitting.'

However, following one's master to the latrine is an insolent behavior and insults his privacy. This message could be assumed both from the direct criticism: 'Do you behave that insolently toward your master?' and from the insertion of the third story about *R. Kahana*, a Babylonian rabbi, who hid under his master's bed while his master had sexual intercourse with his own wife. This story about *R. Kahana* appears separately, without the 'latrine' stories, in another tractate of the Babylonian Talmud.⁶⁹ The decision of the Babylonian Talmud redactor to insert this story here suggests

that to go after one's master to the latrine is equally insulting as laying under one's master's bed during the master's sexual intercourse. When turning to the parallel of these stories in the Palestinian Talmud, a different picture is revealed:

Said Rabbi *Aqiba*, 'I followed Rabbi Joshua to observe his habits.'

They said to him, 'What did you see?'

He said to them, 'I saw him sitting with his side facing west. He did not uncover himself until he sat down. He did not sit down until he had rubbed the place.⁷⁰ And he did not wipe with his right hand, but with his left.'

So Simeon b. Azzai used to say, 'I followed Rabbi *Aqiba* to observe his habits.' They said to him, 'what did you see?' Etc. (*y. Berakot* 14c, 9: 5).⁷¹

The Palestinian version of this story contains very similar details about the decent behavior in the latrine, including a modesty concern: 'He did not uncover himself until he sat down.'⁷² It is not clear whether the setting of this story is the Roman public latrine, yet this tradition suggests that it is possible to behave modestly even when one relieves himself before other people.⁷³

However, in contrast to the Babylonian version, the Palestinian version of these stories contains no criticism of the one who follows his master to the latrine. In this Palestinian version, the audience who listens to Rabbi *Aqiba* shows interest in hearing about the master's behavior in the latrine in order to learn from it. In addition, a third story was not inserted. Thus, only the Babylonian version suggests the idea that following one's master to the latrine being equally as repugnant as lying under one's master's bed during his sexual intercourse. Even if it is not clear whether the setting of these stories is in the Roman public latrine, it is clear that for the Palestinian tradition it is acceptable to imagine two rabbis together in a public latrine. Therefore, it seems that the public latrine was seen by the Palestinian rabbis as very similar to the public bath, implying that there is no rejection of the latrine.

THE PALESTINIAN TRADITION

Another text from the Palestinian Talmud supports the claim that in the Land of Israel, rabbis may enter the latrine together:

Rabbi Jacob the son of *Idi* in the Name of Rabbi Joshua the son of Levi: 'It is permissible to ask questions about the laws of the bathhouse in the bathhouse itself, laws of the latrine in the

latrine itself.' (*y. Sabbath* 6a, 3:4)⁷⁴

From linking together the bathhouse and the latrine, it seems that in this text the setting is the Roman public latrine. The assumption of this text is that rabbis may enter the latrine together since someone asks a question about the laws and someone answers while they are both in the latrine itself.⁷⁵ The discussion of the Palestinian Talmud focuses on the question as to whether it is permissible to speak about holy laws (Torah) in a dirty place. However, two rabbis using the latrine together does not appear to be a problem.

Indeed, the setting of the next story of the Palestinian Talmud (4th century) is the Roman public latrine:

Rabbi *Eleazar* went into the toilet. Came the officer of the Romans and made him get up and (the officer) sat down himself. (Rabbi *Eleazar*) Said: from all these people here he did not make a person getting up but me. It is impossible that I will go out of here until we will know what will be in his end. And was there a snake ... (*y. Sabbath* 8c, 6:10).⁷⁶

In this story, the fact that Rabbi *Eleazar* uses the Roman public latrine is not a problem, nor the fact that a Roman uses the same latrine with a rabbi. The only issue is that this Roman misbehaves while he takes Rabbi *Eleazar*'s place. The existence of such a story demonstrates that the rabbis who told it did not think it inappropriate to imagine a rabbi in a Roman public latrine.

These traditions, together with the lack of any Palestinian text that includes rejection of the Roman public latrine, suggest that such a rejection did not exist among the rabbis in the Land of Israel, where such facilities were in use. Such rejection of the Roman public latrine was solely a view of the Rabbis of Babylonia where these facilities did not exist.

The only Palestinian text that portrays a different design feature of the public latrine appears in Mishnah *Tamid* that depicts the Temple in Jerusalem:

There was a fire there and a latrine of dignity (*בית כסא של כבוד*), and that was its dignity (*כבודו*): if he found it locked he knew that some one was there; if open he knew that no one was there (*m. Tamid* 1:1).⁷⁷

This latrine was used by priests in the temple and is completely different from the Roman public latrine, since according to the Mishnah each priest defecates in privacy.⁷⁸ However, this latrine is unique; first, because of its name - 'a latrine of dignity'. If that was the standard latrine among

the Jews, it was enough to call it 'a latrine'.⁷⁹ Second, this latrine was in the temple and for the use of its priests. Thus, it may be a special latrine. Baruch and Amar use this text when they try to explain why the rabbis in Palestine rejected the Roman public latrine, but did not reject the bath. According to their suggestion, the rabbis adopted the norm of the Temple latrine into their everyday life.⁸⁰ Since according to the claim of this paper, the rabbis in Palestine did not reject the Roman public latrine, this suggestion may be valid solely for the rabbis in Babylonia.⁸¹

THE MODEL OF THE RABBIS IN BABYLONIA AND THEIR AWARENESS OF THE PALESTINIAN REALITY

The next text supports the idea that the Babylonian rabbis used Mishnah *Tamid* 1:1 as a model for decent behavior in the latrine:

R. Safra entered a latrine. *R. Aba* came and cleared his throat at the door.⁸²

He said to him, 'Let sir come in.'

When he came out, he (*R. Aba*) said to him: Until now you have not yet gone to *Seir* (Rome) and already you have learnt the things of *Seir*. Have we not learned in the Mishnah:

'There was a fire there and a latrine of dignity (בית כסא של כבוד), and that was its dignity: if he found it locked he knew that some one was there; if open he knew that no one was there (*m. Tamid* 1:1).'

We see therefore, that it is not proper (for two men to be in a latrine at the same time). (*b. Berakot* 62b, *b. Tamid* 27b).

This Babylonian tradition uses Mishnah *Tamid* as a model for behavior in the latrine. Thus, it is not proper for two men to be in a latrine at the same time. The latrine in the story has a door, and there is a practice of making a noise at the entrance in order to find out if someone is there. In addition, this text reveals awareness among the rabbis in Babylonia that in the Land of Israel the reality is different: 'Until now you have not yet gone to *Seir* (Rome) and already you have learnt the things of *Seir*.' *R. Safra* is known in the Babylonian Talmud as a Babylonian rabbi who came to Palestine.⁸³ Palestine, at that time, was under Roman rule and there is no evidence for a different toilet practice there.

Another story from the Babylonian Talmud about the public latrine in Tiberias describes that 'if two persons entered together even by day, they came to harm. *R. Ammi* and *R. Assi* used to enter it separately, and they suffered no harm' (*b. Berakot*

62a). This story was included in the Babylonian Talmud in order to bring the message of modesty in the latrine. However, this text again reveals awareness among the rabbis in Babylonia that in Palestine the practice in the latrine was different from their own expected standard. Only *R. Ammi* and *R. Assi* knew how to use the latrine safely. 'Surprisingly', these two rabbis are both Babylonian rabbis who immigrated to the Land of Israel.⁸⁴

WHAT MOTIVATED THE BABYLONIAN RABBIS?

For a modern reader, it is natural to ask for privacy in the latrine, but since at that early time such privacy was not necessary in the Roman world, including the rabbis in Palestine, it is important to explain what motivated the Babylonian rabbis to stress the link between modesty and the latrine.

One explanation is that the lack of the Roman culture allowed the rabbis in Babylonia to use the latrine of the Temple as their model for decent behavior in the latrine. According to this explanation, the rabbis in Palestine did not use the 'dignity' latrine of the priests in the temple as their model because of the prevailing Roman concept that there is no problem with defecation or urination without privacy. In such an environment, the existence of Roman public latrines was not an issue. In contrast to Palestine, in Persia, under the Sassanid rule, these Roman public facilities did not exist and the rabbis could have adopted the model of the temple latrine for their daily life.

A second explanation goes one step further and looks to the surroundings and environment within which the rabbis lived in Babylonia. There are different opinions among scholars about the Persian influence upon the Jews who lived there, and specifically upon the rabbis. Isaiah Gafni claims that there was a Persian influence, particularly in areas in which syncretistic tendencies usually manifest themselves: 'magic, astrology, demonology and other aspects of popular religion and culture'.⁸⁵ Yaakov Elman argues that there is an influence from an elite Iranian religious teaching and practice upon the elite rabbinic teaching.⁸⁶

However, when looking for the norms of Zoroastrianism, which was the ruling religion under the Sassanid regime, there are some interesting findings regarding defecation and urination. As was said before, according to Zoroastrian laws, all that leaves the living body - including excrement, blood, cut nails and hair - is a cause of pollution and impurity.⁸⁷ Therefore Mary Boyce wrote that 'Zoroastrians are required to pass water squatting, not standing, as sanitary precaution'.⁸⁸ According

to Jamsheed K. Choksy:

Herodotus (I:133), Xenophon (8:8.II), and Ammianus Marcellinus (23: 6.79) all noted the precautions taken by Zoroastrians to prevent pollutions of the good creations through urination. This ritual precaution was required because both urine and feces are waste products of food, which are liable to pollution by the demons.⁸⁹

It is impossible to be sure whether the Babylonian rabbis thought that the way which Zoroastrians relieved themselves was considered modest. It is also impossible to be sure that the Zoroastrian laws influenced the rabbis to develop modest practices in the latrine. However, one text from the Babylonian Talmud may hint at a Zoroastrian influence:

Said *Rabban Gamaliel*, 'For three things do I like the Persians: They are modest when they eat. They are modest in the latrine. They are modest in conducting another matter' [sexual relations] (*b. Berakhot* 8b).⁹⁰

This tradition was quoted from *Rabban Gamaliel* who lived in the Land of Israel, but again no parallels could be found in Palestinian texts. Thus, this text may be the key for understanding the development of the Babylonian rabbinic inclination to modesty in the latrine.

CONCLUSION

This paper examines two questions: did the rabbis in Palestine really reject the Roman public latrine? And if it was rejected by the rabbis, can we find any archaeological remains or written texts that suggest a different design for a public latrine in Palestine? Distinguishing between the evidence from Palestine and that from Babylonia has revealed a different picture concerning the norms of the latrine in each center.

Among the rabbis in the Land of Israel, where Roman public latrines were in use, no rejection of this facility can be found. In the Palestinian rabbinic texts there is no teaching that suggests the impropriety of using a latrine together with other men or a teaching that suggests that the behavior of a person in the latrine is a main criterion for evaluating his modesty. Moreover, Palestinian rabbis used public latrines, as was found in the Palestinian texts. In addition, there is no archaeological evidence suggesting a special design of a public latrine that implies privacy. Only one text suggests a different design for a public latrine. However, this text concerns the Temple in Jerusalem and no

later Palestinian text uses it as a model.

Thus, in answer to the two questions that were mentioned above, first, there is no evidence that the rabbis in Palestine rejected the Roman public latrine. Second, almost no written texts and no archaeological remains that suggest a different design for a public latrine in Palestine have yet been found.

The origin of the emphasis on privacy and modesty in the latrine does not come from Palestinian texts, but from the Babylonian Talmud. Although there are often 'quotations' of Palestinian rabbis concerning modesty in the latrine in the Babylonian Talmud, no parallel of these quotations could be found in the Palestinian texts. In the Babylonian Talmud, Mishnah *Tamid*'s description of the Temple's latrine is used as a model for appropriate behavior in the latrine and the recommendations for one's behavior are developed accordingly. Thus, it is improper for two men to be in a latrine at the same time because no other man should see another man's uncovered body during defecation or urination. Such modesty is required from two sides: the watcher and the one who might be seen. Further, this modesty was understood by the Babylonian rabbis as an important safety measure against the demons of the latrine. In addition, there is awareness among the rabbis in Babylonia that in Palestine, under the Roman and the Byzantine rule, the common toilet practice is different from the Babylonian concept of the required modesty. As for the design of the latrine, we have no archaeological evidence of the design features of the latrines in Persia, but it is clear that the Roman public latrine did not exist there. However, the Babylonian texts suggest a latrine with a door, but also depict people who relieved themselves outside in the fields.

As an explanation for the Babylonian Talmud's emphasis on modesty in the latrine, Zoroastrian laws concerning toilet practice may have influenced the rabbis to develop their recommendations. However, this suggestion still requires more research.

This study has tried to explore the relation between concepts of modesty, human architecture and daily practice. The study also has illuminated a small piece of the way in which Jews accommodated to Greco-Roman culture. In this respect, this study demonstrates that among the rabbis in Palestine - at least based on present available evidence - no special ideological rejection of the Roman public latrine existed.

In addition, this study has confirmed the importance of considering the unique background of

the Babylonian Talmud, as well as the importance of being critical in using the Babylonian Talmud traditions as evidence for the cultural and ideological views prevailing among the rabbis in the Land of Israel.

NOTES

- * I would like to thank Sheila Dillon for her course in Roman architecture which inspired me to write this paper, and to Eric Meyers, Lucas Van Rompay, Jodi Magness and Ben Gordon for their valuable comments.
- ¹ Scobie 1986, 429-430.
 - ² As examples for the general studies, see Neudecker 1994; Koloski-Ostrow 2004, 48-55; 1996.
 - ³ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 27-50 [Hebrew].
 - ⁴ I will use both Palestine and the Land of Israel in this paper. The name Palestine was the Roman name of the province since 135 C.E., including Judaea, Galilee, Samaria, the coastal zone, and Idumaea. The Land of Israel was the Jewish Name.
 - ⁵ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 37-39.
 - ⁶ These rabbinic sources begin from the Mishnah that was redacted around 200 C.E. (but may contain earlier traditions) to the Babylonian Talmud that was 'redacted in the 5th through 7th centuries'. See Rubenstein 1999, 3.
 - ⁷ Hoss 2005. Examples of previous articles: Eliav 1995 [Hebrew]; 2000; Reich 1989 [Hebrew].
 - ⁸ According to Hoss 2005, 92-95, between the middle of the 2nd century B.C.E. to 70 C.E. there were private Hellenistic baths in Judea, usually in the palaces of kings and the aristocracy. Hoss adds that 'Only few and comparatively small *thermae* and private baths were built in Palestine during the first two centuries after coming under Roman influence.'
 - ⁹ Hoss 2005, 95-96.
 - ¹⁰ The main argument is between Eliav and Reich. According to Eliav 1995, no rejection of the bath could be found among the Jews. In addition, Eliav claims that early remains of baths were not found in the area (including the Greek cities) and this lack is not unique for the Jews. In contrast, Reich (1989) argues that there were rejections to the Roman Bath among the Jews. See also Hoss 2005, 11-14.
 - ¹¹ For example: *y. Ber.* 5c, 2:8; *y. Betzah* 60c, 1:7; *Leviticus Rabbah* 34: 10.
 - ¹² Yegül 1992, 411.
 - ¹³ Sperber 1998, 146-147, n. 87; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 32.
 - ¹⁴ For a general discussion about Jewish concepts of nudity, see Hoss 2005, 12-13.
 - ¹⁵ Satlow 1997, 453-454.
 - ¹⁶ Satlow 1997, 440, 444.
 - ¹⁷ Eliav 1995, 440.
 - ¹⁸ Although some rabbinic texts suggest nude bathing, scholars are not in agreement about whether Jews used to bath completely naked. See the discussion in Hoss 2005, 75-76.
 - ¹⁹ No rabbinic sources discuss the problem of mixing genders in the latrine, so this issue could not be the explanation for the claim that the rabbis rejected the Roman public latrine.
 - ²⁰ Koloski-Ostrow 2004, 50; Merletto 2000, 303.
 - ²¹ See Neudecker 1994. According to Koloski-Ostrow (2000, 289-290) 'in the 1st century BC and early in the 1st century AD, public latrines were not luxurious sites,

- and the social reality of these spaces was far from palatable.'
- ²² See Neudecker 1994, 40-71, 154-155; Koloski-Ostrow 2004, 50; Merletto 2000, 301-303.
 - ²³ Yegül 1992 411; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 29.
 - ²⁴ Koloski-Ostrow 2004, 53; 2000, 291.
 - ²⁵ A league of 10 cities, all of them (with the exception of Scythopolis) located on the eastern side of the Jordan River.
 - ²⁶ Mazor/ Bar-Nathan 1999, 64 [Hebrew]; Mazor/ Bar-Nathan 1994, 117 [Hebrew].
 - ²⁷ Fuks, 1982, 412-415.
 - ²⁸ According to Mazor and Bar-Nathan 1999, 65 there was a latrine in the Roman phase of the bath but it is impossible to reconstruct it.
 - ²⁹ Mazor 1999, 299-300; Mazor/ Bar-Nathan 1994, 128-129; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 30.
 - ³⁰ Mazor/ Bar-Nathan, 1994, 126; 1996, 14, 20, 22; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 30.
 - ³¹ Blakely 1987, xi.
 - ³² Lachs 1970, 197.
 - ³³ Patrich et al. 1999, 87.
 - ³⁴ Porat 1996, 40 [Hebrew]; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 29.
 - ³⁵ I would like to thank Jodi Magness for directing me to this finding.
 - ³⁶ Holm et al. 1988, 182-183. However, according to Horton (1996, 184) 'the question of absolute dating for the structure is anything but a closed subject'.
 - ³⁷ Horton 1996, 188.
 - ³⁸ Yegül 1992, 461 n. 88. Yegül explains these changes as follows: 'This may be an indication of the necessity for conserving water; it may also have a more profound social and ethical significance in the evolution of bathing habits, from communal to individual, due to the emphasis placed on the privacy of the body and bodily functions in keeping with Christian and Islamic thought.' However, no change is mentioned regarding the latrine size or form.
 - ³⁹ Horton 1996, 188-189.
 - ⁴⁰ Magness/ Avni 1998, 87-88; Kloner 1999, 244-246. Cited 9 January 2007. Online: <http://www.christusrex.net/www1/ofm/mad/articles/KlonerEleutheropolis.html>
 - ⁴¹ Magness/ Avni 1998, 113.
 - ⁴² Baruch/ Amar 2004, 29; Hoss 2005, 129.
 - ⁴³ Mazar 2002, 63-64; Eliav 2005, 83-84, 192-193.
 - ⁴⁴ Mazar 2002, 72; 1999, 52-67 [Hebrew]; Baruch/ Amar 2004, 30.
 - ⁴⁵ Magen 2000, 139 [Hebrew].
 - ⁴⁶ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 37-39: 'It seems that the public latrines were primarily in sites in which there was a concentration of the gentile population.' (p. 38). However, Baruch and Amar acknowledge the existence of a public latrine in Tiberias (p. 39).
 - ⁴⁷ According to Koloski-Ostrow (1996, 81): 'Our notions about private latrines, especially in the houses of Pompeii and Herculaneum, are currently being challenged by the Dutch archaeologist G. Jansen, who has found that virtually every house in Pompeii and Herculaneum had a cesspit latrine.' These private toilets were found in addition to the public latrines.
 - ⁴⁸ Scobie 1986, 416-417.
 - ⁴⁹ Scobie 1986, 429-430.
 - ⁵⁰ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 37-39.
 - ⁵¹ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 39. This text is discussed later on page 191. However, my argument that archaeological findings may be found in the future could be valid even without this Babylonian evidence.

- ⁵² The archaeological excavation report had not yet been published but the Israeli daily newspaper *Haaretz* reported the finding on 4/24/2007 in an article by Eli Ashkenazi (אלי אשכנזי). Cited 24 April 2007. Online: <http://www.haaretz.com/hasite/pages/ShArtPE.jhtml?itemNo=788867&contrassID=2&subContrassID=21&bSubContrassID=0>
- ⁵³ Weiss 1998, 240. Weiss mentions previous studies in his footnotes.
- ⁵⁴ Weiss 1998, 244-246.
- ⁵⁵ The importance of the separation between the Babylonian group and the Palestinian group appears in Efron 1987, 143-147.
- ⁵⁶ On this methodological approach, see: Friedman 1993 [Hebrew]; 2000.
- ⁵⁷ The Sassanid Empire followed the Zoroastrian laws (at least among the elite). According to Boyce 1975, 296, and Choksy 1989, 10-12, in the Zoroastrian laws, flowing water - an important component of the Roman public latrine - is sacred and should be protected from coming 'into contact with impure objects, such as excrement'.
- ⁵⁸ See, for example, the toilet that was found in the mansion in Sepporis in Meyers/Netzer/Meyers 1988, 89; Baruch/Amar 2004, 28.
- ⁵⁹ The expression *בית המים* ('the house of the water') appears primarily in the Tosefta: *Pesahim* 3:17; *Sanhadrin* 4:7, 8; *'Abodah Zarah* 3:4; *'Ohalot* 18:12. It is interesting to note that in the Tosefta the common expression *בית הכסא* ('the house of the chair') does not occur. In addition, the expression (in referring to the latrine) appears once in the Mishnah: *Megillah* 3:2 and in later rabbinic texts that quote this Mishnah. Many of the Jewish commentators - medieval and modern - have explained this expression ('the house of the water') as a urinal. However, careful reading of these texts indicates that the expression refers to latrines and not only to urinals. According to Liberman 1962, 535, 'in the language of the rabbis the term *בית המים* ('the house of the water') includes the latrine'. Some of the reasons for this understanding are: 1) in three of the Tosefta occurrences of *בית המים* ('the house of the water') the expression is attached to the bath, and thus, is in accord with our knowledge that the Roman public latrine is attached to the Roman bath; 2) it makes sense that many of the medieval commentators, who were not familiar with the role that water played in these Roman facilities, explained therefore the euphemism as related to the 'water of legs' which was the common rabbinic euphemism for the urine; 3) *t. Pesahim* 3:17 approves the kindling of a light in 'the house of the water' (*בית המים*) on the night of the Day of Atonement. The Palestinian Talmud *Pesahim* 31a, 4:4 (according to the Cairo Geniza) when discussing that approval, mentions latrines ('the houses of the chairs' *בתי כיסאיות*) and baths as the places of kindling a light. Thus, according to Liberman: "'the houses of the chairs" (*בתי כיסאיות*) in the Yerushalmi (Palestinian Talmud) is the "the house of the water" (*בית המים*) in the Tosefta.'
- ⁶⁰ The translations of *b. Berakot* here and in the following quotations are adapted from: Neusner 1996, 422.
- ⁶¹ Abbayye's mother and Raba's wife.
- ⁶² Baruch/Amar 2004, 39. It seems that the assumption behind Baruch and Amar's claim is that the rabbis themselves did not believe in these demons, but only used them to deter people. This assumption is very difficult to accept concerning the Babylonian Talmud traditions that were mentioned above.
- ⁶³ Choksy 1989, 78.
- ⁶⁴ Gafni 1990, 167-172 [Hebrew].
- ⁶⁵ See *y. Pesahim* 35b 7:12; Baruch/Amar 2004, 39; Magness 2002, 112. In contrast to the rabbis, scholars have argued that sectarian groups did consider defecation to be ritually polluting. For example, Magness 2002, 110-111, has suggested that the sectarian group of Qumran located near the Dead Sea (which ceased to exist by 70 C.E.) did consider defecation as ritually polluting. In addition, they required modesty in the latrine: 'The sectarians differed from contemporary Jews and non-Jews in regarding defecation as a polluting activity associated with impurity. They also differed in their concern for toilet privacy. This means that unlike everyone else, they did not defecate in view of others.' And compare Baumgarten 1996, 9-20. Concerning these issues, see also Baruch/Amar 2004, 35-39. According to Bar-Ilan 1989, 27-40 [Hebrew], the rabbis were familiar with the sectarians' view of excrement as unclean and polluting. Thus, close reading of specific rabbinic texts reveals the debate that the rabbis held against this sectarian view.
- ⁶⁶ These traditions are referring to men. There is no attention in *Berakot* 62a-62b to women among themselves.
- ⁶⁷ In the printed addition of the Talmud, instead of 'men' (*אנשי*) appears the word 'women' (*נשי*). This omission or addition of one or two letters (*א* or *א*) may change the meaning of this teaching completely. However, there are manuscripts that suggest men, among these manuscripts are: Munich 95 (*אנשי*) Cambridge -T-S F1 (2) 109 (*אנשי*); and see Rabinovich 1976, 72. In addition, the story that comes next to this tradition supports the meaning of men. This story about R. Safra is discussed further on page 191.
- ⁶⁸ Regarding these stories, see Boyarin 2004, 318-319 [Hebrew].
- ⁶⁹ *b. Hagigah* 5b.
- ⁷⁰ In Jastrow 1950, 1619, the suggestion is 'before rubbing (the rectum)'.
- ⁷¹ Zahavy 1982, 347.
- ⁷² In the Babylonian Talmud there is a problem that Ben Azzai first criticizes Rabbi *Aqiba* and then in the next story does the same things. It seems that the Palestinian Talmud is the origin of this Babylonian tradition. In the Babylonian Talmud the Palestinian tradition was developed and the lesson of modesty in the latrine - according to the Babylonian view - was brought in. Since the name of Ben Azzai was tied to a similar story in the Palestinian version, he was brought into the first Babylonian story as the one who criticizes Rabbi *Aqiba*, and then in the next story it was necessary to find out someone else as the one who criticizes, therefore, R. Judah was brought in.
- ⁷³ Another tradition that may hint to a similar view is the story in *y. Sukkah* 55c, 5:4, in which David watches Saul defecating in the cave. In the Palestinian Talmud this story is integrated to the description of the extreme measure of modesty that was performed by Saul and his family (as a royal family) and conceived as a virtue by David. Discussion about this story can be found in Satlow 1997, 439. The Babylonian version appears in *b. Berakot* 62b.
- ⁷⁴ The translation was adjusted from Neusner 1991, 135.
- ⁷⁵ In other Palestinian texts there are laws which regulate public latrine issues. For example, according to *t. 'Abodah Zarah* 3:4 it is not allowed to stay with a gentile in the latrine or in the bath when no other people are around. According to *t. Pesahim* 3:17 there were

lights in public latrines during the night. The Tosefta approves of kindling a light in the latrine on the night of the Day of Atonement.

- ⁷⁶ The next sentence is not clear, but from what follows it is clear that the officer was punished. See Sokoloff 1990, 156. The same story in variations also appears in later Palestinian midrashim of the 5th-6th centuries: *Genesis Rabbah*, 10:7 and *Leviticus Rabbah*, 22:4.
- ⁷⁷ The translation was adjusted from Danby 1933, 582.
- ⁷⁸ This entire chapter of this Mishnah deals with the daily routine of the priests in the Temple. I quoted here only the part which suggests a latrine with privacy. However, the Mishnah continues with the idea that after a priest in the Temple defecates, he should ritually immerse himself. The theme of immersion after defecation is beyond the scope of this study. See also notes 65 and 81.
- ⁷⁹ And it may not be necessary to explain what its dignity was.
- ⁸⁰ Baruch/ Amar 2004, 39.
- ⁸¹ In contrast to the rabbis in Palestine who did not adopt the toilet norms of the Temple into their daily life, (thus, did not request privacy in the toilet nor immersion after defecation), Magness 2002, 105-113, argues: 'Because the sectarians viewed themselves as a replacement for the temple and created by means of the sect a substitute for the sacrificial cult, temple purity laws were transferred to the lives of the members. The requirement of immersion after defecation and concern for toilet privacy among the priests serving in the temple were therefore made universal.' Concerning the same issue, see also Baruch/ Amar 2004, 36-37; Baumgarten 1996, 12.
- ⁸² In *b. Tamid* 27b manuscript versions the door is not mentioned, only the voice that R. Aba made.
- ⁸³ *b. Abodah Zarah* 4a; Lachs 1970, 207.
- ⁸⁴ According to the printed addition of the Babylonian Talmud, *R. Ammi* and *R. Assi* had a tradition (קבלה) of how to use the latrine safely. However, according to the manuscripts (Munich 95; Oxford Opp. Add. Fol. 23; Paris 671; Soncino 1484, Cambridge-T-SF1 (2) 109) the word is קיבלא or קבלא namely - a charm against demons. Sokoloff 2002, 1009. *R. Ammi* and *R. Assi* who came from Babylonia were - according to the Babylonian Talmud - the only rabbis in Tiberias who knew the charm against the latrine demon. The rabbinic traditions about the migration of *R. Ammi* and *R. Assi* could be found in Hyman 1964, 219, 234-235 [Hebrew].
- ⁸⁵ Gafni 1990, 149.
- ⁸⁶ Elman 2004, 33.
- ⁸⁷ There is also evidence in the Babylonian Talmud to the influence of the Zoroastrian practice regarding cut nails. According to Gafni 1990, 171, 'There is no doubt that customs or worries that we find in the Babylonian Talmud originated directly from beliefs which linked to the Iranian demonology. For example, the strictness (care) not to throw nails after paring them is according to the fear of throwing nails of the Iranian belief.' Therefore, 'the one who buries them (the cut nails) - (is) righteous, the one who burns them - (is) pious, the one who throws them - (is) wicked' (*b. Mo'ed Qatan* 18a).
- ⁸⁸ Boyce 1975, 306, 309.
- ⁸⁹ Choksy 1989, 87.
- ⁹⁰ The translation was adjusted from Neusner 1996, 48. There are strict Zoroastrian laws concerning the two other components that are mentioned in this text, eating and sexual intercourse. Description of laws dealing with sexual intercourse can be found in Boyce 1975, 306; Choksy 1989, 91-92. Description of laws dealing with

eating can be found in Boyce 1975, 311; Choks 1989, 85, 107.

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Gates in Late Antiquity in the Eastern Mediterranean

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Abstract

*In Late Antiquity, cities and other important settlements in the Eastern Mediterranean almost completely disappeared from view behind massive fortifications. The walled areas could then only be entered through a small number of highly visible gates. This article investigates the physical appearance of these gates. It presents an overview of their basic requirements and their additional architectural and figurative decoration. It then attempts to explain why these features were used and how this relates to the nature of the settlement - imperial capital, 'normal' city, border town or Christian sanctuary - to which they belonged.**

INTRODUCTION

The most conspicuous monumental achievements of Late Antiquity visible today are without doubt urban fortifications and Christian churches. The high visibility of both building types results from the solidness of their construction, which, at least in the case of fortifications, was required to fulfil their initial purpose of defence. However, unlike churches in which luxury was most often a compulsory constituent, the circuit wall has generally been considered a more prosaic component of the late antique city, an obligatory adjustment of the open Roman town to the 'troubled circumstances of the period'. When structures were erected for a functional purpose, this does not automatically imply that they cannot comprise imaginative elements intended for other, less-pressing objectives.

The most visible sections of an urban fortification were those through which all traffic to and from the centre had to pass - the gates. Indeed, it is hardly surprising that they came to play an extraordinary part in shaping and presenting a town to outsiders.¹ Just as the frontage and main entrance of a public building or house was the first feature with which a visitor came into contact, so were the fortification walls and the passages into the enclosed area conceived as the façades of a settlement, whether the circuit wall surrounded the entire built-up area or not.

This article will attempt to assess which considerations influenced the appearance of late antique gates and to what degree. First of all, we need to establish what the basic shape of a late antique city gate was, and how and why it differed from earlier Greek and Roman gates. Subsequently, an overview of features added to this basic form will be

presented, followed by a discussion of their spread and purpose. For this task, the Theodosian gates of Constantinople will be compared with the (more or less) contemporary gates of provincial capitals and smaller towns of Asia Minor, to which fortifications were a later addition, and with the gates of some of the better known newly created settlements, which include both eastern border towns laid out under imperial auspices and Christian pilgrimage centres.² The diverse nature and status of these settlements, and perhaps also the nature of the threats they faced, are likely to have influenced the appearance of their fortifications and gates. As we are looking for representative elements, chiefly the larger gates of a town - those erected over its main axes - are important since they were used for non-local traffic.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE CITY GATE

The shape of a city gate normally reflects more general conditions of the Roman Empire, or at least those of the region. The first Greek gates were no more than openings in the city wall, created to give access to the enclosed area but equally to defend it.³ In the Hellenistic period, these openings were joined by two towers, jutting outwards on both sides of the passage. Since a small courtyard was thus created in front of the passage, this is referred to as the forecourt type of gateway.⁴ Incorporating decorative elements into these gates was rarely practised but there were notable exceptions - for instance, the triglyph-frieze incorporated into the Hellenistic Gate of Perge and the weaponry friezes on many of the city gates in Pamphylia and Pisidia constructed in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.⁵

Although, in the Early Imperial period, few gates



Fig. 1. North Gate at Hierapolis (photo author).

were erected in the region of Asia Minor, both the western half of the Empire and the Near East saw the appearance of the so-called *Prunktor*.⁶ By this time, the defences of the Roman Empire had been relocated to its borders. Since they were therefore no longer indispensable to the security of a city, fortification walls became symbolic delimitations of its built-up area. Their gates could still be closed if necessary, but they were intended first and foremost to express the status and wealth of the city.⁷ As a consequence, they were given an elaborate architectural decoration. Traditionally, they intersected the city walls at right angles,⁸ possessed wide and high openings, and reflected the importance of the road they spanned.⁹ Although they had lost their defensive purpose, the gates acquired supplementary religious, juridical, administrative, and economical functions. Their religious function, connected to their nature as a passage and their role as a border between - real or conceived - inhabited and uninhabited areas, could be expressed in the gate itself by employing depictions of protective gods or, alternatively, by positioning sanctuaries nearby. Due to their favourable topographical location astride main streets where traffic was concentrated, commercial enterprises were set up in the area.¹⁰ Moreover, they were ideal locations for collecting taxes on import or entrance into the city.¹¹ This multi-functionality made the city gate important enough to become the emblem of the entire city from the 2nd century AD onwards.¹²

In Late Antiquity, gates remained key locations for all sorts of activities. For instance, whenever a

governor entered the city, he expected the leading citizens to meet him outside the gates.¹³ The presence of elevated sills at more than one gate indicates that traffic was intentionally slowed down, possibly in order to control those entering or leaving the city and/or in order to tax the passers-by.¹⁴ However, when city gates resumed a defensive purpose in Late Antiquity, this had repercussions for their appearance.

LATE ANTIQUE GATES

Basic scheme

With the return of the military function, the simple construction scheme of the forecourt type of gateway with its single narrow passage flanked by two towers became common once more.¹⁵ In cities such as Sagalassos, Perge, Side, and Selge, disused Hellenistic gates could again be restored; in cities such as Blaundos, Hierapolis, and Aphrodisias but also in Constantinople, Resafa and Zenobia, the Hellenistic design was copied.

All major gates in the Theodosian Land Walls of Constantinople were flanked by two rectangular towers.¹⁶ Likewise, the North Gate at Blaundos consisted of a narrow passage protected by two relatively square towers, as did the contemporary North and South Gates of Hierapolis (fig. 1), the West Gate of Aphrodisias, and the North-East and North-West Gate of Sagalassos.¹⁷ In this last-mentioned town, the newly constructed North-West Gate was a variation on the theme, as its two towers were actually a converted temple and heroon. The South Gate at Perge represented another vari-

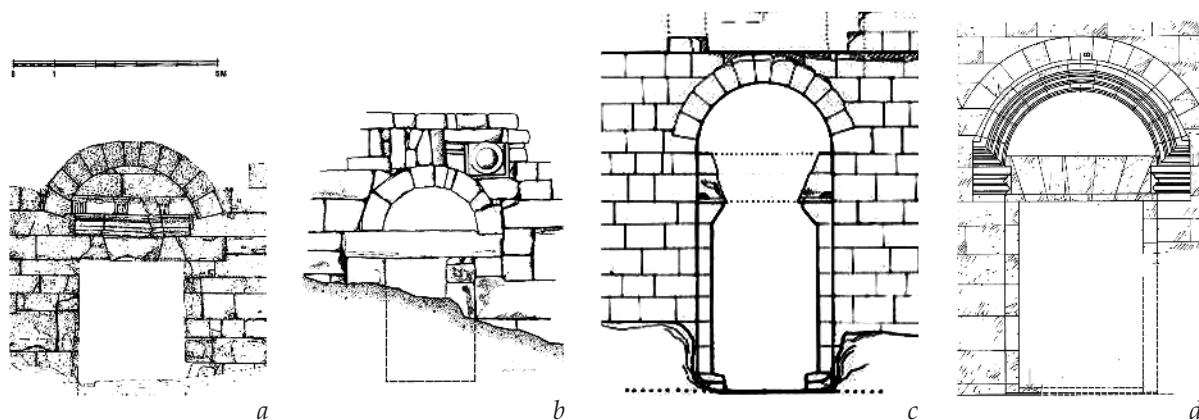


Fig. 2. Basic scheme of a late antique gate: comparison between (a) the North Gate of Blaundos, (b) a smaller gate at Selge, (c) the North Gate of Zenobia and (d) the East Gate of Resafa (drawing author).



Fig. 3. Gate of Persecution at Ephesus with tentative reconstruction of its superstructure (photo author).

ation, as the towers were located at the end of two wall stretches, so that a larger courtyard was created. A more standard design was again found at the 6th century gates of Resafa and Zenobia and the mid-6th century (?) Gate of Persecution at Ephesus.¹⁸

The passages themselves were virtually all constructed according to the same principle: they were axial and consisted of only one narrow gate opening, with or without door posts, where one chariot at the same time could pass (fig. 2). The most typical feature of a late antique gate was its tympanum: this consisted of a lintel, or sometimes a double lintel, with an additional relieving arch on top, whereby the field between lintel and arch was filled in.¹⁹ The infill above the lintel has often disappeared in later alterations, but we can safely

assume that it was once there, since a gap would have weakened the defensive features of the gate. For instance, a secondary gate at Constantinople was altered in this manner and the presence of infill and lintel was attested only by the existence of holes in the arch.²⁰ The Gate of Persecution at Ephesus may also have been built in its original form to the same scheme. The *abaci*, reused as impost blocks, nowadays no longer have a function, since the arch begins somewhat higher up and is wider. Their presence can only be explained if they once carried a horizontal lintel and possibly an infill between lintel and arch. If restored, the gate would resemble other late antique city arches to a greater degree (fig. 3).²¹

The arrangement with lintel and relieving arch clearly distinguishes late antique gate passages from Greek and Hellenistic gates that were often corbelled with one or two courses, or built with voussoired arches. Other solutions comprised the covering of the gate with a rectangular or triangular lintel.²² Roman gates were mostly arched and lacked a lintel.²³

Variations

There were, of course, variations and exceptions to this rule, most of which were due to the incorporation of pre-existing monuments, some of which resulted from free choice.

When fortifications no longer were a necessity in the Roman period, the borders of a city or town would often be marked by monumental freestanding arches.²⁴ Many of them were integrated into the new city walls in Late Antiquity, where they continued to be used as passageways.²⁵ Since they then fulfilled a military-defensive purpose as well,

the structure of these arches needed to undergo a number of changes. Firstly, they were provided with projecting towers. Secondly, their openings had to be narrowed, since they were too wide to be efficiently defended. Thirdly, gates and closing mechanisms needed to be installed and, finally, the exterior façade may have undergone certain modifications to ensure that the enemy could not find support when attempting to storm or breach the gate.²⁶ The adaptation of an arch into a city gate differed from location to location.²⁷ For instance, when the Golden Gate at Constantinople was modified into a city gate, its original passages were narrowed down with marble door frames, consisting of door posts crowned with Corinthian capitals. However, it appears that the blocking of side passages was a more common practice and no doubt it was also the safest. At the top of the east slope of the plateau on which the town of Kyaneai was situated, a triple arch served as a vista for those approaching the city. When it was converted at a later (undated) period, only its central passage served as the entrance to the town, whereas the other two archways were blocked off.²⁸ Similar blocking-off is also known in other regions of the Eastern Roman Empire, where the integration of freestanding arches into fortifications was more widespread.²⁹ For instance, the late 3rd century (?) walls of Apamea protruded northwards to incorporate a free-standing arch erected 80 m in front of the original city walls, outside the town itself. Possibly in this first phase but definitely in its second, Justinianic phase, only the central passage was still in use.

Some late antique gates possessed more than one opening. Although this would have assisted the smooth passage of traffic,³⁰ the more passages a gate possessed, the more troublesome it became to defend. The Golden Gate at Constantinople had three passageways, which can be considered the product of its original function as a triumphal gate.³¹ The later 6th century North Gate at Abu Mina also had three passages, a large one in the middle and two smaller ones to the sides.³² The nature of this settlement as a popular international Christian sanctuary may have made three passages a necessity. The South Gate at Blaundos apparently had two passages, both only ca 1.90 m wide and not suited for wheeled traffic, which due to terrain circumstances had to pass through the North Gate.³³

At Side, the Hellenistic defence wall was again taken into use in Late Antiquity. Its East Gate and Main Gate possessed two and three passages respectively, leading into a closed courtyard. In peaceful times, the town centre could be reached through

passages in the courtyard's side walls and back wall (*fig. 4*). By the late 4th century, the aforementioned side passages were walled up and only the narrow passage at the back was retained. The defence was thus concentrated at the back of the courtyard, so that the original number of passages in the front wall could be maintained. Nevertheless, the two passages at the East Gate were narrowed down as an extra precaution.³⁴ With the exception of the West Gate, the gates of Resafa likewise possessed a courtyard (*cavaedium* gate) with three passages, but at the back of the courtyard rather than in the front wall.³⁵

ADDITIONAL ARCHITECTURAL EMBELLISHMENT

The presence of more than one passage can already be considered a non-functional aspect of a city gate. In addition, many of them were given additional architectural and figurative embellishment.

Gates with newly carved architectural decoration

Since most late antique constructions in the towns of Asia Minor were composed of reused elements, the lack of new decoration on their gates is hardly surprising. Conversely, newly carved architectural decoration was encountered in the imperial capital, the border towns in the Near East, and the new Christian complexes. The original triumphal gate of Theodosius at Constantinople was only modestly decorated. Its lower mouldings and the cornice at the top were actually left unfinished. The inserted door frames were somewhat more sophisticated but were never finished at the back (*fig. 5*).³⁶ The North Gate of Zenobia possessed the absolute minimum of architectural decoration, limited to a moulded profile on the two consoles. The town's second major gate, the South Gate, was apparently left undecorated.³⁷ Only Gate V in the eastern wall section acquired a more complex moulded profile around the door and the arch above its lintel. The position of this gate at the end of one of the minor streets belonging to the Justinianic street system does not seem to be exceptional and, thus far, no explanation has come to light for its privileged treatment.³⁸

The mouldings around Gate V at Zenobia resembled those found at nearly every main gate at Resafa.³⁹ As these gates comprised a courtyard, their defensive function could be concentrated on the unadorned front wall. Once the relative safety of the interior courtyard had been reached, representative functions gained precedence over military concerns. This was expressed in the luxurious

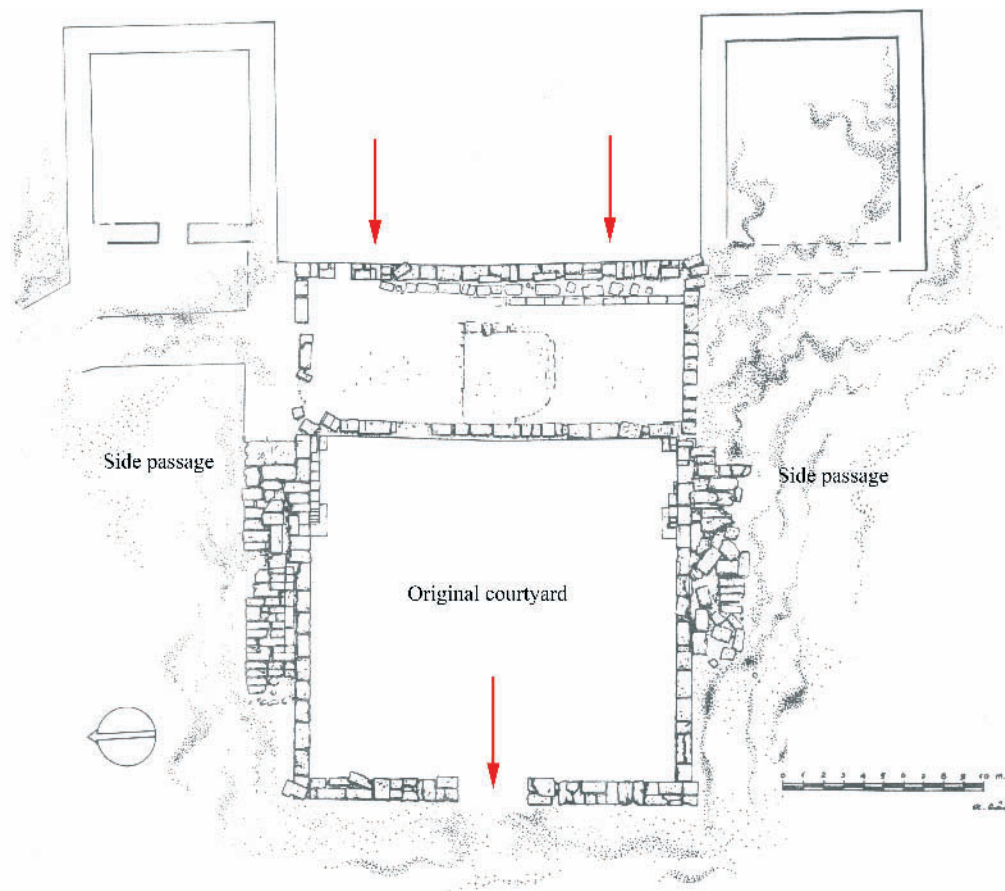


Fig. 4. East Gate at Side with double passage (based on Mansel 1968, 243, fig. 4).



Fig. 5. Golden Gate at Constantinople, unfinished pilaster capital (photo author).

architectural decoration on the back wall and, to a lesser degree, on the side walls. Around every passage, moulded profiles were present. There were additional ornamental niches, consoles and arched bands with moulded profiles. The North Gate, which can be considered the main entrance to the settlement, even possessed pilasters against its side walls and a columnar architecture on high pedestals framing the passage into the town. The significance of an extra defensive front wall in explaining the additional elaboration on the gates is confirmed by the decoration on the West Gate: in contrast to the other main gates, it was of the open forecourt type, consisting of a wall section intersected by one passage and flanked by two protruding towers. In contrast to the plain towers at the other gates, these were embellished with decorative pilasters connected by a horizontal moulded profile on their outside faces. The wall section in-between both towers was adorned with a simple but elegant arched moulded band. The more complicated decoration on the exterior face of the gate

may be explained by the fact that there was no possibility of decorating an interior wall, so decoration was moved outwards.

The elaborate decoration on the gates of Resafa sharply contrasts with the simple and functional gates of Zenobia. This aspect was in all likelihood indicative of the function of both towns: the first being a major Christian pilgrimage centre; the second a border town with mainly a military function. Other gates known to have possessed new architectural embellishment were also connected to Christian sanctuaries. The oldest of these examples can be found at the late 4th, early 5th century AD Christian complex at Tebessa, where the South Gate in particular was richly adorned with mouldings. The walls on both sides of the passageway were preceded by two sets of two pedestals, which must once have carried freestanding columns, and behind these wall pilasters were present. The rear side of the arch was somewhat more modest, with only two columns on a simple base, which stood directly on the pavement. Nevertheless, their 9 m length also provided the north face with a monumental appearance. The only reused elements in this composition were the Corinthian capitals on top of the columns. The more elaborate decoration on this gate can again be explained by the fact that it was preceded by an original, purely functional barrier around the western side of the Sanctuary.⁴⁰ The front face of the late 6th century North Gate at Abu Mina was also decorated with half columns flanking the central passage and pilasters surrounding the side openings, despite having no closed forecourt in front of it.⁴¹

Gates with reused decoration

In the smaller towns of Asia Minor, building elements and architectural decoration could be purposefully reused to adorn the façade of their city gates. One of the most elaborate examples was the South Gate at Perge. This was preceded by a columnar architecture, the remains of which were found in the excavations and are still partly visible today. Its columns rested on two large square and two longer rectangular bases. Two sets of two columns were posted on the bases flanking the door, and only one on the bases in the corners. Together with the 1.5 m high bases, they reached a height of ca 5.40 m. The connection of their entablature to the wall is still visible. At Perge, these may have pre-dated the revalidation of the fortification⁴² but at Hierapolis a decorative columnar architecture was connected to the late antique North Gate itself: four columns were relocated to

its front face and positioned symmetrically on both sides of the passage (fig. 1). Today, only their lower parts are preserved, but it can be assumed that they too were part of a more complete columnar architecture. Indeed, some 3 m high up in the wall, connection holes are still visible.

The gate in the south-eastern stretch of wall at Aphrodisias consisted of a reused architrave and archivolt, whereas the tympanon of the city's North-East Gate was on the inside surrounded by a lintel with egg-and-dart moulding above two stepped *fasciae*, of which one block has remained *in situ* (fig. 6).⁴³ Likewise, above the lintel of the North Gate at Blaundos, an architrave with two *fasciae* has been inserted and, above this, a Doric frieze with three triglyphs and three metopes (fig. 2 a).⁴⁴ In addition, building elements found in the collapse material underneath the gate led to the assumption that the towers possessed a decoration composed of elements of a Doric architrave and a Doric triglyph-metope frieze. The only other fortification gate with a similar decoration was the Hellenistic Gate at Pergamon, whereas Doric friezes were also featured on honorific arches, for instance on the arch in the northern necropolis of Patara, constructed around AD 100.⁴⁵ Finally, when the northern part of the city centre of Ephesus was walled at the end of Antiquity,⁴⁶ the gate installed in the northern wall of the Tetragonos Agora reused architectural fragments in a decorative manner. It was equipped with door posts carrying two larger rectangular blocks and heavily moulded impost-like blocks. Though these were no doubt used to provide greater stability,⁴⁷ their incorporation was executed in such a manner that they contributed to the final aesthetic appearance of the gate.

FIGURATIVE DECORATION

Figurative adornment of city gates could consist both of freestanding statuary and relief decoration, whereas the presence of crosses on gates became more and more striking throughout Late Antiquity.

Statuary and relief decoration

The posting of honorific statuary on city gates was not unusual during Late Republican or Early Imperial times in the western half of the Empire.⁴⁸ Similarly, the Hellenistic Main Gates of Perge and Side were converted into statuary showcases in the Roman period, where the former in particular was intended as a representation of its initiator, Plancia Magna.⁴⁹ Both of them were safeguarded throughout Late Antiquity, with many of the orig-



Fig. 6. North-East Gate at Aphrodisias, interior face (courtesy L. Lavan).



Fig. 7. Shield decoration on the South Gate of Perge (photo author).

inal statues still partly, or even entirely, in existence at the time of excavation. However, new gates with freestanding statuary were extremely scarce. On the Golden Gate at Constantinople, which was intended to function as a triumphal arch, the presence of statues at the top of the gate was attested in literary sources and confirmed by the elevated number of dowel holes found on the top face of its cornices.⁵⁰ The ensemble was very suited to a triumphal arch. It included two bronze elephants, presumably belonging to a *biga* or *quadriga* composition placed above the central passageway, and a statue of Theodosius, accompanied by a Nike and the Tyche of Constantinople.⁵¹ The only other late antique gates known to have been adorned with freestanding statues were likewise found at imperial capitals. The presence of statues at the main gates of Rome, which were restored under the reign of Honorius only a few years after the construction of the Golden Gate, was commemorated in inscriptions.⁵² A century earlier, the enceinte of Diocletian's residence at Split and especially its North Gate had been designed with an elaborate statuary programme in mind.⁵³

When figurative decoration occurred in the towns of Asia Minor, its nature was different and it was almost invariably in a secondary position. Judging by the remains found near the Magnesian Gate at Ephesus for instance, marble statues of lions were probably posted in front of the passageway or flanked its portals, whereas finds of weaponry reliefs suggest these were still integrated into the most recent rebuilding of the gate.⁵⁴ A fragment of a Hellenistic pediment with

a shield-like decoration in its centre was located in the passage of the Southwest Gate of Sardis.⁵⁵ Because it was located in the lower section of the side wall of the gate, it can in this case be doubted if the effect was intended. This was not so with similar shield decoration encountered in the cities of Side, Selge, Perge and Sagalassos. The incorporation of weaponry reliefs in the regions of Pisidia, Pamphylia and Lycia was a regional custom originating in the Hellenistic period⁵⁶ and revived in Late Antiquity, either through the reuse of older reliefs or through new creations. At the East Gate of Side, a long ornamental frieze depicting a collection of armour pieces, helmets and swords was retrieved on top of a so-called 'Byzantine' mosaic, which makes it certain they were incorporated into the late version of the gate.⁵⁷ At nearby Selge, comparable friezes were also found in the collapse layers under or next to several of its gates. Some of them may still have survived from the Hellenistic period; others were clearly re-erected at a later date.⁵⁸ A shield-motif was also applied above the South Gate at Perge but, in contrast to the other cities, it was newly carved (fig. 7).

Finally, at Sagalassos, weaponry friezes were incorporated into the late fortification wall. Those at the North-West Gate were unquestionably relocated from the town's Bouleuterion, along with busts of the warrior gods, Ares and Athena.⁵⁹ While the weaponry friezes must have adorned the outer face of the walls on either side of the gate, the location where the two busts were found indicated that they were reused in the gate itself. Furthermore, the central keystone of the gate's arch de-



Fig. 8. Reliefs reused in the post-Roman citadel at Ankara (photo author).

picted an unfinished relief of an eagle holding a snake. Reuse of depictions of pagan deities in this manner is, to my knowledge, a *unicum* in this period. The closest parallel to this set of depictions was that applied to the North Gate of Hierapolis, which included marble reliefs representing the heads of lions, a head of a panther, and a Gorgon - all situated in the higher wall section above the passage.⁶⁰ However, in contrast to Sagalassos, adherence to the Christian faith at Hierapolis was expressed by adding chrismons to the two marble brackets supporting the architrave of the façade.

Lion heads also occurred on three consoles in the upper wall moulding of the North Gate at Resafa.⁶¹ Despite Resafa's function as a Christian sanctuary and pilgrimage centre, Christian iconography remained virtually absent from its gates. One of the capitals of the North Gate was decorated with a cross between snake- or lion-heads with open mounds, while all other capitals adopted a more neutral decoration. Christian influence was somewhat more in evidence on the East Gate, where the niches possessed crosses in circles on each lower console and in the middle of the profiles. Other figurative reliefs again comprise more neutral items such as a peacock on the left console of the northern niche, two doves on an impost block above the columns, and a wreath and bows on the keystone of the arch.⁶²

The reuse of figurative reliefs and statuary continued in the post-Roman period, including famous examples such as the Gate of Persecution at Ephesus and the incorporation of statuary near the south entrance of the citadel at Ankara (fig. 8).⁶³ 18th and 19th century travellers testified to the abundance of inscriptions and statuary incorporated

into the 13th century walls at Konya. They consisted of a mixture of reused material such as a headless statue of Hercules placed next to one of the gates, and many funerary reliefs and carved sarcophagi panels supplemented by new Selçuk reliefs.⁶⁴

Crosses

The occurrence of crosses is a very typical late antique phenomenon. They appeared not only on fortifications and their gates but on virtually all other buildings in the late antique city. The most famous example of crosses featured in a fortification wall is undoubtedly to be found at Thessalonica, where they are incorporated into the brick masonry of the rampart.⁶⁵ However, crosses could not only be incorporated into the wall masonry but could also be an element or a motif on the architectural decoration, or be carved on an existing surface afterwards. At the Golden Gate of Constantinople, all passages were decorated with relief crosses. It is, however, impossible to ascribe each to a particular phase of the Gate, since they are very diverse in shape and size. The Chi-Rho symbol in a medallion applied above the central passage on the interior face can, in any case, be considered to belong to the original construction of the Gate.

In addition, the new lintels on the East Gate of Side were decorated with a Christogram in relief. On the lintel of the North-East Gate at Aphrodisias, a cross flanked by an Alpha and an Omega within a circle was later carved over the original building inscription, possibly when a renovation inscription was added in the mid-5th century, or alternatively when the name Stauropolis was in-

corporated into the inscription, presumably in the late 6th century (*fig. 6*).⁶⁶ As indicated above, the occurrence of crosses could be combined with other figurative reliefs, as occurred at Hierapolis and at Resafa. On other gates, crosses were added later, carved mostly on the door posts but also on adjoining wall sections. Examples include the Magnesian Gate at Ephesus, the west passage of the North Gate at Stratonikeia (*fig. 9*), and the wall abutting this gate in the west, as well as the South-East Gate of Aphrodisias.⁶⁷

MARBLE-MOSAICS-PAINTING

The dressing of gate façades with marble or limestone and the application of mosaics on floors, walls and ceilings have been attested in only a few towns. For instance, the South Gate at Perge was surrounded by white limestone slabs that were left toothed at the sides;⁶⁸ the Golden Gate and its towers at Constantinople were completely constructed from marble, contrasting with the rest of the wall.

There are three instances in which a mosaic might have been applied to the gate and/or the area immediately surrounding it. A first instance can be found in the South-West Gate at Sardis, where large white *tesserae* underneath the vault of the side passage indicated the presence of a stretch of white, coarse mosaic, extending for 2 m underneath the vault and in front of it.⁶⁹ Another mosaic, of a higher quality and applied to the gate itself, was present on the terrace above the East Gate at Side.⁷⁰ This was a black-and-white mosaic with a band consisting of a garland and a wide bead-and-reel motif, whereas the centre field was decorated with a geometric motif consisting of superposed, cutting circles. The presence of a mosaic floor in this location is particularly strange, as it would never be viewed by anyone other than the defenders of the gate. The only example where the mosaic was applied in the passageway itself, and thus visible to passers-by, was encountered at the West Gate of Resafa, which possessed a vault-mosaic, comprising white, black, grey, green and gold *tesserae*, of which remains have been found in-between the collapse material.⁷¹ As mentioned earlier, the decoration scheme on the West Gate differed from the other main gates; since it did not have a closed courtyard, there was no separation between defensive and representational functions. In addition to supplementary pilasters on the towers, the application of a mosaic inside the vault of the gate was an alternative to the more elaborate architectural decoration on the other gates.



Fig. 9. Crosses on the west pier of the Severan Gate at Stratonikeia (photo author).

Paint or stucco/plaster on walls has only been preserved in a few locations. Moreover, features like this were never systematically recorded, and they may have remained unnoticed in excavations if their state of preservation was poor.⁷² The painted or stucco motif on both the West and the North-East Gate of Aphrodisias could only be reconstructed because its field of application in the centre of the tympanon had been carefully prepared.

INSCRIPTIONS ABOVE GATES

Finally, the addition of an inscription was also unnecessary if the gate was intended to be purely defensive. Nevertheless, in the major cities of the Empire as well as in some small provincial towns, the construction of late antique gates was eternalised in words.⁷³ The Golden Gate at Constantinople carried two verses composed of possibly gilded bronze letters, attached to the arch with dowels, testifying to the victory of Theodosius.⁷⁴ Some ten years later, grandiloquent inscriptions were carved above the renovated Portae Tiburtina, Praenestina, and Portuensis at Rome prior to Honorius's triumphal entry in 404.⁷⁵

In other towns, inscriptions above gates were more regular building inscriptions. Late antique epigraphy in Asia Minor is, on the whole, scarce; the only building inscriptions connected to gates with any certainty come from Aphrodisias, which in general possessed the most elaborate late antique epigraphic collection.⁷⁶ That of the West Gate greeted visitors to the city; that on the North-East Gate was directed towards the inside (*fig. 6*). Paral-

lel inscriptions are known from other regions but they were apparently not numerous.⁷⁷ Neither the gates of the military settlements on the eastern border nor any of the Christian centres contained epigraphic commemorations.

SPREAD OF REPRESENTATIONAL ELEMENTS

Gradations between settlements

From this overview, it is clear that city gates were not purely defensive but had non-functional elements added to them. The degree of elaboration was, however, not the same everywhere. Gates of imperial capitals distinguished themselves by their decoration with freestanding, honorific statuary. In general, these gates and fortifications were also larger.⁷⁸ Finally, eloquent inscriptions extolled the prosperity under imperial rule both to visitors from within and beyond the borders of the Empire.

At first sight, new Christian foci received more elaborate gates than pre-existing cities. However, this contrast is partly the result of a long-lasting disdain for reuse of decorative elements and constructions. The South Gate at Perge and the North Gate at Hierapolis were also fronted with a columnar architecture, whereas the latter, in particular, was provided with extensive relief decoration. Likewise, the North-West Gate of Sagalassos and the Gate of Persecution at Ephesus were further adorned with multiple reliefs. The restored Hellenistic gates of Selge and the Main Gate of Side were no simple constructions. Whether or not these buildings or elements were reused, the fact remains that, in Late Antiquity, they were imposing gate constructions whose form and/or decoration went beyond purely defensive purposes.

The difference between the gates of imperial capitals and new Christian foci, on one hand, and pre-existing settlements, on the other, was more apparent in the fact that the first consciously integrated new (references to) triumphal arches, whereas the other did not. It has already been mentioned that older arches could be incorporated into a city's fortification. It is very likely that this incorporation was a mixture of pragmatic and aesthetic concerns. With a few adjustments, an arch could be reused as a gate. Its structure had to be solid enough to withstand an assault. However, the adjustments required could sometimes take on large proportions, especially if the circuit of the wall needed to be adjusted to allow for its incorporation, as was the case at Kyaneai and Apamea. As a result, one can surmise whether there were other reasons to preserve these monuments in what had become

the settlement's principal element of visible infrastructure. The continuous admiration for the arch structures is, however, far less ambiguous in the following examples.

The Golden Gate at Constantinople with its statuary decoration and inscriptions was intended as a triumphal arch for the emperor Theodosius I. Nevertheless, J. Bardill has convincingly shown that it was always meant to be incorporated into a new fortification wall.⁷⁹ Similarly, prior to Honorius's triumphal entry into Rome in AD 404, the Portae Tiburtina, Praenestina, and Portuensis were transformed into triumphal arches with the addition of statues and inscriptions.⁸⁰ The use of this building type - even if only in a simplified form - was continued in the new Christian sanctuaries. The South Gate of the Christian centre at Tebessa with its columnar architecture, arched opening and (reconstructed) high attic storey strongly resembled a traditional arch. The gates of Resafa and the North Gate of Abu Mina comprised three passages - with the central passage larger than those to the side - flanked by pilasters, half-columns or columns. The gate openings at Abu Mina were arched, whilst those at Resafa were covered with a lintel and provided with prominent arcades somewhat higher up the wall.

Finally, the elaboration of the gates at Zenobia was either inexistent or very simple. Nevertheless, the settlement's fortifications were, on the whole, grand and carefully constructed. The size of its gates also greatly outshone that of other cities.⁸¹ Hence, the lack of further architectural and figurative decoration can be considered a conscious choice.

Decoration according to the degree of visibility

As suggested earlier, the outer face of the gate possessed the highest degree of visibility, since it was the first edifice with which wayfarers came into contact on entering the city. In addition, as part of the city, the gates were connected and integrated into the total architectonic system.⁸² Especially in cities with a more regular grid plan, the gates were located at the extremities of the main axes - at the end of the major sightlines - so that they were also highly visible from the inside. Consequently, in the Roman period, both faces of a gate would be decorated elaborately.⁸³ In contrast, in the Late Roman examples discussed above, additional decorative or representative elements were mostly applied to the exterior face of the gate.⁸⁴ To illustrate this point further, we will discuss in detail some of the more elaborately decorated examples.

To begin with, even the rear side of the Golden

Gate at Constantinople was constructed from limestone blocks, on which mason's marks were still visible, whereas its front side was finished in marble. There was also a notable difference between the front and rear faces of the integrated door frames, which were not finished - especially at the back - and barely fitted the spaces provided.⁸⁵ Finally, on the sides of the towers turned away from the Gate, only the first few Ionic cornice blocks were given dentils, while the others possessed a continuous moulding.

Likewise, throughout the Sanctuary of Tebessa, the gradation in visibility was directly related to the degree of elaboration in the architectural elements. Three levels were incorporated into the design of the gates: 'a triumphal arch' at the highest level, 'gates' on an intermediate level and, finally, no decoration in the least visited and visible area. The South Gate did indeed enjoy the highest level of visibility, as everyone coming to the Sanctuary would have passed through this passage, which was the shortest route in. The exterior face of the North Gate was far less discernible because, in order to reach it, it was necessary to walk around the Sanctuary through the void between the outer and inner fortification. Its southern façade, which was turned towards the interior of the Sanctuary, was again far more visible. Consequently, it was very similar to the interior face of the South Gate in concept and dimensions, as it possessed bases standing on ground level on both sides of the passage. In contrast to the South Gate, the interior façade of the North Gate displayed fewer details: the moulded profiles were only executed to the extent that they could be seen from the avenue, leaving the rear sides blank.⁸⁶ Its northern façade was not decorated at all.

The degree of visibility obviously influenced the decoration on the gates at Resafa as well. On the whole, the decoration on the exterior face of the back wall of the courtyard was far more extensive than that on the inside, where it was limited to a profiled band uniting all passages. Nevertheless, the massive staircases flanking the passages also gave the interior faces of the walls an impressive character. Indeed, the most heavily decorated gate, the North Gate, was constructed from the largest ashlar.⁸⁷ With its columnar architecture, the rear wall that greeted itinerants was the most impressive. The decoration continued on the side walls, but in a flatter version: pilasters with bottom mouldings, pilaster capitals and sham entablature. The supplementary decoration on the side walls resembled that of the rear wall but, in contrast, it was never finished.⁸⁸

There were, however, exceptions to this customary spread of decoration. Firstly, the rear wall of the South Gate at Resafa was adorned with a profiled band along the town side, but remained undecorated on the courtyard side. The passage in the front wall was likewise decorated with a profiled band at the town side, but was left plain on the land side. Could it be that this South Gate was not primarily an entrance to the town, but an exit or end point of the processional route that began at the North Gate? And, analogously, could it also be that the North-East Gate at Aphrodisias, with its inscription turned towards the interior, served primarily as an exit?

It is, in any case, worthy of note that, as a general rule, the interior of gates in Late Antiquity was no longer a major point of attention. Effort was saved for, and concentrated on, the outside. Apparently, representation of the town or settlement to outsiders was regarded as more important than decorating the end points of sight lines within the city itself.

Gradation in importance

Consequently, we can conjecture whether there was a gradation in importance among the various gates of a town, or whether it possessed one main entrance to be used, for instance, to receive official guests or for secular and religious processions.⁸⁹ In settlements where processions played a vital role - namely Christian sanctuaries - this was apparently the case. In the case of Resafa, it has already been mentioned that the North Gate exhibited the most elaborate decoration, distinguishing it from the other main gates. At Tebessa, the main entrance was through its South Gate. Likewise, at Abu Mina, there was only one richly decorated entrance, which greeted pilgrims after crossing the lake of Mareotis or travelling overland from Alexandria. Similarly, the special meaning of the Golden Gate at Constantinople was connected to the course of a pre-existing triumphal route that began in the suburb of Hebdomon, ca 4 km outside the land walls.⁹⁰ In other exceptional settlements, such as Split for instance, one major and easily distinguishable entrance existed; in this case, in the north of the enclosure wall.⁹¹

Although the fortifications and circulation patterns of more ordinary towns are less well known, there are strong indications that here certain entrances were favoured above others. In some cities such as Pergamon and Blaundos, only one location existed where wheeled traffic could enter the city.⁹² The position of inscriptions on the exterior face of

the West Gate and the interior face of the North-East Gate of Aphrodisias may indeed be more than coincidental. The North Gate at Hierapolis was decorated more elaborately than its South Gate, even though both were erected astride the city's main colonnaded street. Not only the elaborate decoration of the late antique South Gate but also the preservation of the old Hellenistic Gate as an urban monument and the luxurious decoration of the plaza in-between both constructions implied that the main route into the city centre of Perge was via the south. Likewise, the careful maintenance of monuments situated in the vista of the north-south colonnaded street at Sagalassos, as well as the restorations to the street itself, suggest that the representative entrance to the city was located to the south, even though the course of the fortification wall in this area remains unknown.

REASON FOR APPLICATION

Why did one go through the trouble of creating decorative façades and integrating figurative reliefs? In the introduction, it was stated that the first contact with a settlement took place at its fortifications and especially its gates. The principal and most general reason for decorating city entrances at that time was undoubtedly representational. The positioning of decoration on gates was highly effective since not only would it be noticed by random travellers but the gate was also the traditional location for official welcomes and processions entering the town.⁹³ This custom remained in use until the 13th century: in Konya, ceremonies and official welcomes continued to take place in front of the aforementioned walls, prior to the guests or procession entering the town. Representation of the city was, of course, not limited to the gates but continued along its main streets, its public squares and its communal buildings. In the capital of the Empire, the imperial rulers needed to make themselves manifest not only to their own subjects but also to visitors from abroad. Smaller cities may have been driven by an inter-city rivalry to become the first city of their region.⁹⁴ The importance of Christian sanctuaries was already conveyed to pilgrims when they entered the main gate. In contrast, the imposing but plain architecture of the fortifications and gates of Zenobia can be explained by the fact that the settlement's function was purely defensive. It had no political aspirations and was mainly visited by army units and caravans who were primarily concerned for their safety.

The presence of statues at or near city gates is thus connected to their advantageous location.⁹⁵

We can imagine that for similar reasons of high visibility - but also because they were the weakest points in the defence - gates were the best location to post images intended to scare off potential opponents beforehand or during a siege.⁹⁶ The use of divine images to protect city walls was a more common occurrence in earlier days. For instance, the late 3rd or early 2nd century BC Porta Marzia at Perugia included depictions of Jupiter and the Dioscures, whilst the Arch of Rimini was endowed with *imagines clipeatae* of protective gods associated with the Roman imperial house, such as Apollo and Dea Roma. In the later 3rd century, Cabirius, the tutelary deity of Thessalonica was depicted above an entrance gate on a coin of Gallienus.⁹⁷ These images have been interpreted as providing protection for both the gate itself and for the city on the whole. At Sagalassos, the presence of depictions of Ares and Athena, the warrior gods of the Greek pantheon, on the façade of the North-West Gate fitted aptly with the ancient reputation of the Pisidians as a warlike people. In Late Antiquity, this was still evidenced by the many locally produced figurines of rider saints who replaced the old warrior gods, and by the veneration of St. Michael, the *archistrategos* of the heavenly army.⁹⁸ A similar association with pagan gods can be found at Athens in the same period. In the early 6th century, Zosimus (5.6.) narrated how Alaric abandoned his attack on Athens, having seen Athena and Achilles on the city wall. Thus, in both Sagalassos and Athens, two gods (or one god and a hero), who held a special significance for the city, had been chosen to act as champions in its defence.⁹⁹

Apparently, classical culture was still prominent here in the late 4th, early 5th century.¹⁰⁰ Although the application of reliefs with such explicitly pagan subjects may already have been less than circum-spect in this period, it was certainly no longer possible in later centuries. There were, however, more neutral depictions such as lions and snakes, or military reliefs depicting shields, weapons and cuirasses. For them, a Christian association may have been fairly easy to find. As stated previously, they often appeared in combination with crosses - even at a Christian pilgrimage centre such as Resafa - implying that they were not considered offensive. Their integration may have sprung partly from encouragement by the emperors, out of respect for old monuments of artistic and historical value and a willingness to reuse them to embellish the cityscape. However, they must also have been intended to invoke fear and symbolise the strength of the fortifications and the city.

As with figurative reliefs, crosses also con-

veyed a specific message to visitors and attackers; namely, the inhabitants adhered to the Christian faith and were under the direct protection of the Christian God. At the same time, they may also have called upon His protection. In the 6th century, the need for such spiritual protection would have led to the replacement of pagan gods with the Virgin Mary as guardian of the walls - for example, in Constantinople and in some of the frontier forts.¹⁰¹ Finally, the use of crosses may have also served an apotropaic purpose, in seeking to ward off demons from the Christian city.¹⁰²

CONCLUSION

The virtually ubiquitous presence of fortifications was one of the new elements in the Late Roman city. There can be no doubt that the climate in Late Antiquity was less stable than in prior centuries, making the construction of defensive circuits a sound precaution, if not quite a necessity. Most gates constructed for defensive reasons in the East Mediterranean between the late 4th and the early 7th centuries belonged to the so-called forecourt type of gateway; this usually comprised one passage flanked by two symmetrically positioned and mostly rectangular towers jutting outwards to create a small courtyard in front of the passage. Typically, the aperture itself consisted of just one narrow gate opening, with or without door posts, and a tympanum which combined a lintel and a relieving arch with the intervening field filled in. No further requirements were necessary to keep enemies out.

Nevertheless, this simple pragmatic scheme was, in most instances, supplemented with figurative and/or architectural decoration. The reasons for elaborating late antique gates can be divided into representation - of the importance of the town, its wealth or religious adherence - and psychological defence. The latter in particular required a concentration of elements on the exterior face of the gate. The use of reliefs and crosses on a gate's façade aimed to discourage opponents but it could also make a statement about the beliefs of the town's inhabitants. In contrast, the addition of columnar architecture in front of the gate must have hampered its defence and can be viewed therefore as purely representational. The doubling or tripling of a gate's passageways also weakened defences but ensured the smooth conveyance of traffic in times of peace.

The final appearance of the gates was partially determined by the nature of the settlement. If there was a high degree of inter-urban traffic, as was

the case in the capital of the Empire or at international Christian sanctuaries, more than one passage into town was provided. This high visibility ensured a more elaborate decoration, in the form of honorific statuary and inscriptions or lavish architectural adornments often recalling Roman triumphal arches. If the settlement was located in a hostile region, the safest solution was to separate the military function from all others by creating a closed courtyard (*cavaedium* gate) where the enemy could be stopped at the first entrance, and all other functions could be concentrated at the rear of the courtyard. This occurred at Resafa, and a similar solution was applied at Tebessa. A separation of functions was not deemed necessary in cities such as Perge and Hierapolis, where the main gates were preceded by a columnar architecture. Accordingly, even if such fortifications in Asia Minor were exposed to certain threats and a growing need for security, they apparently had little doubt, in contrast to the settlements on the Persian border, that they would prevail over all difficulties.

NOTES

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¹ Von Hesberg 2005, 73. This function is also apparent in the title of a recent colloquium "Stadtter: Bautyp und Kunstform" (Schattner/Fernandez 2006), which dealt with the diverse functions of a city gate from the Hellenistic until the Islamic period, though most examples included in the volume pre-date Late Antiquity. Gates dating to post-Roman periods, in particular, have received a great deal of attention. For example, Gardner 1987, esp. 202-213 discusses medieval gates in Italy; Redford 1993 deals with some Selçuk gates in Turkey; the appearance and meaning of the renaissance gates of Italy have been described and discussed in Schweizer 2002. The importance of city gates found its strongest expression in the work of Père Laugier, Jesuit and later Benedict monk, whose architectural essay of 1753 argued that the beauty of the town depended not only on the street and public buildings but also on its entrances. See Schweizer 2002, 13-14.

² Towns on the Persian border: Resafa, fortifications erected in the second quarter of the 6th century and Zenobia, early 6th to mid-6th century; Christian centres: Resafa, Tebessa, constructed at the end of the 4th, early 5th century and Abu Mina, in the later 6th century.

³ Adam 1982, 77-104 for an overview of the development of Greek gates.

⁴ The earliest known example dates back to the 4th century BC, but it was omnipresent during the Hellenistic period. See McNicoll 1997, 7.

⁵ Winter 1971, 89, fig. 68; 171, fig. 159 for Perge; McNicoll 1997, 129 for weaponry friezes.

⁶ Gardner 1987, 200; Gros 1996, 35; see von Hesberg 2005, 36, 71-74 for late Republican and Early Imperial Gates

- in Italy; Segal 1997, 86-101 for the Near East.
- ⁷ Adam 1994, 48.
 - ⁸ Axial gateways are less easy to defend but practical for the passage of traffic. See McNicoll 1997, 6; van Tilburg 2008.
 - ⁹ Gros 1996, 42; Gardner 1987, 199-202; Brilliant 1974, 63-65; for some examples, see De Bernardi Ferrero 2002, 1-11 for Hierapolis; Hakan Mert 2005 for Stratonikeia.
 - ¹⁰ Schattner 2006, 13.
 - ¹¹ Brilliant 1974, 65.
 - ¹² Schattner 2006, 11-12 with all references; MacDonald 1986, 82.
 - ¹³ Liebeschuetz 1972, 208-209.
 - ¹⁴ Elevated sills can be found at the South Gate of Perge, the late 3rd century Gate of Pergamon, the Magnesians Gate at Ephesus, and the North-West Gate of Sagalassos. The first two display traces of wheels.
 - ¹⁵ This type occurred in all parts of the Empire: for Spain, where semi-circular towers were popular, see Johnson 1983, 44; Fernández-Ochoa/Morillo 2005, 315. In Gaul, U-shaped as well as round or polygonal towers were used, see Johnson 1983, 46-47. For 6th and 7th century Africa, see Pringle 1981, 160-163. They also were found at the larger castella and towns in Northern Macedonia, see Mikulčić 2002, 95-96. The only main gate that lacked towers was the one at Pergamon. The gate in the late fortification surrounding the city centre of Ephesus might have been protected by a single tower erected in the north-east corner of the former Tetragonos Agora, see Foss 1979, 112.
 - ¹⁶ Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, 39-71.
 - ¹⁷ For Blaundos, see Giese 2006b; Hierapolis, D'Andria 2003, 112-114, 203; Aphrodisias, Smith/Ratté 2000, 238-240; Sagalassos, Loots/Waelkens/Depuydt 2000, 614, 619-625.
 - ¹⁸ For Resafa, Karnapp 1976, 6-29; Zenobia, Lauffray 1983, 128-132; Ephesus, Thiel 2005, 115.
 - ¹⁹ These are clearly recognisable in the so-called first secondary gate at Constantinople, the North Gate at Blaundos, Hierapolis, Aphrodisias (with reused arches), the North-West Gate at Sagalassos, the South Gate at Perge, the restored gates at Selge, the gates at Zenobia and Resafa, and the passages in the Inner Fortifications at Side.
 - ²⁰ Meyer-Plath/Schneider 1943, 39, fig. 7.
 - ²¹ Examples include the first secondary gate at Constantinople and the Gate of Persecution at Ephesus.
 - ²² McNicoll 1997, 7, 100 for Ephesus.
 - ²³ See, for instance, MacDonald 1986, figs. 75-83.
 - ²⁴ Bührig 2006, 133. MacDonald 1986, 84 considered free-standing arches as reproductions of the original city gate but without the structural and functional context.
 - ²⁵ There are only a few examples of other monuments transformed into city gates, presumably because their shape was not suited for this purpose. One exception was the propylon of the Library of Hadrian at Athens - which was in fact similar in shape and even function to an arch - that was incorporated as a gate into the post-Herulian wall. See Fowden 1997, 553-556.
 - ²⁶ A sequence of representational Imperial gates and defensive late antique gates can, for example, be witnessed at Gadara in present-day Jordan: the first gate of the town, the West Gate, was still intended to be defensive; in AD 70, a representational arch, the Tiberias Gate, was erected in front of the defences; at the beginning of the 3rd century, a new decorative arch/gate with three passages was constructed rather more to the west; however, when the need for defence was again felt 80 years later, a fourth gate with a completely different appearance, following the basic scheme described above, was erected as part of the new fortifications. See Bührig 2006, 143-151.
 - ²⁷ At other sites, the narrowing of the original passage was achieved by extending the existing wall sections as, for instance, took place at the East Gate of Side or the South Gate of Perge. The double-ported gates of the Aurelian wall at Rome were reduced to single entrances by the insertion of stone gate-houses, see Todd 1983, 61.
 - ²⁸ Hansen 1996, 30.
 - ²⁹ For the Near East, see, for example, Mazar/Bar-Nathan 1998, 27, 29 (North-East Gate and West Gate of Scythopolis); Segal 1997, 86-87 (Tiberias); Arnould 1997, 196-211 (Damascus Gate at Jerusalem); for North Africa, see Goodchild/Ward-Perkins 1953, 49-51; Bardill 1999, 691-692 (Leptis Magna); Pringle 1981, 158 (Thubursic Bure); Christern 1976, 20-23 (Tebessa/Theveste).
 - ³⁰ Van Tilburg 2008.
 - ³¹ Bardill 1999.
 - ³² Grossmann 1991, 465-467.
 - ³³ Giese 2006a, 72.
 - ³⁴ Mansel 1968, 242-243.
 - ³⁵ Karnapp 1976, 29-46. They belonged to the more complicated scheme known as the *cavaedium* gate. The towers of these gates were connected by two parallel walls, leading to the creation of a rectangular courtyard encircled by high walls. In periods of war, this functioned as a defensive sluice, as an extra barrier and open trap for assailants who had breached the front wall. In times of peace, it formed a majestic vestibule between the countryside and the town. For a full description of the type, see Gros 1996, 37-42; Brilliant 1974, 63-64. Although such gates were mainly popular in Italy and southern Gaul in the late years of the Republic and in the first decades of the Imperial Age, examples also occurred in North Macedonia, where many cities were again fortified in the 4th century AD. See Mikulčić 2002, 95-96.
 - ³⁶ Bardill 1999, 682. These sparsely decorated gates strongly contrast with the intricate patterns found at the Palace of Diocletian in Split, built a century earlier. See McNally 1996, 24-26.
 - ³⁷ Lauffray 1983, 129, 132.
 - ³⁸ Lauffray 1983, 131 for a detailed description.
 - ³⁹ A full description of the gates can be found in Karnapp 1976, 37-46 (North Gate), 29-32 (East Gate), 32-34 (South Gate) and 35-37 (West Gate).
 - ⁴⁰ Christern 1976, 36-43. It is worthy of note that the Gate strongly resembled the Arch (tetrapylon) of Caracalla situated in the city centre, at the crossing of the *cardo* and the *decumanus*: not only did it have two sets of two columns to mark the passage, but its dimensions were nearly the same. It is thus highly likely that it was inspired by this tetrapylon.
 - ⁴¹ Grossmann 1991, 467.
 - ⁴² The wall section comprising the passage is thought to have pre-dated the reconstruction of the fortification wall.
 - ⁴³ See ala2004, 139 for the South-East Gate, ala2004, 22 and 42 for the North-East Gate.
 - ⁴⁴ Giese 2006b, 81.
 - ⁴⁵ For Perge, see note 5; for Patara, Işık 2000, 82.
 - ⁴⁶ The date of this late fortification is still uncertain. Recent publications prefer a date in the early 7th century. See Scherrer 2001, 80.
 - ⁴⁷ For instance, on the walls of Nicopolis, all vital points were executed in stone.
 - ⁴⁸ For example, the gateways at Fano (Italia Fanestris) and

- at Rimini possessed an arch-like passage with statues at the top, see Richmond 1933, 156-158 (Fano), 160-161 (Rimini).
- ⁴⁹ Lauter 1972 for the original Hellenistic Gate at Perge; Boatwright 1993 for changes in the Roman period; Mansel 1963, 36-7 for Side.
- ⁵⁰ Bassett 2004, 95-96 for a discussion and further bibliography. In addition, flying eagles were carved on the corners of the tower cornices.
- ⁵¹ The statues of the Golden Gate were most likely a mixture of new works, such as the statue of Theodosius or the Tyche, and reused statues taken from elsewhere, such as the bronze elephants. See also MacDonald 1986, 94 for the presence of statuary and elephant spans above arches.
- ⁵² *CIL* 6, 1188-1190; also Richmond 1930, 31-34, '*simulacra constituit*'; Gardner 1987, 201.
- ⁵³ McNally 1996, 25 provides an overview of all provisions.
- ⁵⁴ In addition to the fragments belonging to two lions, there was also a head of a lioness and a torso of a sphinx. Other remains included a 1.03 m high relief depicting a shield decorated with a helmet. This and the fragments of another weaponry relief probably belonged to the original gate but were apparently reused in all later phases.
- ⁵⁵ Van Zanten/Thomas/Hanfmann 1975, 45-47.
- ⁵⁶ Reliefs of circular shields were a common motif in Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycia in the Hellenistic period, see McNicoll 1997, 129. In contrast, in other provinces of the Roman Empire, the use of reliefs stressing military characteristics was rare; see von Hesberg 2005, 74.
- ⁵⁷ Mansel 1968, 243-244. Since the reliefs were mainly found in the eastern part of the terrace and face upwards, this indicated that they were definitely intended to be viewed from the outside.
- ⁵⁸ Machatschek/Schwartz 1981, 36-46. Reliefs were present at the small gate in wall stretch M6; the larger gates near M23; at M30-31; four gates in the wall stretches M40-41; the representational gates at M44-45 and M70. The most extended display of weaponry friezes was located above gate M70: the two pilasters of the gate were decorated with reliefs on three sides, the first depicting armour on the front, a naked boy on the right-hand side and a head in the upper section on the left-hand side; the second also with armour on the front, a torch in a wreath and a column on the left-hand side. The curtain wall displayed a horizontal frieze, with shields above the passage and armour on the adjoining wall sections. The shield relief visible above one of the gates in wall section M40-41 was clearly incorporated at a later period, as it was positioned in-between a mixture of ashlar of different sizes, supplemented by rubble. Moreover, its off-centre position would have been unusual for the Hellenistic (or Roman) period.
- ⁵⁹ Weaponry reliefs were also found at the so-called South Gate, located over the town's main colonnaded street, but recent excavations were unable to ascertain whether or not this structure functioned as a fortified entrance to the town centre.
- ⁶⁰ D'Andria 2003, 112-114.
- ⁶¹ Karnapp 1976, 43, fig. 211.
- ⁶² Simple elements such as wreaths also appeared on other gates and could be executed in other materials. For instance, both the West and the North-East Gate at Aphrodisias had a painted or stucco motif (possibly a wreath) in a carefully prepared circular surface in the centre of the tympanum.
- ⁶³ At Ephesus, an acanthus frieze adorns the gateway and a sarcophagus relief with grape-gathering cupids is arranged above it. Originally, there were others inserted in the wall, representing Odysseus's discovery of Achilles among the daughters of king Lykomedes on the island of Skyros. On one of these, Achilles and Hector were depicted (now in the Woburn Abbey Gallery in England). See Miltner 1958, 125-126. The incorporation of reliefs at Ankara included some statues laid on their sides and some blocks that once belonged to a balustrade. See Foss/Winfield 1986, 135.
- ⁶⁴ Redford 1993, 153-156.
- ⁶⁵ Crow 2001, 95-96. At Thessalonica, the brick band in-between the two rows of double arches was underneath each arch interrupted by the insertion of a brick cross. There was considerable variation: smaller crosses that were surrounded by a green rubble section in order to distinguish them from the brick background, and larger crosses that were clearly visible by themselves and did not need further emphasis. Similar crosses also appeared in the eastern wall section. At Nicopolis, the locations where two construction teams met were occasionally marked by brick crosses. It is unlikely that these served a decorative function.
- ⁶⁶ ala2004, 22 and 42.
- ⁶⁷ At Stratonikeia, both the gate and the area around it were completely covered in crosses and similar emblems. For Aphrodisias, see ala2004, 139. Invocations were arranged around the cross; the contents of these inscriptions would suggest a 5th or 6th century date.
- ⁶⁸ Foss 1996, 14.
- ⁶⁹ Van Zanten/Thomas/Hanfmann 1975, 45-47.
- ⁷⁰ Mansel 1968, 243-244.
- ⁷¹ Karnapp 1976, 35-37.
- ⁷² For instance, fragmentary remains of stucco and plaster imitating pseudo-isodomic masonry have been encountered on only a few wall sections at Sardis and Caesarea. See Van Zanten/Thomas/Hanfmann 1975, 39-40 for Sardis; Lehmann 1994, 127 for Caesarea.
- ⁷³ An earlier example, among others, can be found at the West Gate of Antioch in Pisidia, see Mitchell/Waelkens 1998, 96-99.
- ⁷⁴ HAEC LOCA THEVDOSIUS DECORAT POST FATA TYRANNI on the eastern, inside face and AVREA SAECLA GERIT QVI PORTAM CONSTRVIT AVRO on the western outside face.
- ⁷⁵ See note 54; Todd 1983, 61.
- ⁷⁶ Respectively ala2004, 19 and ala2004, 22, 42. Also, in the Inner Fortifications at Side, a late antique building inscription has been retrieved, but this was probably in a secondary position. See Foss 1977.
- ⁷⁷ For instance, on inscriptions commemorating the erection of the post-Herulian wall at Athens, see IG II/III2, nos 5199 and 5200; Sironen 1994, 21-22; the *Greek Anthology* 9.688 mentions the erection of a Gate at Argos and the man who built it; Pringle 1981, appendix CB cites building inscriptions of 6th and 7th century gates of North Africa.
- ⁷⁸ The middle passage of the Golden Gate was 15.50 m high and the side passages 10.88 m. The height of the passage in the North Gate at Blaundos was estimated at ca 2.8 m, and the passage in the South Gate of Zenobia at 4.60 m. The towers of the Golden Gate measured 18.32 x 16.87 m, those of Blaundos 7.63 x 7.08 and 7 x 7.88 m (field side); those of the South Gate of Zenobia 18.20 x 9.75 and 17.85 x 9.20 m.
- ⁷⁹ Bardill 1999, 690-696.
- ⁸⁰ See note 54.
- ⁸¹ See note 81.

- ⁸² Gros 1996, 42; Schattner 2006, 9.
- ⁸³ For instance, at Selge, the original functional gate near wall sections M44-45 was rebuilt as a representational arch in the 2nd century AD, see Machatschek/Schwartz 1981, 40.
- ⁸⁴ The only possible exceptions seemingly occurred at Selge, where some of the gates had more decoration on the interior than on the exterior. For instance, between M13 and M14, a postern gate leading to the southern valley exhibited a simple lintel on the exterior, but an arch with a moulded archivolt resting on top of finely carved impost blocks on the inside.
- ⁸⁵ Bardill 1999, 682.
- ⁸⁶ Also, mouldings were not continuous on the southern façade of the South Gate but stopped behind the most easterly passage. This would have remained largely invisible since visitors approached the arch from a sharp corner to the west.
- ⁸⁷ While those used in the other wall sections and gates had a height of 0.60-0.80 m, those on the North Gate were 1.06 m high, while the longest stone measured 1.70 m.
- ⁸⁸ The decoration on the top band of the eastern wall only continued for the first 0.60 m, after which it adopted a simpler profile. On the western side, the decorated band continued until the second pilaster.
- ⁸⁹ Such processions started in front of the gates and moved over the major thoroughfares of the settlement. For processions in general see Halfmann 1986; Bauer 1996, 389-394; for processions at Constantinople, Bauer 2001.
- ⁹⁰ Bardill 1999, 693, fig. 17.
- ⁹¹ McNally 1996, 25.
- ⁹² For the connection between wheeled transport and interurban traffic, see van Tilburg 2008.
- ⁹³ Liebeschuetz 1972, 208-209.
- ⁹⁴ Lavan 2008, 208.
- ⁹⁵ Richmond 1933 and Gardner 1987, 202.
- ⁹⁶ Von Hesberg 2005, 71, cf. *infra*.
- ⁹⁷ Gros 1996, 35 for Perugia; Schattner 2006, 12 for Ariminum; Touratsoglou 1988, pl. 45, R16 for Thessalonica; Maier 1961 gives examples of the Greek world, together with a discussion on the functions of these depictions. Examples of the Roman period can be found in Seston 1966.
- ⁹⁸ Mitchell 1995, 26-28. Until the second half of the 3rd century, Sagalassos was involved in the military campaigns against the Parthians and the Sassanians (Talloon 2003, 90-100, 119). In the 5th century, there was still an elaborate production of figurines depicting Christian priests or saints and warrior figures on horseback, the latter also appearing on the locally produced decorated pottery. They can be seen as the descendants of the indigenous warrior deities on horseback (Talloon 2003, 185-6, 195). For the cult of St. Michael in Sagalassus, see Talloon 2003, 192.
- ⁹⁹ Fowden 1997, 556-558.
- ¹⁰⁰ See Uytterhoeven in press for similar 'survivals' in the better known domestic contexts.
- ¹⁰¹ Gardner 1987, 202.
- ¹⁰² Crow 2001, 98; Gardner 1987, 202. For this reason, crosses were carved on all entrances.
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Reviews

BEATE BÖHLENDORF-ARSLAN / ALI OSMAN UYSASLI / JOHANNA WITTE-ORR (eds.), *Çanak. Late Antique and Medieval Pottery and Tiles in Mediterranean Archaeological Contexts* (Byzas 7). Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Abteilung Istanbul, 2007. 560 pp., figs.; 27.5 cm. – ISBN 978-975-807-197-5.

This book results from a conference held in June 2005 at the Onsekiz Mart University, Çanakkale. Most of the 36 papers published here address excavated pottery from locations across the Mediterranean, with an emphasis on Turkey, as well as Cyprus, Greece and Italy. There is little in the way of editorializing, although the subject matter is arranged in roughly chronological order, starting with the Late Roman and Early Byzantine period (4th to mid-7th century), through the Middle (8th to 11th) and Late Byzantine (12th to mid-15th) centuries, and concluding with Seljuk and Ottoman contexts. But these historical phases and sub-phases are not so neatly demarcated: several of the papers deal with sites and sequences spanning long stretches of time and different cultural milieux.

Rather than attempting a synopsis of each article, I will here focus on some recurring issues that emerge from reading them together. Although wide-ranging in their temporal and geographical scope, the contributions to this volume implicitly and explicitly raise a number of common themes. These relate to method and approach, and may be summarised as follows: chronology; typology; and, more generally, the role and aims of the ceramics specialist.

The difficulty of matching material culture with political events and entities is exemplified in what we call 'Byzantine'. For Jerusalem, Byzantine rule is customarily dated from AD 335 to the Arab conquest of the city in AD 638 (R. Avner, p. 196), while in parts of Greece and Asia Minor it can be seen to last from the mid-4th to the mid-15th century. But, of course, ceramics crossed political boundaries. During the long, Byzantine millennium, around the lands controlled (and not controlled) by Constantinople, regional identities were continually evolving and coalescing. Thus, the labels assigned to ceramics - Byzantine, Seljuk, Frankish, Genoese etc. - are often inadequate to describe the diversity of settings in which they were produced, consumed and circulated. Even where precise production centres are known for certain classes of, say, sigillata or sgraffito, derivatives and imitations were often being made elsewhere.

Whether we call a pot Roman or Byzantine, the first concern of the ceramics specialist is often to provide a date and origin. Most desirable is the stratified deposit or closed context. Several such contexts are presented here, including late antique deposits from Zeugma (C. Abadie-Reynal et al.), Hierapolis (D. Cottica) and Deir el-Bachit in Egypt (T. Beckh), and medieval and post-medieval assemblages from Aegina (B. Wille), Sparta (J. Dimopoulos), Paphos (J. Rosser), Belgrade (V. Bikič), Pliska in Bulgaria (V. Petrova), Dürres in Albania (J.

Vroom), Harim Castle in Syria (S. Gelichi and S. Nepoti) and Kubad-Abad in central Anatolia (R. Arik). Three stratified deposits from Amorium are presented: 6th to 9th-century bricks and tiles (J. Witte-Orr), terracotta spacers from the late antique bathhouse (O. Koçyiğit) and a long sequence from the southwest of the city wall (B. Böhlendorf-Arslan).

Pottery is not always found in well-stratified contexts or below dated destruction levels. The relationship between potsherd, coin and historical text can be tenuous. In these circumstances there is greater reliance on typologies, established through characteristics of vessel shape and attributes. Sometimes more general features of production and distribution typify certain phases: forms of Early Byzantine table ware display remarkable conservatism and continuity from Roman times. Slight morphological variations allowed for taxonomies to be formulated, notably, John Hayes' influential work on red slip ware and the various amphora classifications. However, as more material comes to light from more sites, and as closer attention is paid to fabrics, regional trends emerge and the picture of mass, centralised manufacture becomes more nuanced. Surface finds from Pednelissos in Pisidia indicate the co-existence of imported and locally produced fine wares in late antiquity, and may show the relocation of established workshops (F. Kenkel); chemical analysis of finds from Priene near Miletus show that pottery was imported from a range of places (Z. Yılmaz); and at Elaiussa Sebaste on the Cilician coast, 'derivatives' were produced alongside imports, and distinctive, vernacular techniques of carving and painting were practiced (M. Ricci).

Increasingly regional and localised traits are recognised from the 6th century onwards, including in Greece (P. Petridis), the lagoon of Venice (E. Grandi) and southern Apulia (P. Arthur). Classification based on well-known, site-specific forms therefore becomes less valid; more so when fabric analysis reveals a range of sources, and when newly-discovered contexts allow for more precise dating. All too often classification schemes are imposed on the material culture and reports abide by reified typologies rather than dealing with the evidence at hand. Typologies can obscure subtleties in the material record. And they can lag behind developments in the field - who knows how discoveries at the ongoing Yenikapı excavations in Istanbul will affect long-held precepts?

Adherence to outmoded typological schemes is highlighted in a review of scholarship on medieval ceramics from Cyprus (M.L. von Wartburg). Categories have derived from stylistic studies that focused on form and surface decoration - slip, glaze, and painted and incised motifs. However, stratified finds from controlled excavations allow for far more precision and detail that are not always compatible with former classifications. But where precise contextual evidence is not available, as is often the case, it may be necessary to turn to fabric analysis to discern origins, or to consider alternative questions - how vessels reflect the activities or status of

consumers, or to look more broadly at regional distributions, using a looser chronological framework.

Archaeologists will always be faced with variable qualities and quantities of evidence. Much depends on what work has been done, and where: distribution maps of certain pottery classes are often more representative of archaeological fieldwork and publication than they are of past patterns of deposition and circulation. What is important is to use all the evidence at our disposal - from archaeometric studies of individual fabrics to broad syntheses of surface assemblages collected on wide-ranging field surveys - and continually ask 'what do we want to learn from this material?'

Simply describing pottery classes and their findspot is not enough. The tyranny of the taxonomy can be challenged through interpretation and synthesis; of who produced, used and deposited the pottery and why, and comparison of assemblages across different sites and contexts. Empirical descriptions of form, fabric and spatial context are integral to the pottery report, and will continue to be a mainstay of archaeological knowledge, but the more successful and stimulating papers in this volume are those that go beyond the descriptive, to explore pottery's historical and social significance.

W. Anderson

MARIA ELISA MICHELI / VALENTINA PURCARO / ANNA SANTUCCI, *La raccolta di antichità Baldassini-Castelli. Itinerario tra Roma, Terni e Pesaro*. Pisa: ETS, 2007. 268 pp., figs., 24 cm. - ISBN 978-884671728-3.

It was through various vicissitudes, and more than one passing of property, that a set of antiquities, built in the walls of the *Gallery* at the piano nobile of the Baldassini-Castelli palace in Pesaro, reached their present location. Their history, and that of their owners, is engagingly handled by the authors of this book, providing a thought-provoking insight into the issues of use, perception and taste for antiquities within a 'peripheral' Italian context over the span of four centuries.

In the first Chapter, Anna Santucci deals with the Castelli family from Terni and its estates during the 16th and 17th centuries. Two key documents record the collection of art owned by the family: a detailed inventory (the *Inventario di Sculture*) and a receipt for its removal to Pesaro in 1740. Basing herself on both paleographic and historical ground, Santucci convincingly dates the list to the early 17th century, and identifies its author as Gabriele Castelli (1566-1636). It was probably during his stay in Rome, until 1590, as Pope Sixtus V Peretti's *cubicularius intimus*, that he purchased most of his antiquities, selecting the items according to the mainstream iconographic taste: Classical *virii illustres*, Christian *exempla virtutis*, relief panels with theatrical masks and Dionysiac themes, a few exotic *Aegyptiaca*. Santucci's detailed analysis of Gabriele Castelli's attitude towards Classical (i.e. Roman) past, as a source of promotion and legitimization for his own family, throws new light on the local debate about 'civic identity' and ancestors at that time. This section ends with a transcription of the relevant archival documents.

Chapter 2 traces the history of the family from 1712, when Francesco Maria Baldassini (the son of Cleria

Castelli) moved to Pesaro to marry Chiara Gozze, to the present day. Valeria Purcaro's contribution includes a precious paragraph on the Del Monte-Gozze-Baldassini palace in Pesaro. The author addresses both its building history and attribution, as well as the role of the area where it stands into the texture of the Roman town from the 1st century AD. The publishing of several documents about the family, and its estates, after the move to Pesaro follows. In a shorter paragraph, Mareva Cardone reconstructs in detail the history of both the Gozze family and the antiquities that Francesco Maria inherited from his wife's relations, for the most part found in the Gozze estate at Calibano, except for a small group presumably purchased in Rome.

Maria Elisa Micheli's Chapter 3 is probably the most captivating. In these pages, all the information on both collections (in Terni and in Pesaro) acquired so far are set within a wider cultural context. At the same time, Gabriele Castelli's taste in purchasing antiquities, and his descendants' in displaying them, is described with striking clarity. Notwithstanding the relative worth of the collection, it apparently met with two centuries of oblivion after the death of its initiator. During the 18th century, these works of art and antiquities were scarcely considered, and were probably not given a defined place in the Pesaro palace yet. According to Micheli, today's display can be most probably ascribed to the 19th-century naturalist Francesco Baldassini and was perhaps mainly due to the need of preserving the works of art belonging to the family. Sculptural fragments and relief panels were thus tidily organized all over the Gallery without following recognizable typological criteria or an iconographic sequence.

A substantial part of this last contribution is also devoted to an in-depth study of all sculptures now in the Baldassini-Castelli palace: part of those owned by Gabriele Castelli, a few architectural fragments probably found during the construction of the Dal Monte building, other pieces from the Gozze estates. For a closer analysis, Micheli chooses to divide the pieces into the categories of marble sculpture and clay reliefs, concentrating on their iconography, provenance (see especially pp. 125-127) and modern restorations (particularly convincing the suggestion of a link between the marble tondo discussed at pp. 130-132 and a similar panel from the Farnese collection, that could have served as a model for restoring the former).

A complete catalogue of the 70 ancient and modern pieces in the collection follows, including relief panels (only a few of them bearing partially intelligible scenes, i.e. no 35 with reaping), statues, architectural and figural fragments of minute dimensions (i.e. nos 33, 39, 42, 43, 45, 55). Fragments belonging to the same panel are dealt with together (nos 8 and 15, 18 and 34, 44 and 50). All entries are clear and well documented, each of them completed with a good choice of bibliography for further study. When possible, authors try to trace the provenance of the object on stylistic ground (i.e. nos 16, 18/34, 19, 22, 23, 25, 27, 36, 49), thus integrating the overall view with significant pieces of information.

A concordance list and a schematic drawing (pp. 149-153) provide useful tools for finding each piece in the inventories and catalogue, immediately visualizing its position on the walls of the *Gallery*. Unfortunately, the

choice of adding an independent appendix with archival documents after each article, and the lack of a common bibliography for all contributions does not always make the reading as agreeable and flowing as one would wish. Beyond this minor editorial remark, the book and its arguments are considerably well constructed through all sections. No subject or clue suggested by the intriguing topic is neglected, leaving very little out of the analysis. From such point of view, the greatest merit of the authors is undoubtedly that of studying this collection (or, as it should be said, these collections) under every possible respect, skilfully turning a somewhat 'minor' and 'peripheral' episode into a privileged mirror that frames and reveals the taste for antiquities within a precise geographical area over a long span of time. The book could provide a useful model for other scientific publications dealing with similar material and cultural issues, and is strongly recommended to all specialists engaged with the study of collections in modern Italy or with local history, as well as to those approaching the topic from other backgrounds.

Anna Anguissola

SUSAN I. ROTROFF, *Hellenistic Pottery. The Plain Wares*. Princeton New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 441 pp., figs. in text, 98 figs., 90 pls.; 31 cm (The Athenian Agora 33). – ISBN 978-0-87661-233-0.

Der vorliegende Band 33 ist bereits S.I. Rotroffs dritte monographische Abhandlung einer hellenistischen Keramikklasse im Rahmen der Agora Serie. Nach *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Moldmade Bowls* (1982) und *Hellenistic Pottery: Athenian and Imported Wheelmade Table Ware and Related Material* (1997) beschäftigt sich die Verf. nach dem ausführlichen Studium der Feinkeramik hier mit der zeitgleichen Gebrauchskeramik des Athens des späten 4. bis 1. Jh. v. Chr. Die Materialaufnahme und anschließende Auswertung aller drei Keramikgattungen nahm mehr als 30 Jahre in Anspruch (S. vii) und setzte sich zum Ziel, das Keramik-repertoire des hellenistischen Athens in seiner Gesamtheit zu analysieren.

Für die Untersuchung der Gebrauchskeramik, die Küchenwaren (zu ca 33%), kleine Salb- und Ölgefäße/ Unguentarien (zu ca 25%) und sonstige Formen ('household vessels', zu ca 45%) umfasst, wurden ca 1400 möglichst gut erhaltene Gefäße aufgenommen (S. 3). Dieses Material stammt vornehmlich aus geschlossenen oder relativ ungestörten Kontexten der amerikanischen Grabungen auf der Agora und wurde größtenteils in den 30er Jahren, aber auch nach dem Ende des 2. Weltkrieges gefunden (S. 9). Gefäße aus gestörten oder unklaren Fundzusammenhängen wurden nur dann berücksichtigt, wenn sie typologisch relevant - weil in den 'closed deposits' nicht vertreten - waren (S. 5).

Diese Auswahlkriterien verdeutlichen die beiden wichtigsten Maßgaben der Verf. für die Klassifizierung der attischen Gebrauchskeramik der hellenistischen Zeit, die untrennbar miteinander verbunden sind, nämlich das Auftreten eines Typus innerhalb möglichst vieler, stratifizierter Fundkontexte. Die Datierung der Fundkomplexe aus den amerikanischen Grabungen in

Athen basiert auf der Kombination der Datierungen verschiedener, voneinander unabhängiger Klassen, hauptsächlich der gestempelten Amphorenhenkel (S. 342) und der Feinkeramik (S. 7). Münzfunde haben sich - wieder einmal - als längst nicht so hilfreich für die Bestimmung der absoluten Chronologie eines Kontextes herausgestellt, da sie häufig um einiges älter als das späteste datierende Element waren (S. 342). Eine sehr nützliche und komplette Übersicht aller berücksichtigten 'deposits' einschließlich eines kurzen Fundinventars und weiterführender Literatur finden sich in Kapitel IV.

Dieser 'stratigraphische' Ansatz, der alle miteinander vergesellschafteten, diagnostischen Elemente innerhalb eines Kontextes zur Datierungsgrundlage macht, entspricht den Kriterien der modernen Materialauswertung. Exemplarisch in dieser Hinsicht sind die methodischen Ansätze der englischen und amerikanischen Grabungsteams in Nordafrika in den siebziger und achtziger Jahren (vgl. z.B. J.A. Riley, *The coarse pottery from Benghazi*, in J.A. Lloyd (ed.), *Excavations at Berenice Benghazi II*, Tripolis 1979, 91-467, mit weiterführender Literatur). Insbesondere im Fall von chronologisch weniger aussagekräftigen Klassen, wie eben der Gebrauchskeramik, ist die systematische Berücksichtigung der Verbreitung der einzelnen Typen in geschlossenen Fundzusammenhängen unabdingbar. 'Individually, coarse pottery can only be dated in general terms ... when taken as a whole ... coarse pottery does provide a clearer indication of the date of a deposit...' (Riley siehe oben, 107).

Die hier vorgelegte Typologie der attischen Gebrauchskeramik aus stratifizierten Fundkontexten stellt zweifelsohne einen Meilenstein im Feld der Keramikforschung dar! Eine ausführliche Beschreibung und Diskussion der einzelnen Formen mit zahlreichen Abbildungen bilden das Herzstück der Publikation (Teil II). Die diachronische Verbreitung der ca 80 Typen (S. 6) ist zudem in sehr übersichtlichen und hilfreichen Tabellen auf den Seiten 226-239 (charts 23-36) dargestellt.

An Wichtigkeit den Parametern 'Typus' und 'geschlossener Fundzusammenhang' untergeordnet ist die 'fabric', d.h. der Scherbentyp der einzelnen Gefäße (für eine rezente Diskussion des deutschen Terminus siehe V. Gassner, *Materielle Kultur und kulturelle Identität in Elea in spätarchaisch-frühklassischer Zeit*. Untersuchungen zur Gefäß- und Baukeramik aus der Unterstadt (Grabungen 1987-1994), in *Archäologische Forschungen* 8. *Velia-Studien* 2, Wien 2003, 25-26, Anm. 37). Daher sind für die typologische Untersuchung alle zu einem Typus gehörenden Objekte - unabhängig von ihrem Scherbentyp - zusammen berücksichtigt worden (S. 5).

Der Diskussion und Verbreitung der unterschiedlichen 'fabrics' wird dennoch ein angemessener Platz eingeräumt (Unterkapitel 2 des Teiles I, S. 13-53). Es wurden sechs lokale und 12 importierte Scherbentypen unterschieden (siehe Übersicht in Tabelle 2 auf S. 14), die größtenteils auch beprobt und naturwissenschaftlich untersucht wurden (Übersicht in Tabelle 3 auf S. 15 und Anhänge A-D). Außerhalb dieser Gruppen verblieben jedoch noch immer ca. ein Drittel der Gebrauchs- und mehr als die Hälfte der Küchenwaren (S. 14), was die Vielzahl der zu vermutenden Werkstätten noch deutlich erhöht. Zu jedem unterschiedenen Scherbentyp werden eine Reihe von sehr hilfreichen Tabellen und

Abbildungen mit dem jeweils produzierten Formenrepertoire vorgestellt (Tabellen 4-13, Abb. 2-16). Das erstaunlichste Ergebnis der Untersuchung der Scherbentypen ist wohl die Tatsache, dass unter der untersuchten Gebrauchskeramik (N. 541) wenigstens ein Viertel aller Gefäße aus nicht lokalen Werkstätten stammt. Aus dieser Betrachtung ausgenommen sind Formen, die aufgrund ihres Inhalts eingeführt wurden, wie z.B. Lagynoi, Aryballoi und weitere Parfüm- und Salbgefäße sowie Gefäße zur Aufbewahrung von Heilmitteln. Ähnliches gilt für die Küchenware, bei der sogar ein Drittel als importiert gelten darf (S. 61-62). An dieser Stelle sollte auch daran erinnert werden, dass im 'Industrial Quarter' von Thorikos nach archäometrischen Untersuchungen sogar 60%-78% der Küchenkeramik des 6.-4. Jh. v.Chr. als aus dem südkykladischen Raum, bzw. der Gegend um den Saronischen Golf importiert gelten darf (P. De Paepe, A Petrological Study of Coarse Wares from Thorikos, S. E. Attica (Greece), *Miscellanea Graeca* 2, 1979, 61-88, besonders 62, 83, Abb. 3, 86).

Der hohe Anteil an Importen unter der Gebrauchskeramik des hellenistischen Athens entspricht überhaupt nicht dem Erscheinungsbild der zeitgleichen Feinkeramik, bei der der überwiegende Teil lokal hergestellt wurde. Die Erklärungsmodelle für dieses Phänomen sind vielfältig, sicherlich richtig und wichtig ist Rotroffs Hinweis, dass der hellenistische Überseehandel auch mit Gebrauchskeramik nicht unterschätzt werden sollte (S. 64). Diesbezüglich ist es interessant, auf eine möglicherweise aus Athen importierte Lekane aus einem Grabungskontext des späten 5. Jh. aus Karthago hinzuweisen (M. Vegas, Phöniko-punische Keramik aus Karthago, in F. Rakob (ed.), *Die deutschen Ausgrabungen in Karthago* (Karthago III), Mainz a.R., 1999, 93-219, 114-115, Abb. 12,14). Sollte es sich bei dieser Schüssel tatsächlich um ein attisches Gefäß handeln, wäre der nach Rotroff sehr beschränkte Verbreitungskreis attischer *Plain Ware* (S. 64) um die punische Mittelmeermetropole zu erweitern, was im übrigen angesichts der massiven Importe attischer *Black Glaze Ware* zu ebendieser Zeit nicht weiter verwunderlich wäre.

Zukunftsweisend ist schließlich die kurze, aber prägnante Funktionsanalyse ausgewählter Formen (S. 59-60). In dem Maße, wie die Zusammensetzung des Küchenwarenrepertoires Aufschluss über die Ernährungsgewohnheiten gibt, können auch die wiederholten Fundumstände z.B. von Krügen auf dem Boden von Brunnenschächten Hinweise auf die Verwendung des entsprechenden Typus zum Wassers schöpfen geben. Bemerkenswert an der von Rotroff untersuchten Gebrauchskeramik ist auch der hohe Anteil - ungefähr zwei Drittel - an geschlossenen Gefäßen zur Verwendung für Flüssigkeiten, dem nur ca. ein Fünftel an Gefäßen für die Speisezubereitung gegenüberstehen.

Die vorliegende Untersuchung der attischen Gebrauchskeramik hellenistischer Zeit gehört zweifelsohne in die Reihe der ganz wichtigen, für den gesamten Mittelmeerraum relevanten Keramikstudien. Durch die Kombination aller in archäologischem Grabungsmaterial beinhalteten Daten, d. h. dem Typus, dem Scherbentyp, bzw. der Werkstatt und dem stratigraphischen Fundkontext, skizziert die Verf. ein umfassendes Bild der von ihr untersuchten Klasse. Besonders hervorzuheben ist die extreme Benutzerfreundlichkeit des Bandes. Für den

im konkreten Fall nach Comparanda für sein eigenes Fundstück recherchierenden Archäologen ist die Suche sowohl nach bestimmten Typen, als auch nach 'fabrics' oder die Kombination von beidem schnell und einfach.

Babette Bechtold

CHRISTIAN FREVEL/HENNER VON HESBERG (eds.), *Kult und Kommunikation. Medien in Heiligtümern der Antike*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2007. 468 pp., 116 ill.; 24 cm (Schriften des Lehr- und Forschungszentrums für die Antiken Kulturen des Mittelmeerraumes (ZAKMIRA) 4). – ISBN 978-3-89500-574-9.

Although means of communication were less ubiquitous in the past than they are nowadays, forms of communication comparable to the ones we are familiar with did exist in ancient times. Like today, message carrying objects appeared in various contexts. By combining a variety of essays on cult places and votive offerings, editors Frevel and Von Hesberg in 'Kult und Kommunikation' have attempted to provide a coherent overview of different forms of communication that were thought to be present in and around ancient sanctuaries. The volume consists of a selection of papers delivered in 2005 at two separate conferences that were organised around the theme of sanctuaries.

Each contribution to this volume in its own way examines the complex relation between communication and media in ancient sanctuaries. In their introduction to the volume, the editors argue very convincingly for the existence of four levels of communication that cover the fields of direct and written communication, as well as the mediating and symbolic representative role that communication can play. With this framework in mind, the reader is offered six different essays on a number of ancient sacred places and the cults that were practised in those locations. The use of the concept 'sanctuary' amongst different ancient cultures is examined in the essay by Garcia-Ramon. The author gives an interesting twist to his study by arguing that the different meanings that were attached to this concept reflect the various perceptions that may have existed of sanctuaries. By analysing a couple of cave sanctuaries in detail, Sporn also comes across the problem of the multifunctional and therefore multi-interpretable role of sanctuaries. In the third contribution to this volume, Boschung argues for the importance of including the context in the research of cult statues. The role that texts may have played as documents of a ritual communication system, is analysed by Manuwald. By elaborating on the texts that once were used in the cult of Asclepius, the author points out that these cult texts could also be regarded as advertisements for the sanctuary. Like in the third essay, here again the point is made that including the context - the setting in time and space - is vital to the study of these material categories. Moving to the 'state cult' of the Seleucid empire, in the fifth essay Thiel offers various examples of traits of communication, based on the reflections of interaction between different layers of society that can be retrieved from both the literary sources and archaeological record. The final contribution to the first part of 'Kult und Kommuni-

kation' is written by Wisskirchen, who as well examines the political aspects of cult, albeit in this case focussed on the links between the cult practices of the western pope and the eastern Byzantine emperor.

I agree with Frevel and Von Hesberg that the essays in the first part of their volume demonstrate that sanctuaries should be conceived as communication systems through which the religious, political and economical questions of society are negotiated by various means of visual media. Therefore, I think that the editors made a wise choice by discussing one category in detail, being votive offerings. It should be emphasised that votive gifts served a double function: while being a gift to a god or goddess, the votive offering at the same time communicated a message to the other people visiting the donation spot. In his contribution to this volume, Frevel argues quite convincingly that when votive offerings were disconnected from their sender, they still could be considered as mediums. The essay by Wenning offers the reader a nice overview of the Nabataean votive niches and sanctuaries in the region of Petra, although the discussion of the votive offerings seems to be somewhat artificially added. Von Hesberg, on the contrary, fully focuses on ancient votive offerings and the treatment they have received in contemporary research. He carefully notes that votive practices should not be studied apart from the cult they were part of. Doepner hopes that her study of a depot of votive offerings that was found in Calderazzo, Italy, can contribute to the discussion of the mediating aspects of terracotta statuettes in Greek sanctuaries in general. Votive offerings in Greek sanctuaries is also the main theme of the essay by Bumke, who in particular analyses the occurrence of Egyptian statuettes in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos. By assessing the statues in Archaic and Classical Period Athens that were erected to honour some of its citizens, Krumeich argues that they should be regarded as media in political and religious communication - communication between the state and the people as well as interaction between polis and divinities. A changing audience and the consequences that this may have had, is also a theme in the next contribution. In a good, readable essay on the Matronae cult in Germania Inferior, Eck provides the reader with an extensive list of the material expressions of the cult that became so popular with the Roman soldiers in the region. The final essay in 'Kult und Kommunikation' written by two scholars, Fiedler and Höpken, treats the differences in votive practices regarding the context in which they appeared, whether they were practised in private and communal spheres. The scholars' argument that remembrance should be considered an inherent aspect of votive gifts, makes their essay a very worthy contribution to this volume.

All in all, the book is commendable for those interested in a brief introduction to the variety of cults and votive practices that once existed. Albeit more obvious in one essay than in the other, every point of the triangle consisting of votive giver, the receiving god or goddess, and the space in which the votive offerings functioned, is treated in each of the contributions to this volume. Of course, the value of a collection of essays lies in the individual contributions. Although each single essay demonstrated to be product of high standard scholarship,

a standard outline for the contributions would have improved the volumes' coherency. Adding a concluding essay would have convinced the reader of the point that was concealed in every contribution, being: *Cult is Communication*.

Marije Boonstra

MARIA-KALLIOPE ZAPHEIROPOULOU, *Emblemata vermiculata. Hellenistische und spätrepublikanische Bildmosaiken*. Paderborn/München/Wien/Zürich: Verlag Ferdinand Schöningh, 2006. 311 S., 21 Abb., 8 Taf., (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums, Neue Folge, 1. Reihe: Monographien, 26. Band). – ISBN 3-506-75669-9.

Bei der vorliegenden Arbeit handelt es sich um eine Dissertation, die im Wintersemester 2001/2002 an der Universität Freiburg/Br. eingereicht worden ist. In der Einführung definiert die Verfasserin die von ihr bearbeitete Gruppe der Mosaikemblemata wie folgt (9; vgl. auch 17): 'Mit Ausnahme der großen Vermiculat-Mosaiken machen sie nämlich nicht das Paviment aus, sondern sind besondere Einsätze, die manchmal in einem strukturellen Zusammenhang zum Raum bzw. zum Paviment stehen, in das sie eingelassen sind. Diese Selbständigkeit, welche sich auch durch ihr kleines Format und den kompakten Setzkasten zeigt, hat die Aufnahme der *emblemata* in den verschiedenen Museen begünstigt, wo sie heute meistens wie Gemälde an den Wänden hängen.' An diese ihre Definition hat sich Z(apheiroupolou), wie wir noch mehrfach feststellen werden, erstaunlicherweise nicht gehalten. Zudem erklärt sie den Platz des Bildmosaiks im Zentrum eines Pavimentes mit der antiken Gewohnheit, sich beim Gastmahl durch ein Bild im Fußboden zu Diskussionen anregen zu lassen (9). Doch stimmt dies so nicht, denn Emblemata kamen nachweislich in größerer Zahl auch in anderen Raumtypen zutage, z.B. in Tablina und Cubicula, wie die Autorin selbst im Katalogteil bemerkt.

1. Hier werden zunächst die literarischen Quellen untersucht (13-18). Betreffs Moschion bei Athenaios, *Deipnosophistai* 5.207 c wird mit Recht auf die Umschreibung der Bildfelder mit Iliasszenen auf dem Prunkschiff Hierons II. hingewiesen. Anders sieht es nach Z. mit der Heroon-Inschrift von Apateira aus. Aber erstens stammt der Text höchstwahrscheinlich aus Thyaira – Tire (R. Mersic/R. Merkelbach/S. Şahin, *ZPE* 33, 1979, 191-192) und zweitens ist die allgemein vorgebrachte Interpretation als Mosaikeinsätze kaum haltbar (Rez. in *Les civilisations du bassin méditerranéen, Hommages à J. Sliwa*, Krakau 2000, 235-238).

Statt auf die kleinasiatische Inschrift der Kaiserzeit hätte jedoch auf eine Mosaikinschrift in Nîmes verwiesen werden müssen, da sie höchstwahrscheinlich den bisher einzigen epigraphischen Beleg für das Wort *emblemata* liefert (J. Lancha, *Mosaïque et culture dans l'Occident romain*, Rom 1997, 101-103 Nr. 50 [Lit.]; C. Balmelle u.a. in *La Mosaïque gréco-romaine* VII, Tunis 1999, 632 Taf. 233,1). An literarischen Nachweisen führt Z. die bekannte Lucilius-Stelle bei Cicero und Plinius d.Ä. an (*Quam lepidè lexis compositae ut tesserulae* [nicht *tesserullae*!] *omnes arte pavimento atque emblemata vermiculato*) sowie Belege bei

Varro und Sueton (13-14); bei dem letztgenannten Autor wird jedoch mit dem Wort *emblemata* nicht notwendigerweise ein Mosaik bezeichnet. Allerdings vermisst man Hinweise auf Quintilian (*de institutione oratoria* 2.4.27) und Augustinus (*de ordine* 1.1.2).

Auf die lückenhafte Darstellung der literarischen Quellen folgt ein Bericht zur Lage der Forschung (18-26), untergliedert nach Abhandlungen über *emblemata*, materialbezogene Untersuchungen, ikonographische Studien und Monographien. Es schließt sich ein Abriss über die entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Aspekte der figürlichen Mosaiken an (26-39). Hier lehnt Z. - wohl zu Recht - ein strikt lineares Entwicklungsschema der Mosaiktechniken ab. Die ersten *emblemata* werden in Alexandria lokalisiert (33-37), doch muss der Fundort nicht notwendigerweise mit dem Herstellungsort identisch sein, zumal ein Problem nicht übersehen werden darf: Ägypten besitzt keine Brüche, die Kalksteine in einer breiten Farbpalette hätten liefern können (Rez. a.O. 238). Von den Bildmosaiken Pergamons (36) geht Z. zu denen Italiens über (37-38), die in der Regel auf hellenistische Gemälde zurückzuführen sein dürften.

II. Hinsichtlich der Datierung von Figurenpaneelen wird zunächst auf die Bilder der Burg von Pergamon verwiesen, die kurz vor der Mitte des 2. Jh.v.Chr. angesetzt werden (41-42). Betreffs Interpretation und Datierung der beiden Mosaiken mit Frauenbüsten aus Thmuis, deren Herstellung aufgrund der Identifizierung der Dargestellten mit Berenike II. im ausgehenden 3. Jh. v.Chr. angenommen wird (42-43), gibt es starke Bedenken, auf die Z. nicht eingeht (vgl. Rez., TrZ 50, 1987, 451-452). Die delischen Bildmosaiken werden gemäß *communis opinio* mehrheitlich zwischen 166 und 89 v.Chr. datiert (43-44).

III. Zum Thema Mythologie (51-58) stellt Z. verständlicherweise fest (52): '(Es) sind nicht mehr als zehn *emblemata* mit mythischen Themen überkommen.' Allein im Katalog des Buches findet sich eine mehr als doppelt so hohe Zahl! In diesem Rahmen wird auch das Europamosaik aus Palestrina besprochen, das heute in Oldenburg aufbewahrt wird (54-55; 280-281 Nr. 81). Allerdings hat der Rez. dessen Authentizität mit zahlreichen Argumenten bezweifelt (Rez., AA 1990, 174-177), was aber die Autorin nicht einmal der Erwähnung für wert erachtet hat. Es folgen Abschnitte über das Theaterwesen (58-69), Allegorien - Rätsel (69-74), Dionysos und seinen Kreis (74-77) - ein Thema, das eigentlich zur Mythologie gehört hätte - sowie Xenia und Realia (77-82). In dem letztgenannten Abschnitt erwähnt die Autorin auch ein *emblemata* im Magazin der Staatlichen Antikensammlungen zu München (79 Anm. 211), doch unterlässt sie es, darauf hinzuweisen, dass es als Fälschung verdächtigt wurde (Rez., AA 1990, 170 Abb. 19).

IV. Dieses Kapitel ist den Bildmosaiken in den Palästen von Alexandria (83-84), Pergamon (84-90) und Samosata (90) gewidmet. Nach Z. gibt es bisher nur ein einziges figürliches Mosaikpaneel - allerdings später entfernt - in einem Tempel, und zwar in Pergamon (83 Anm. 222); aber die Autorin führt, ohne diesen Widerspruch zu bemerken, in ihrem Katalog (237 Nr. 25) einen analogen Fall im Samothrakeion von Delos auf; möglicherweise wurde das zentrale Bildfeld (?) aus der Cella des Venus-Tempels in Pompeji entfernt - oder zerstört (E. La Rocca/M. und A. de Vos, *Guida archeologica di Pompei*, Mailand 1976, 96). Mit Recht dagegen wird auf die auf-

fällige Anordnung mehrerer *emblemata* innerhalb dreier Böden der Burg von Pergamon verwiesen, für die es im Hellenismus bisher offenbar keine Parallelen gibt. Diesbezüglich hätte man jedoch auf die analoge Anordnung von Einsatzbildern in der Villa Hadriana zu Tivoli verweisen können (zuletzt B. Andreae, *Antike Bildmosaiken*, Mainz 2003, 279-291). Es folgt die Behandlung zahlloser Bildmosaiken in hellenistischen Privathäusern, zunächst derjenigen auf Delos (96-111). Nach Aussage der Autorin soll das Paneel mit Dionysos auf einem Tiger in einem Setzkasten gearbeitet sein (98. 234), doch findet sich in der bisherigen Literatur kein Hinweis darauf; im Katalog (233-234 Nr. 21) fehlt bemerkenswerterweise der Hinweis auf Bruneaus einschlägige Monographie (*Les Mosaïques*, Délos XXIX, Paris 1972, 240-245), die bei allen anderen Böden der Insel konsequent zitiert wird. Dennoch dürfte es sich um ein wirkliches *emblemata* handeln, da es schräg im Paviment sitzt; doch dies weist eher auf das nachträgliche Einsetzen eines älteren (?) Mosaikbildes in ein bereits vorhandenes Paviment hin. Beachtung verdient die Verteilung vieler Bildmosaiken innerhalb der delischen Häuser (110-111): Mehrfach ist offenbar das Obergeschoss prächtiger ausgestattet gewesen als das Erdgeschoss. Angeschlossen wird die Besprechung sizilischer Figurenpaneelen von Morgantina, Cefalù, Solunt und Syrakus (111-115). Hier findet sich die Aussage, dass das Paneel in Solunt mit Darstellung der Armillarsphäre hinsichtlich der Verwendung von Bleistegen ein Unikum in Italien sei (114 Anm. 357). Mitnichten: Zahlreiche Belege dafür finden sich bei H. Brem, *Das Peristylhaus I von Iaitas. Wand- und Bodendekorationen*, Lausanne 2000, 75 Anm. 158; anzufügen sind: Aquileia (L. Bertacchi in *EAA Suppl.* 1970, 1973, 69 s.v. Aquileia) und Urbs Salvia (G.M. Fabbrini, *Picus* 20, 2000, 125 Abb. 5). Ein Abschnitt über Gestaltungsprinzipien der Mosaiken mit hellenistischen Bildfeldern beschließt das Kapitel (115-118). Meistens sitzt das Paneel im Zentrum des Mosaiks, selten - wie in Pergamon - wurde eine parataktische Reihung gewählt.

In der Regel etwas jünger sind die vom italischen Festland stammenden Bildmosaiken, von denen die große Mehrheit in Pompeji zutage kam (119-126). U.a. wird auch das berühmte Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji genannt, doch wird dessen Import nach Pompeji bezweifelt. Dem Rez. wird dabei unterstellt, er habe einen alexandrinischen Ursprung des Pavimentes angenommen (122 Anm. 379); dies tat er mitnichten. Repliken italischer *emblemata* fanden sich im spanischen Ampurias (126-127), auch die große römische Villa von Rabat auf Malta barg mehrere Einsatzbilder (127-128). Die Beispiele Italiens oder der davon abhängigen Regionen erscheinen zwar ebenfalls im Zentrum eines feinen Tessellatbodens - nur ausnahmsweise innerhalb eines aus bunten, polygonalen Steinen geformten Pavimentes (129-130), doch werden die rahmenden Glieder nun entweder stark reduziert oder wirken überdimensioniert.

Zu Recht verweist die Verfasserin im folgenden Abschnitt auf das zunächst überraschende Faktum, dass Bildmosaiken nur ausnahmsweise einzelne Räume der Villen des Golfes von Neapel schmückten. Der Grund: Die Häuser gehörten sowohl dem ersten vor- wie dem ersten nachchristlichen Jahrhundert an und damals seien Bildpaneelen in der Regel bereits durch Sectile-Felder abgelöst worden (130-137). Dass dies nicht generell

zutreffen kann, zeigen jedoch zahlreiche Emblemata, die in Villen außerhalb Kampaniens gefunden worden sind (137-143). Ausführlich widmet sich Z. dann den figürlichen Mosaiken der Villa Hadriana bei Tivoli. Das Taubenmosaik, das übrigens nicht in einem Kasten (141, 142, 282), sondern auf einer Marmorplatte gearbeitet ist (so Furietti in der editio princeps S. 33; vgl. Rez., RM 98, 1991, 195 mit Anm. 44), wird in die augustische Zeit datiert (142, 282), die übrigen Bildpaneele unter Berufung auf M. De Franceschini und K. Werner in die hadrianische Zeit. Allerdings hat die erstgenannte Autorin an der zitierten Stelle nichts zur Datierung gesagt; diese erfolgt vielmehr auf S. 610 ihres Werkes: 'quadri d'epoca ellenistica'. Der letztgenannte Autor hat dagegen die Paneele in einer jüngeren Publikation, die Z. offenbar nicht kennt, hinaufdatiert (*Die Sammlung antiker Mosaiken in den Vatikanischen Museen*, Vatikanstadt 1998, 112, 127).

In dem Abschnitt über die Funktion der Bildmosaiken in einzelnen Räumen (143-159) wird zutreffend konstatiert, dass Bildprogramme in römischen Häusern nicht feststellbar sind. Allerdings ist die Aussage (147) 'Ebenso wenig (sic) können ihre Themata eine ganz bestimmte Raumfunktion direkt indizieren' in dieser generellen Art nicht haltbar: Die pompejanischen Symplegma-Paneele der Casa del Fauno (254 Nr. 47) und der Casa del Menandro (247 Nr. 40) stammen eindeutig aus Cubicula und sind in Räumen anderer Funktion kaum vorstellbar (so richtig 156-157). Die meisten Bildmosaiken schmückten die Böden von Triklinien (155), wengleich das gewählte Motiv nicht immer einen direkten Bezug zum Raumzweck erkennen lässt. Z. rechnet aber überraschenderweise die Speisezimmer nicht zu den repräsentativen Räumen in dem der Öffentlichkeit zugänglichen Bereich des römischen Hauses (154).

Im vorletzten Kapitel geht es um Repliken und Varianten unter den vorkaiserzeitlichen Bildmosaiken (161-182). Die Verfasserin versucht die Abhängigkeiten von Vorbildern bzw. untereinander zu klären. Ein neues Licht auf die Überlieferung von Musterzeichnungen als Vorlagen wirft ein Turiner Papyrus (164 kurz erwähnt), der jetzt ausführlich publiziert vorliegt: C. Gallazzi/S. Settis (edd.), *Le tre vite del Papiro di Artemidoro*, Ausstellungskatalog Turin 2006, Mailand 2006; C. Gallazzi/B. Kramer/S. Settis (edd.), *Il Papiro di Artemidoro*, Mailand 2008. Hinsichtlich des beigebrachten Materials hätte nicht nur auf Mosaikrepliken verwiesen werden können (vgl. auch eine Replik der Musikantenszene des Dioskourides, ebenfalls aus Pompeji: G. Stefani in *Atti del VI. Congresso dell'Associazione Italiana per lo Studio e la Conservazione del Mosaico*, Venedig 1999, Ravenna 2000, 282-286 Abb. 4), sondern auch auf Parallelen in größeren Tesselatmosaiken und in anderen Handwerkstechniken (Rez., AW 36,2,2005, 59-68; *Musiva et Sectilia* 2/3,2005/2006 [2008] 81-113). Ob es sich allerdings bei den beiden Bildern aus Thmuis mit einem angeblichen Porträt Berenikes II. (zur Problematik s. Rez., TrZ 50, 1987, 451-452) um etwa gleichzeitige Repliken handelt (162-163), darf angesichts der starken Qualitätsunterschiede bezweifelt werden. Zudem kennt der Rez. hinsichtlich des Tondo mit dem Schuppenmuster keine sichere vorkaiserzeitliche Parallele für dieses Motiv, so dass das Mittelbild später kopiert worden sein muss und vielleicht in einen noch jüngeren Boden sekundär eingesetzt worden ist. Bei der Behandlung von Fischmosai-

ken nennt Z. als Parallele ein Emblemata mit Buchtpanorama (178 Anm. 529), offensichtlich ohne zu wissen oder zumindest darauf zu verweisen, dass dessen Authentizität angezweifelt worden ist (K. Parlasca, RM 65, 1958, 173-174).

Das letzte Kapitel ist der Herauslösung und Wiederverwendung von Emblemata im Altertum gewidmet (182-196). Nicht nur - wie bisher schon allgemein bekannt - auf Delos, Sizilien und in Pergamon sind Belege für die Entfernung von Figurenfeldern bereits in der Antike zu finden, auch sonst gibt es allenthalben Beispiele für dieses Vorgehen, und zwar nicht wenige Fälle, wie Z. suggeriert (190), sondern bis in die späte Kaiserzeit in großer Zahl; ja sogar Pavimente mit geometrischen Rapporten konnten ganz oder teilweise entfernt und wiederverwendet werden (Rez., Pavimente als Bedeutungsträger herrscherlicher Legitimation, JRA 7, 1994, 257-262).

Die nun folgende Abkürzungsliste (201-203) hätte leicht mit der sich anschließenden Bibliographie (205-210), welche die Autoren ebenfalls mit Kurz- und Originaltitel aufführt, vereinigt werden können. Der Index Locorum (211-213) ist lückenhaft; es fehlen z.B. die meisten der in Kap. 1 genannten literarischen Quellen (13-18). Aber wozu soll dieser Index überhaupt dienen, wenn die Seitenangabe in Bezug auf das vorliegende Buch nie angegeben wird? Vergebens sucht man Indices der Fundorte und Museen sowie ein allgemeines Sachregister. Im Abbildungsverzeichnis (215-216) werden die Quellen der Tafelabbildungen einfach unterschlagen.

Den Abschluss des Buches bildet der Katalog mit 109 Nummern. Die geographische Gliederung ist allerdings merkwürdig: Die Fundorte Ägyptens werden weit vor denen Afrikas aufgeführt, diejenigen Siziliens nach denen Italiens! Innerhalb der Länder- bzw. Regionenabschnitte wurden die Orte in der Regel in alphabetischer Reihenfolge genannt, nicht jedoch innerhalb Ägyptens und Italiens.

Einige Ergänzungen seien zum Katalog beigegeben: Nr. 29: Hinsichtlich des Emblemata mit Fischen aus Kos ist die Aussage 'Setzkasten: Nicht geklärt' unrichtig: Das Mosaik wird heute zwar im Archäologischen Museum von Kos aufbewahrt - nicht *in situ*, wie angegeben -, doch befindet sich der steinerne Setzkasten noch am Fundort im Zentrum eines Sectile-Pavimentes, das deutlich jünger ist als das somit wiederverwendete Emblemata: L.M. De Matteis, *Mosaici di Cos dagli scavi delle missioni italiane e tedesche (1900-1945)*, Athen 2004, 144-145 Nr. 69 Taf. 85, 1. - Vgl. auch A. Kankeleit, *Kaiserzeitliche Mosaiken in Griechenland*, Diss. Bonn 1994, II, 1994, 124-127 Nr. 64. Nr. 66. 67. Zu den beiden von Dioskourides signierten Mosaiken aus Pompeji mit Szenen aus Menanderkomödien vgl. jetzt ausführlich D. Stefanou, *Darstellungen aus dem Epos und Drama auf kaiserzeitlichen und spätantiken Bodenmosaiken*, Münster 2006, 268-313.

Nr. 69 Taf. 6: Man kann sich fragen, ob dieses runde Emblemata mit Theseus und dem Minotaurus, das weder eine gesicherte Provenienz noch ein festes Funddatum besitzt, überhaupt antik ist: In der Hintergrunddarstellung, die wohl auf zwei Bildfelder gleichen Themas aus Kampanien (242 Nr. 34 Taf. 1; 248-249 Nr. 42 Abb. 14) zurückgeführt werden kann, ist offenbar einiges vom Setzer missverstanden worden; gleiches gilt für die Partie unterhalb des Kopfes des athenischen Heros. Die Über-

reste von zwei Skeletten im Vordergrund wirken ausgesprochen impressionistisch. Zudem spricht die stark unregelmäßige Setzweise der Würfel, die breite Fugen deutlich werden lässt, gegen einen antiken Ursprung. Nr. 73: Das Löwenmosaik in Holkham Hall stammt aus dem Theater von Gubbio (172 Anm. 516), ist dort aber wohl wiederverwendet (vgl. auch E. Angelicoussis, *The Holkham Collection of Classical Sculptures*, Mainz 2001, 158-159 Nr. 58 Farbtaf. 5, 1); wieso im Katalog angegeben ist 'Fundkontext: Wahrscheinlich aus einer republikanischen Villa in Rom', erschließt sich dem Rez. nicht. Nr. 75: Im Gegensatz zur Aussage der Verfasserin ('Setzkasten: Nicht festzustellen') ist ein Terrakottasetzkasten des Mosaiks mit Raub des Hylas aus Tor Bella Monaca sowohl im Original als auch auf allen publizierten Abbildungen deutlich zu erkennen: S. Muth, *Erleben von Raum - Leben im Raum*, Heidelberg 1998, 100 Anm. 333; 126-127 Anm. 443. 445 Taf. 42,1; M. Sapelli, *Museo Nazionale Romano. Palazzo Massimo alle Terme*, Rom 1998, 8 Farbab.

Nr. 76: Betreffe des runden Fischmosaiks aus Rom, Via Sistina 111, zu dem Reste von Terrakotta gehören sollen (A. Tammisto, *Birds in Mosaics*, Rom 1997, 359), die dann eindeutig auf einen Setzkasten deuten, fehlt der Hinweis auf eine technische Besonderheit: Ein Teil des Rahmens wird nicht durch Mosaiksteinchen gebildet, sondern besteht lediglich aus bemaltem Mörtel (C. Fiorini in *Topografia romana. Ricerche e discussioni*, Rom 1988, 47 Anm. 5). Nr. 84: Der Aufbewahrungsort des Mosaiks mit Wasservogel muss korrekt lauten: Cefalù, Museo di Fondazione Mandralisca.

Nr. 93. 94: Es fehlt der Hinweis darauf, dass beide Fragmente mit Tierdarstellungen aus dem Palazzo delle Colonne zu Ptolemais auf Sandsteinplatten gearbeitet sind: A.-M. Guimier-Sorbets, *RA* 1998, 281.

Nr. 98. 100-102: Der Aufbewahrungsort der Emblemata aus Ampurias muss korrekt lauten: Barcelona, Museo Arqueológico de Barcelona.

Nr. 99: Das Emblemata aus Ampurias mit Darstellung der Opferung der Iphigenie befindet sich in Empúries, Museu d'Arqueologia de Catalunya.

Außerdem vermisst man Emblemata, welche die Autorin - mit Ausnahme der Neufunde (Privernum [Raub des Ganymed] und S. Lucia di Pollenza [Eberjagd]) sowie einer Neuvorstellung (Capri [Katze mit Geflügel]) - hätte kennen können: Agrigent, Casa della Gazella (äsende Gazelle); Rom, S. Susanna (Poseidon und Amymone bzw. Perseus und Andromeda [?]); Solunt (Fische); Todi (Reste einer Theatermaske); Val Catena, Brioni (Theaterszene ?); Tarragona (Medusa); Alexandria (Medusa); Ptolemais (Medusa); Uthina - Oudna (Speisereste). Für Literatur s. die Bibliographie in den Bulletins der AIEMA.

Zu den genannten sachlichen treten viele formale Mängel. Die meisten griechischen Zitate weisen Schreib- oder Akzentfehler auf, einmal wird sogar falsch übersetzt: Statt Dionysios Herakleides (33) lies Dionysios, Sohn des Herakleides. Gelegentlich begegnet falsches Deutsch (80. 81. 104). Zu verbessern sind weiterhin: Statt *asaroton oecon* (36 Anm. 85; 81, 87, 134) lies *asarotos oecus*; statt Kollax (61 Anm. 149) lies Kolax; statt lybisch (84) lies libysch; statt begleiteten (119) lies bekleideten; statt Aurigemma (147 Anm. 457; 172 Anm. 516; 205) lies Auriemma; statt Receuil (202) lies Recueil; statt Chari-

tonides (206) lies Charitonidis; statt Daszweski (206) lies Daszewski; statt Stilleben (207) lies Stilleben; statt Matini (208) lies Morricone Matini; statt Wien (215) lies Vienne; statt Gaitsch (245) lies Gaitzsch; statt Cèbe (246) lies Cebé; statt Casa del Frutetto (259) lies Frutteto; statt Lybien (292. 293) lies Libyen; statt Puigi Cadafalch (296) lies Puig i Cadafalch.

Das Fazit: Die Arbeit weist zahlreiche formale und inhaltliche Mängel auf. Es beginnt schon mit einer unscharfen bzw. falschen Definition: So werden auch Bildmosaiken als Emblemata bezeichnet, bei denen nichts auf eine gesonderte Herstellung im Atelier und/oder auf einen Transport zum Zwecke eines Einsatzes in einen nahezu gleichzeitig verlegten oder gar jüngeren Tessellatboden hinweist. Zudem fehlen Hinweise auf einschlägige Monumente in größerer Zahl, auf welche die Verfasserin bei intensiverer Beschäftigung mit dem Material hätte stoßen müssen. Ebenso ist die Literaturkenntnis sehr lückenhaft. In einem Aufsatz des Rez. (*Mosaikemblemata – Rationelles Herstellungsverfahren und schwunghafter Gebrauchwarenhandel*, *BAParis* 28, 2001, 101-132) hätte die Autorin noch vieles zum Thema finden können, zumal sie ansonsten Literatur bis zum Jahr 2003 zitiert hat.

Dem Rez. bleibt unverständlich, wie diese Arbeit als Dissertation angenommen werden und darüber hinaus in eine renommierte Reihe Aufnahme finden konnte.

Michael Donderer

MAGDALENE SÖLDNER, *ΒΙΟΣ ΕΥΔΑΙΜΩΝ. Zur Ikonographie des Menschen in der rotfigurigen Vasenmalerei Unteritaliens. Die Bilder aus Lukanien*. Möhnesee: Bibliopolis 2007. 248 pp., 283 figs., 27.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-933925-80-0.

Since the middle ages, scholars and collectors have been intrigued by ancient vases with their exquisitely applied decorative motifs found throughout Greece and Southern Italy. Once labeled as 'Etruscan', then later grouped under the heading of 'Attic', and finally separated into their due categories, these vases have spawned generations of thought, theory, and interpretation. Among the most recent scholars building on the work of Kramer, Furtwängler, Beazley, and Trendall is Dr. Magdalene Söldner. Her book, a reworked version of her 1996/97 *Habilitationsschrift*, as she writes in the foreword, is a further *tessera* in the mosaic of modern understanding of Magna Graecia.

The book consists of seven chapters, conveniently divided into labeled sections and subsections, and each concluding with a summary of the topics discussed and conclusions drawn. The appendices comprise a list of abbreviations (237-238), a catalogue of public collections of Lucanian red figure vases (239-243), and references for the 283 photographed vases which follow (244-248). Unfortunately there is no index or bibliography at the end of the book (one must peruse the footnotes on each page in search of further references). Cross-references between figures and their mention in the text would also have been useful.

In chapter one (1-9), Söldner recounts the history of the study of South Italian red figure vase paintings and

identifies what she sees as errors in the interpretation of a group of figures she dubs 'youth-woman paintings'. Chapter two (16-45), addresses these figures in the context of chase scenes, beginning with the earliest examples from the Pisticci and Amykos painters, then moving to the intermediate groups and the workshops of the Kreusa and Dolon painters, and finally the Brooklyn-Budapest painter and late Lucanian painting workshops, thus following the subject through the life span of Lucanian vase painting. The third chapter, 'Paintings with youths and women in relaxed postures and their iconographic surroundings' (47-159), encompasses the essence of Söldner's hypothesis. Addressing the iconography through a time line represented by the painters and workshops mentioned above, the author analyzes depictions including attributes of the *palaistra*, war attributes, youths with club and *kerykeion*, various accolades, Nike, offerings for departing warriors, Eros, youths and women with Dionysian features, Apollonian youths and oriental warriors, Eros and winged youths, the deceased, nuptial and Dionysian elements. The chapter concludes with a discussion of Attic vase paintings and iconography of Dionysus, Heracles, and Hermes. Next are chapters about the 'men's world' (165-75) including iconography of athletes and warriors and the 'women's world' (177-200), covering women's quarters with and without Eros or winged youths, and Aphrodite and women with Aphrodite attributes. Chapter six (201-25) is an analysis of 'marriage paintings' including youth-woman paintings with a *klismos* and paintings with embracing couples and a *kline*, finishing with a look at a Lucanian and an Attic example of this motif. The final chapter (227-33) covers Söldner's conclusions and outlooks on the subject.

As the title implies, the primary aim of the book is to reinterpret representations of humans on Lucanian red figure vases, specifically 'Jünglings-Frauenbilder'. The scenes incorporate naked youths, often with attributes of highest male virtue including those of athletics and war, and fully clothed women often holding mirrors or attributes of Nike or Aphrodite which epitomize feminine virtue. While these depictions have been variously identified as non- or un-mythological, everyday or daily life scenes, such designations fail to capture the unrealistic nature of these depictions. Söldner is quite right; it is difficult to imagine a real-life situation in which a young, fully clothed woman would be adorning an entirely naked youth with a fillet or crown (e.g. fig. 65), or one in which a similarly virtuous young woman would be found in the company of an otherwise normal naked youth with wings sprouting from his back (e.g. fig. 169). At the same time however, these scenes are clearly taking place in the earthy realm.

Söldner sought the solution in the philosophy of ancient Greece. Plato's *daimonios aner* and concept of *bios eudaimon* provide a basis to Söldner's argument that these images depict the presence of *daimones* on earth to indicate the blessed lives of otherwise ordinary individuals. Forestalling obvious objections to the idea that people of the 5th and 4th century BC would have been well versed in the works of Plato, the author cites references to concepts of merging mortal and divine in older Greek writings (11-13), convincingly supporting the possibility that they were well known and accepted. The fact that this point of Platonic philosophy provides

the title of the book however would lead one to expect more than a brief reference to the epistle from which the term comes (*Epist.* VII, 326 b, 327 a; also references *Symp.* 203 a, *Phaid.* 58 e in respect to *daimonios aner*).

Herein lies the one weakness of this work, inherent of the sheer vastness of its scope. While Söldner does systematically and convincingly lay out the arguments for a separate classification of youth-woman figures, a slightly less ambitious and more thorough exploration of the theme might have been possible if the focus had remained on the evidence in chapter three with references to depictions from other chapters reinforcing the ideas presented there. This would have allowed for a deeper exploration of the philosophy in respect to the iconography.

Söldner's conclusions leave the door open for much more exploration. She recognizes that problems remain in the analysis and offers the enticing possibility of future application of new theories to vases of other regions and to South Italian tomb paintings (233), a study which would no doubt prove an invaluable complement to Dr. Söldner's research.

This ambitious and very well organized book presents provocative new ideas. As it is a fresh look at the subject and not an introduction to it, this book should stimulate avid discussion especially among graduate students and scholars of archaeology and iconology of the ancient world.

Helena N. Dyer-Müller

MICHAEL I. GALATY / CHARLES WATKINSON, *Archaeology Under Dictatorship*. New York: Kluwer Academic/Plenum Publishers, 2004). 218 pp., 67 ill. in the text; 23 cm. – ISBN 0-306-48508-7.

In 2002 a group of young archaeologists from Albania visited the *Archaeological Institute of America* to discuss the archaeology in their country during the age of communism, especially during Enver Hoxa's time in power. It must have been an exciting session. Although the invited Albanians were open-minded, it became clear that some ideas on prehistory, which were developed during the communist rule, were still current. This is a well-known phenomenon: 'regime change' does not automatically lead to a 'new' archaeology. That same year, inspired by their meeting with the Albanians, Michael I. Galaty and Charles Watkinson organized a session on 'Archaeology under Dictatorship' at the 67th Annual Meeting of the Society for American Archaeology. The present publication is the outcome of that session.

Archaeology under Dictatorship focuses on the archaeology of the Mediterranean during the inter-war period. It contains papers on archaeology in Spain during Franco's reign, in Turkey during Atatürk's time in power and in Greece during Metaxas' New State and the Colonels' junta. Furthermore there are papers on colonial excavations of fascist Italy in Egypt, Albania and Libya (there are even two papers on Libya, one by Stefan Altekamp and one by Massimiliano Munzi). Most of these articles on colonial excavations also deal with the archaeology in fascist Italy itself. Galaty and Watkinson write the theoretical introduction, which mentions briefly the archaeology in Hoxa's Albania. Bettina Arnold

writes the theoretical conclusion, which also deals with the archaeology in Nazi Germany. The case-studies are without exception of high quality. They give, even though half of them actually deal with a variety of colonial archaeology, an inside view in the lives of archaeologists in authoritarian political systems. Regarding the introduction and conclusion some critical remarks can and should be made.

Considering the main theme of the book - the problematic relation between archaeology and politics - it is surprising that Galaty and Watkinson formulate a highly political objective in their preface: 'Perhaps in the not-too-distant future Iraqi archaeologists can learn from the Albanian experience.' As the differences between Albanian and Iraqi society are obvious, one might think one deals with a 'sweeping statement'. But the authors are serious. Their statement refers to their appeal to interview archaeologists who once worked under a dictatorship. Thus crucial information can be collected which is needed for the 'deconstruction' of archaeological knowledge created in a dictatorial context. Galaty and Watkinson argue that this should be done both in Albania and in Iraq. Furthermore they emphasize that there is a need to hurry: the older generations have almost vanished. It is remarkable that they do not bring up the question if these archaeologists are willing to be interviewed, or able to be self-reflective.

This 'blind spot' seems to be connected to a theoretical framework chosen by Galaty and Watkinson. They apply the 'totalitarian state' concept taken from the work of Juan J. Linz and Hannah Arendt. According to them the main feature of dictatorial systems is that one person - the dictator - has almost unrestricted power. This person establishes this power not only by terror but also with the help of an ideology. For formulating this ideology support of academics is needed. But eventually totalitarian states can only put up an academic 'facade'. The academics involved are suppressed and not allowed to hold on to the ideal of objectivity. Meanwhile critics have pointed out that not all dictatorial states should be put in the same category, especially with regard to the position of scholars. The mechanics of regimes in binding intellectuals to their goals turn out to have been very diverse and complex. For example, scientists from the Soviet-Union were able to make some important discoveries. It is also brought forward by these critics that scholars in authoritarian states were certainly not always academics under pressure. Prehistorians in the Third Reich were able to create unprecedented opportunities for themselves. Unfortunately, Galaty and Watkinson do not take remarks like these into account.

However, the editors do take notice of some recent theoretical debates on the relation between archaeology and society. In the 1990s, when archaeology was hit by post-modernism, the history of the discipline was studied intensively. It was recognized that archaeology and nationalism have profoundly affected each other since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Building on these insights the editors of *Archaeology Under Dictatorship* formulate the hypothesis that the relation between archaeology and politics exists in every nation, but is more intense in the context of a dictatorship. All things considered, the essays in this book do not confirm this

proposition. What they do show is that the function of archaeology in dictatorial systems can differentiate considerably. Margarita Díaz-Andreu and Manuel Ramírez Sánchez describe why in Francoist Spain archaeology was not part of the main agenda: national roots were identified in the late Middle Ages when Spain became a religious and territorial unity. Still 'harm' was done. Archaeologists who obtained influential positions were often chosen because of their political allegiance and not because they were qualified academics. Wendy Shaw on the other hand reports that Atatürk was well aware of the fact that archaeology could create a Turkish national unity. He even personally decided in which direction archaeological research should develop. Academics had to make the Turks, who had populated Anatolia during the 11th century, into the autochthonous people of Anatolia.

Against this background, it is tempting to underestimate the quality of archaeological research under dictatorship. Altekamp concludes that field research in Libya regressed in the style of early and mid-19th century. Archaeology had only to communicate non-verbal political messages. Munzi nevertheless argues that one should not accuse Italian colonial archaeologists in Libya of vandalism: their fieldwork could easily be compared with that of the Italian archaeologists in Rome or French archaeologists in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco. In line with that, Dimitra Kikkinidou and Marianna Nikolaidou emphasize that the Greek authoritarian regimes were not alone in 'abusing' archaeology for propaganda means. The parliamentary governments of Greece have in that respect been equally active. This is an important conclusion; implicating that archaeological knowledge created in a dictatorial context should not be explained from that perspective alone. Oliver Gilkes - discussing Italian fascist archaeology in inter-war Albania - observes that many aspects of fascist archaeology were already in gestation prior to the First World War. It required only the catalyst of the fascist cultural and foreign policy to coalesce these.

The last critical remark of this review regards the role of archaeologists themselves. In the case studies in this book the absence of an explicit moment of choice is shown beyond dispute. It is fascinating to read Munzi's description of the Italian archaeologists Giulio Quirino Giglioli, Carlo Galassi Paluzzi and Antonio Maria Colini taking the initiative for the famous *Mostra Augustea della Romanità* (The Augustan Exhibition of Romanità) of 1937-1938. At this exhibition the fascist myth of the Roman Empire reached its maximum aesthetic realization. Munzi observes that the scholars involved did not need any political encouragement: they were spontaneous converts to fascism. If one takes into account this last consideration, one wonders why Bettina Arnolds in her theoretical conclusion still speaks of 'the Faustian bargain of archaeology under dictatorship'. Archaeologists in authoritarian systems often turn out to be loyal to the system, of which they are part and by which they are - partially - intellectually formed. Labelling these archaeologists as academics under pressure or opportunists only does not lead to a better understanding of their position and certainly not to a better understanding of archaeology under dictatorship.

Martijn Eickhoff

PETER BAUMEISTER, *Das Fries des Hekateions von Lagina. Neue Untersuchungen zu Monument und Kontext* (Byzas 6). Istanbul: Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 2007. 250 S., 11 Abb., 43 Taf., 2 Beilagen; 27.5 cm. ISBN 978-975-807-156-2.

In this impressive book, Baumeister treats us to an exhaustive account of the frieze of the Hekateion in Lagina (Koranza), a *demos* of Stratonikeia, which is a city in Caria. The temple where the frieze was found, a *pseudodipteros* influenced by Hermogenes (ca 200 BC), was excavated in 1892. Some 38 slabs of the frieze are preserved in Istanbul, and these represent about half of the original frieze. These belonged to the eastern (front) side, showing the Birth of Zeus; to the southern side, with the Carian 'pantheon'; to the western side, with a Gigantomachy; and to the northern side, with an enigmatic gathering of cuirassed male warriors, Amazons, deities and personifications. Opinions differ about the date and especially about the meaning of the northern part of the frieze. In his book, the author deals in turn with the research history; the as yet unpublished excavation of 2000; the dating of the frieze and the interpretation of the scenes; the production process; Caria; the frieze and the artistic context; the temple; and finally the compositional, narrative and typological aspects of the frieze and its figures.

In the historical context, we know that the Roman Senate rewarded Stratonikeia for its loyalty during the second Mithradatic war with privileges, e.g. the right of asylum in the Hekateion. An inscription in the pronaos gives the temple building a *terminus ante quem* of 81 BC. However, the date of the construction of the temple and frieze can only be estimated on the basis of typological and stylistic comparisons. Using this method Baumeister dates the frieze at between ca 120/110 and 90 BC, and distinguishes five contemporaneous workshops of sculptors who were mainly of local and partly of Rhodian origin.

The handshake scene on slab 223 of the northern frieze plays a prominent role in the interpretation. The emphasis that scholars place upon this scene raises several questions. For example, what is the relationship between the four frieze themes and Hekate? Which side of the frieze is the main one and why? Does the frieze have historical elements or a political message, or both?

For example, on the Lagina frieze Hekate does not have a triple body, and only in the Gigantomachy on slab 228 is an object found that could be a torch. Baumeister hardly addresses the issue of the identification of Hekate on the east and north side, in particular why the goddess does not carry her traditional attribute that allows visitors to identify her as Hekate. She has been depicted on Hellenistic coins from Stratonikeia with or without torch, and on several coins she is depicted with Zeus or Nike on the reverse side.

People approaching the Hekateion would see the eastern side of the frieze first, showing the Birth of Zeus. The question not fully addressed by Baumeister is why the handshake scene has been positioned on the northern side. If the handshake scene was so important to the identity of the *polis*, why was this slab not positioned in the middle of the frieze? The answer to this

question depends on the interpretation of the remaining fragments of the northern frieze, and more specifically slab 223 that shows an armoured man shaking the hand of an Amazon. If the frieze should be read clockwise, starting with the Birth of Zeus, then assuming that a procession would encircle the temple, the handshake scene could have been seen as the culminating point.

The gathering depicted on the northern side can be viewed as a unique case that differs from the standard iconography of the Amazon battle of the classical period. On one hand a tropaion visible behind the handshake scene suggests a victory. On the other hand the defeated Amazons do not show signs of submission. Though a torch cannot be seen, Baumeister suggests that, based on depictions of Hekate on coins from Stratonikeia, the woman to the right of the Amazon could be Hekate making a libation. Baumeister presumes that the deity to whom the temple has been dedicated must have been depicted in what has been considered to be the most important scene of the frieze.

J. Chamonard interpreted the scene as an act of friendship in which the male warrior would represent Roma, a personification of the Romans, and an Amazon, personifying the people of Stratonikeia or Caria. However literary sources do not mention a link between Stratonikeia, Lagina or Caria and Amazons. In Greek mythology Amazons originally lived in Pontus, and they were supposed to have founded Smyrna, Ephesos, Sinope and Paphos. It was also believed that they invaded Lycia, but a link with Caria has not been demonstrated. The problem is that the handshake scene suggests equality between two parties, which does not match the Roman view of conquered enemies.

Baumeister presents an alternative interpretation of the handshake scene, to which K. Tuchelt has already hinted. He argues that the scene should be interpreted as an allegory, which is typical in Hellenistic art (cf. the Archelaos relief and the Tazza Farnese, both dated by Baumeister to the end of the 2nd century BC). The 'Roman', according to Baumeister, who is shaking the hand of the Amazon, should be seen as a Greek. The handshake would represent the reconciliation between old enemies. The theme of the relief would express the *utopia* of peace (pp. 56-61).

The representation of the warrior as a Greek, however, cannot be accepted at face value. Cuirassed Greeks are not known in visualized Amazonomachies. The military dress of the male warrior suggests that he is Roman; his helmet, however, does not show the typical cheek pieces visible on Roman Republican coins.

There is some suggestion that linkage with documented political events, critical to the good fortune of Stratonikeia, can be found. In this particular case, the two candidates involved appear at the end of the Aristonikos revolt, and a treaty following the end of the second Mithradatic War. The latter option is, however, impossible as temple and frieze pre-date this war if Baumeister's stylistic analyses are correct. The northern part of the frieze may hint at the revolt of Aristonikos (130 BC), who drew the western part of Anatolia into war with Rome. Due to Roman intervention peace returned to the region. Caria probably became part of the Roman province Asia in 129 BC. Thus the handshake

scene could then be interpreted as an act of enduring peace. The Stratonikeians were already indebted to the Romans as the latter 'liberated' them from Rhodian dominion a few decades before. An undated inscription on the *cella* wall describes good fortune for Stratonikeia, due to a divine intervention of Hekate.

In summary, it is our opinion that the northern part of the frieze probably symbolizes the solidarity between Roman warriors and Stratonikeia/Caria, impersonated by Amazons, and guaranteed by a libation, possibly taken by Hekate. As Amazons were supposed to have been mythical city founders, they also can have had a positive meaning in Caria.

An appendix presents three frieze slabs similar in style and theme to the temple frieze but of smaller size, one of which was found in 2000. They may have belonged to an altar in front of the temple.

The book offers also a summary and conclusions in Turkish. All the frieze slabs are well illustrated. Photos of *comparanda* are absent. The book is without an index and a bibliography; however references can be found in 953 footnotes.

P. de Graaf and L.B. van der Meer

CRAIG A. MAUZY, with contributions by John Mck Camp II, *Agora Excavations 1931-2006; a Pictorial History*. Princeton N.J.: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 128 pp., 267 col. & b/w figs.; 30 cm. – ISBN 0-87661-910-3

This book celebrates the 75th anniversary of the American excavations of the Athenian agora; besides, in the same year the American School itself celebrated its 125th anniversary. It is a sympathetic, agreeable book, full of interest and at times truly moving. It starts with two photographs of the shadow of a photographer: of Dorothy Burr Thompson in 1932 and of Mauzy himself in 2006. The book is dedicated to 'all the photographers who have captured and preserved a visual record of our work during the past 75 years'.

It contains an account in old and recent pictures of a limited number of subjects. These subjects are: the first season, 1931 (pp. 1-30) and three of the most spectacular enterprises: the reconstruction of the stoa of Attalos (pp. 31-73), of the Church of the Holy Apostles (pp. 74-89), and the landscaping of the park (pp. 90-107). The chapter on the first excavation explains the notebooks and plans of the time and shows, in very fine photographs, the first field work and, e.g., the discovery of the altar of Zeus Agoraios (fig. 35) and of the torso of Hadrian (figs. 42-43); also we see the early workmen in action (figs. 47-48).

The stoa of Attalos is treated extensively in a truly adventurous account: we follow the planning (figs. 71-72), the work of the engineers and architects (pp. 29-43); we are taken to the quarries (pp. 44-49), and note the loading of the blocks for transport from the quarries to Athens. We follow the stone cutters at work (figs. 89-99); how the foundations are laid and the basement is constructed (pp. 54-55); the steel and concrete that is used (pp. 56-57); the constructions of the floors, the raising of the columns (pp. 60-61), the laying of the roof tiles

(fig. 144); the inauguration (p. 71) and the museum (pp. 72-73). All this provides very welcome and visually intelligible and enjoyable information.

The restoration of the church of the Holy Apostles was a very different piece of work (pp. 74-89). After fine drawings of the church (figs. 160-165) we follow the building of the complicated domes (pp. 82-85) and at the end we enter the church and see the frescoes, some taken from the church of Hagios Spyridon (pp. 86-88).

The chapter on landscaping (figs. 199-237) shows the proposal and the choice of plants and then illustrates the great change in the way the site of the agora is now to be viewed: formerly, empty and full of highly fascinating ruins and traces of walls, such as archaeologist enjoy, in figs. 206 and 209; 212 and 215; and now full of lush trees that mask almost everything that is archaeologically of interest, in figs. 208 and 211, 214 and 217. The garden of Hephaestus is treated separately in figs. 218-224: the inauguration and the final result of the project is seen in figs. 228-237.

The book ends with a kind of 'family-album' of the staff (pp. 108-128), sometimes lively action pictures, sometimes embarrassingly stiffly arranged groups of ladies and gentlemen, very like the 'nostalgic' pictures of our own school days (figs. 240-267). Look at the impressively aristocratic photograph of Leslie Shear (fig. 241), the lively snapshot of Homer Thompson with two fine pots (fig. 242b) and of Dorothy Burr hard at work in fig. 243b and Virginia Grace, graceful indeed: fig. 251b. Then there are, of course, Alison Frantz (fig. 253), John Travlos (fig. 249), Lucy Talcott (fig. 252) and many others who had a long association with the agora (William B. Dinsmoor Jr., Evelyn B. Harrison and others). And who would not like the sturdy workmen in the last picture, fig. 265, some young and muscled, others bellied and friendly? Such photographs in themselves justify the unexpected and rather untraditional conception of this festive edition which celebrates, after all, a most monumental archaeological enterprise that could never have been undertaken but for the grand American way of thinking. The archaeological world should be grateful to them and to the authors of this book.

J.M. Hemelrijk

ANNA LEMOS, *Corpus Vasorum Antiquorum, Greece*, Fasc. 10; *Rhodes, Archaeological Museum*, Fasc. 1; *Attic Black Figure*. Athens: Academy of Athens, 2007. 138 pp., 51 figs., 95 pls.; 32.5 cm. – ISBN 978-960-404-098-8 / ISSN 1108-3670.

The committee for the *Greek Corpus Vasorum* may be proud of the steady growth of the series and the quality of the fascicules. The present one is no 10 of Greece and no 1 of the museum of Rhodes. It is lavishly edited. It contains part of the Attic bf. vases found by the Italians during their excavations of Ialysos and Camiros (but vases published in the CVA Italy 9 and 10, dealing with Rhodes, are excluded, apart from ten items mentioned in the Preface). Of most of the other pots photos and descriptions have been published in *ASAtene* or *CIRh*. As the total number of the Attic vases in question is over three hundred, the present fascicule contains only

the closed shapes; the open ones are planned for a following volume. Here we find amphorae type B, one of type A (Swing Painter) and one of C (the Affector), and numerous neck amphorae, hydriai, pelikai, kalpides, oinochoai, olpai, lekythoi etc.

It is interesting to see what vases the Rhodians approved of for the graves of their deceased. There are, of course, attractive and pleasing vases: pl. 1, for example, is a nice horse-head amphora (ht. 25 cm) and quite attractive are such vases as the tall amphora by the Princeton Painter (ht. 52.5 cm, pls. 12ff) and those of pls. 17-19 and others, but the general quality of the numerous slight vases, mostly small, of pls. 55-95, is mediocre and often downright shoddy.

The texts with the descriptions and discussions are very extensive: for 95 plates there are no less than 132 pages printed in two columns. The comments are very learned and instructive; they contain great numbers of bibliographical references for all kinds of details of shapes and paintings. There are 51 excellent profile- and section-drawings and most of the numerous photographs on the plates are impeccable. There are the indispensable indices for inventory numbers, artists and subject matter. In short, the work is in most respects highly praiseworthy and admirable. Yet some critical notes should be made.

In the Preface, a few words ought to have been devoted to the history and circumstances of the Italian excavations. Then, there is the fact that this is an exceptional fascicule in that the vases are nearly all from published excavations and therefore have a known context. Each context might have been specified with a few words (not only with the references to the publications in *ClRh* and *ASAtene*). Also, there is no index of the tombs in which the vases were found and we are not told which vases come from one and the same tomb (we can find some information with the help of the inventory numbers on pp. 133-134). Further, though we are sometimes told that the burial was inhumation or cremation, in most cases we are not (see ad pls. 2, 5, 6, 10, 57, 58 etc), neither are we told whether the grave in question was an individual burial or a family tomb; nor whether it contained a male or a female corpse (if known). These particularities are wholly lost for most vases in nearly all other fascicules of the CVA. Perhaps this objection can be addressed in the next fascicule?

The discussions of the texts are very detailed but they are not without inaccuracies. They could have done with a final proof reading. It would carry us too far to draw attention to many of these slight flaws, but a small number chosen arbitrarily may be mentioned.

That the numerous chariots are called bigae (though they are quadrigae) and that some vases are said to be 'intact' though big fragments may be missing (e.g. pl. 7, p. 21) is of little importance, but some descriptions are incorrect or incomplete, especially when the drawing is muddled. One or two examples may be mentioned.

In the scenes on the neck amphora by the Madrid Painter of pls. 31-33 (p. 51) the (badly drawn) left arm of the left-hand satyr (pl. 33.2) is slung over the right arm of the maenad in an impossible way (the painter probably meant that he had thrown this arm around both her shoulders); and the maenad is playing the krotala, her right arm lifted high (not her left).

Incomplete also is the description of pl. 6 (p. 20), where the horse A2 is said to have two tails (the author probably mistook the double incision outlining the shoulder of the left-hand horse, A1, for a second tail). Again, the drawing is bad: the right leg of the horseman, A1 on the offside, is incised right over the tail of the horse A2, on the nearside, and the front hooves and fetlocks of horse A1 are sketched too far off to the right (visible under the belly of A2 with hairs incised on the fetlocks). It seems as if the horse A2 (which wears a bridle) has broken loose and is now being pursued by horseman A1, a highly unusual scene: one expects a horseman falling off or on the ground. A similar lack of precision is found in the description of the scenes of the big amphora of pl. 11.2 (p. 25). Here Heracles chokes the lion with his right arm round its neck, while his left hand seems to pull at its tongue in its open jaws: a truly effective way to prevent biting. Heracles never wields a weapon with his left hand (the author supposes on p. 27 that he has thrust his sword with this hand down the lion's throat, but no sword is to be seen). Tongue-pulling does not, to my knowledge, occur in pictures of the Nemean lion, but it is not uncommon in fights against sea monsters (*kētē*). In the other scene of this vase (pl. 11.1) the attacking warrior stands on the pole of the chariot (as Heracles does in *Gigantomachies*): his (left?) foot is clearly visible in the somewhat blurred photo.

The chariot departure of the Princeton Painter on pl. 13 and the frontispiece, is called an 'everyday-life scene' (repeated on p. 35 for pl. 18), but the family of the deceased must have regarded it as a kind of heroization of the buried man, who is associated with the person in the chariot (who cannot be meant as the *paidagogos* as is said in the text; one is inclined to think that his son is thought to be next to him serving as his charioteer); and at the same time he may have been associated with the hoplite in full armour next to the quadriga (a natural assumption since all Athenians had to fight in the wars of their city). The family would view this scene as a happy symbol of the departure from life of an important male of the family, a thought prompted by scenes such as the apotheosis of Heracles, pl. 24, or the departure of Athena, pl. 33. The same holds for nearly all other departure scenes with a quadriga, such as pl. 18, where on the other side Dionysus with his frolicking satyrs forebodes, I think, happiness for the deceased. However, we are not told if these graves were of adult men or not.

On pl. 50.2 there is no comment on the way the painter muddled his concept: the right hand of the warrior (on the offside in the chariot) is open and empty, his left hand holds his shield not by the usual *porpax* but by a long, slack rope (four incisions) attached to the rim of the shield. His spear slants upwards from behind this shield but he does not hold it. Clearly the painter became confused by the complexity of what he wanted to draw: the edge of his shield on the offside cuts through the railing of the chariot which is on the nearside.

There are other interpretations of figured scenes with which one may disagree, but this must suffice because of the limited scope of this review.

There is little reason to criticise the author's dating, but the olpai of pls. 66 and 67, from one and the same tomb, are surely 510-500 at the earliest, not 530-520 BC, *pace* Lemos (curiously, the drawing of both is praised

highly - 'extremely delicate incising'; pp. 91-92 - though the lion's head on pl. 66.3 is simply awful). Another example is the flattish aryballos of pl. 95 which should, I believe, be dated to about 500 BC or later, judging by the legs of the runners (the hindmost being off the ground in the air and even the front feet, on which the athletes land, are above the ground).

Though more such points could easily be made, it would not be proper to continue in this manner: the text is so rich that minor defects may remain unmentioned here. There is one exception, however: the numerous mistakes in the indications of the scale of the section drawings figs. 1-51. I give a few examples (but there may be more): the vase of fig. 1 (pl. 1, ht. 24-25 cm) is printed 1:1 (not 2:3); that of fig. 6 (ht. 43.7 cm; pl. 17) is nearer to 1:2 than 2:3; fig. 7 (pl. 19, ht. 37.2 cm) is near 3:5 (not 1:2); fig. 8 (pl. 22, ht. 26.7 cm) is 1:1 (not 2:3) and fig. 10 is enlarged to about 5:3.5 (ht. 11.7 cm, pl. 23.1-4); erroneous also are the indications of the scale of figs. 12, 21, 22, 24, 35, 36 (the last two are 2:3). From the drawing fig. 33, of the olpe of pl. 66, 1-3, it appears that the indication of the height in the text should be 14.6 cm, not 15.6 cm (as mentioned on p. 91). As regards fig. 3 (printed 1:2), the thickness of its wall above the foot seems impossible: nearly 2 cm (pl. 7; ht. 31.5 cm). Finally, I suspect the accuracy of the section drawings of the inside of the attachment of the necks into the shoulders of the lekythoi figs. 39-49: there should be traces of the extra clay which is used to insert and fasten the necks into the shoulders (see the CT [computer tomography] scans in CVA *Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum* 3, 2006).

However, as has repeatedly been said above, this is a very thorough piece of work, containing a wealth of information; it is a welcome addition to our knowledge of Greek vases and a pleasure to study.

J.M. Hemelrijk

EVA SIMANTONI-BOURNIA, *La céramique grecque à reliefs. Ateliers insulaires du VIII^e au VI^e siècle avant J.-C.* Genève: Librairie Droz S.A., 2004. 174 pp., 72 pls.; 29.5 cm (Hautes Études du monde gréco-romain 32). – ISBN 2-600-00936-1 / ISSN 1016-7005.

The relief decoration of Greek pithoi and other monumental pottery of historical times starts in the 8th and disappears at the end of the 6th century BC. In her book the author presents the development of the pithoi and amphorae that were produced on the islands. The vases from Boeotia are also included, because they cannot be dissociated from those of Tenos (p. 7 with n.2; p. 113). Of the Cretan and Rhodian ware only the published material is discussed (and therefore very few photographs are printed here). The most instructive part is the chapter on the Cyclades, with the Appendix (pp. 135-145) which contains unknown fragments from Tenos (a full publication will follow). Here the photos are good: e.g. figs. 46-110. In the other sections the photos are few and often unclear (see, e.g. figs. 7-8, 14, 22, 24-36 etc; fig. 64 on pl. 28 is lacking). The author's main interest are the figured scenes, ornaments are treated incidentally (p. 8).

The book is written for experts; it has to be read with many other books at hand, for most of the items dis-

cussed are, unfortunately, not illustrated. As for the organization of the material, one would have liked numbered lists of the vases that are assigned to the groups of Crete (pp. 21-47), Rhodes (pp. 49-60) and the Cyclades (pp. 63-120), but no such lists are given. This makes it difficult to coordinate the figures with the text; the reader has to note the pages in pencil next to the pictures to find his way. The list of illustrations is not very helpful; it does not even indicate the size of the vases and fragments (pp. 167-171). Also, the reviewer would have welcomed section- or profile-drawings of some of the shapes, and drawings of the most striking ornaments, for example the remarkable multiple-hook-shaped or step-like patterns such as those of pls. 21-23; 24, 48. In other respects the book is well-organized and full of interest.

The introduction (pp. 9-20) deals with terminology, the very difficult techniques of production of these monumental pots (sometimes about 2 m high); they were made in sections placed on top of each other, two or three for the body and one for the neck and the joints were sometimes covered by bands of clay, often ribbed. Further, we read about the application of their relief-ornaments, the (apparently only incidental) colouring of the reliefs or the background; the use of the vases (at home, in sanctuaries, tombs etc.) and the rather surprising fact that not only the potters but also the vases could travel, for vases produced with the same cylinder seals are found far from each other and shipwrecks show that big pithoi were not too difficult to transport, pp. 16-17. It ends with a short discussion of the precursors, their shape and decoration (but without illustrations, except for the hand-modelled, Late-Minoan fragment, pl. 1.1, figuring a colossal bull with a frontal head).

Chapter 1 discusses the relief pots from Crete which are arranged in five groups from 690-550 BC, a grouping proposed by J. Schäfer, *Reliefpithoi*, Kallmünz, 1957, here applied with a slightly later dating. This chapter contains a detailed discussion of no less than 25 pages (pp. 22-47) which cannot easily be summarized. Among the few pictures given of group I (690-660 BC), there is a fragment in Oxford (pl. 1.3) with friezes of impressed spirals above and below a row of supine warriors, each leaning far backward on his right hand looking round, and holding a staff in his left hand. The figures were made with a flat stamp seal. Underneath each there is a slanting line (vaguely reminiscent of the deck of an upturned ship). On the fragment pl. 2.4 we see, under a fine cable on the rim, parts of centaurs holding two branches (670-660 BC). On a fragment of group II a (small) Master of Animals is holding two (colossal) panthers by the ears (pl. 2.5-6; 660-640 BC). There is also a powerful woman's head (pl. 5.12; a sphinx?). In group III (which contains the studios of Arcades and central Crete; 640-610 BC, pp. 29-40) we have a variety of fine reliefs (pls. 3-8); e.g. a number of sphinxes, a lion with an arrow through his jaw (pl. 5.13), hieroi gamoi (p. 34, pl. 3.8; pl. 4.11), a (rather doubtful?) Bellerophon falling from his Pegasus (an incident alluded to by Pindar, *Isthm.* 7.44-47; p. 35, pl. 7.16), frontal hoplites (p. 35), a Mistress of Horses (pl. 7.17) and Clytaemnestra being killed (p. 37). Of group IV (610-590 BC; pp. 40-43) two metopes of the neck of an amphora from Phaistos are reproduced (pl. 9): a

healthy, short-bodied horse and a fine cock which looks later than 590 BC to me.

In group V (pp. 43-47, 590-550 BC) we find Heracles and Cerberus (pl. 10, 23) and what is, I think wrongly, believed to be a hunt of the Kerynean hind (p. 45, see n. 207) but also a curious scene with two satyrs (?) holding a woman by the wrist (p. 46 n. 211), a scene that is reminiscent of those with the Dioscouroi and Helen. All through this excellent text one regrets the lack of pictures.

The second chapter deals with the relief-vases from Rhodes (pp. 49-60), first studied by Feytmans who recognised three centres: Lindos, Camiros and Ialysos. Schäfer distinguishes three groups (the date of the first group is here lowered): Group I 710-675 BC; Group II 675-600 BC; Group III 600-510.

Group I (710-675 BC), begins with short-necked amphorae (pl. 11,24); the ornaments are impressed on the surface, not on raised bands, and were made with cylinder seals; they become more and more interesting and intricate on the following vases (but are not visible in the pictures). In Group II (675-600 BC) shapes are more slender, necks tall with complicated handles (pls. 11,25 and 12,26-27). The ornaments are described on p. 52: they are arranged in a way reminiscent of tapestry, but with many curvilinear elements (spirals etc.); pls. 12-13. The cross-shaped decoration of the neck on pls. 11,25; 12 and 13,31, is continued in Group III (600-510 BC), pls. 14,32; 15. The vases from Ialysos III are very different (pls. 16-17; p. 55). Figures are rare (p. 56) and the artisans are only occasionally interested in mythological scenes or combats (pp. 56-62). The subjects are sphinxes, horses and the like, but there are two combats of a centaur and a warrior (pp. 57-58, pl. 18, 37-38; a Titanomachia?).

The third chapter deals with the relief vases from the Cyclades (pp. 63-120) and forms the author's main contribution. The original centre must have been Tenos (p. 63). The artisans of these vases were very gifted personalities, creating a kind of artistic *koinè*, different from the work of other regions. These amphorae are decorated with figured scenes, often mythological, from the geometric period onwards (in contrast with the painted pottery of the same region). In the 6th century the grand tradition of hand-made and mould-made decoration came to an end and was replaced by the use of the 'roulette' (cylinder seal). The author discusses the material in five chronological groups: Group I, 740-700 BC; Group II, 700-675 BC; Group III, 675-650 BC; Group IV, 650-600 BC and Group V, 6th century. The material is very rich: Group I (Andros, Tenos, Naxos and Amorgos) covers no less than 13 pages (pp. 65-78). The reliefs are made by hand and the linear motives are exceptionally fine. Three complete or nearly complete amphorae are preserved: pls. 20-21; and 22,42 (the shape of the last one is described as a gigantic version of an ovoid Proto-corinthian aryballos); and there are some big fragments (pl. 23). The most remarkable ornament is a multiplied angular z-shaped motif covering the whole surface (except the necks); on pls. 20 and 21 it makes for a confusing impression because the frieze lines do not stand out clearly. It occurs as a variety of the maeander, e.g. pl. 24,48. Some of these motifs are called 'motif en escalier' by the author (p. 70, pl. 23,43, especially frequent

on Naxos). Spirals appear a quarter of a century earlier than on painted pottery (p. 70). About 700 BC gigantic amphorae decorated exclusively with linear motifs are fashionable (p. 71). The figured decoration is remarkably rich (pp. 72 ff). The subjects are: dancers (male and female; pls. 25-26), battle scenes and rows of warriors (pls. 27-29), among which bowmen (pl. 29,70), centaurs and different animals (pls. 29,71; 30-31) and, in the last part of this period: elegant stallions (pl. 32,84) and a fragment with goats flanking a 'tree of life' (pl. 32,85).

The vases of Group II (700-675 BC, Tenos, Naxos, Attica, Boeotia and Euboea) are truly remarkable: in Tenos we have the "amphora of the dance" and that of the Birth of Athena (?), pls. 35-41. The figures on the earlier fragments, pl. 33,87 (p. 80; a man holding a billy goat by the horn) and pl. 34,88 (a horseman) are still a little awkward, but the fragment with an extremely wild animal fight (pl. 34,89) reminds one of considerably later scenes on Protoattic vases. The pair of a man and woman on the neck of the "amphora of the dance" (pl. 35,37) is not believed to be Theseus and Ariadne, because of '*une colonne de chevrons qui le sépare du reste de la scène*' (p. 82). This 'column' is not visible in pl. 35 and one would like to have a closer look at the traces of three or four vertical ribs that seem to be preserved. I would rather associate them with objects belonging to the labyrinth or a ship; note that Theseus's thighs are marked by impressed lozenges, as are males on Cycladic and Middle Protoattic vases. Nearly all dancers are girls: apart from the boy who plays the double flutes (fig. 93), the only male to be seen grasps a girl by the lower arm and seems to pull her along (pl. 36,92). At any rate, the author may be right in believing that the dancers perform a non-mythological ritual (cf. the dancers on fragments in Tenos, pls. 25-26).

The 'amphora of the dance' in Tenos is dated about 690 BC (p. 83); after it, we see two cruel scenes (in Eretria and Athens, pl. 38) with corpses devoured by vultures (influenced by the Near East or scenes from the *Iliad*?). Then we come to the nearly complete amphora in Tenos with the so-called Birth of Athena, which is dated 675 BC (pls. 39-41). As reconstructed (pl. 39) the vase looks harmonious; the slightly concave outline of the neck fits the generous swelling of the body, which stands like a huge egg on a tiny foot (I do not agree with the rather deprecating description of the shape on p. 79). In the discussion of the Birth (pl. 40) we are not told how much of the 'divine' face is restored. In fact, it now looks definitely female; and the winged offspring emerging from this head does not look feminine at all (the pictures are unclear, but is there no beard?). However, we are - if I understand the text - told that the big frontal face originally did have a beard and is to be identified as Zeus (compare the later replica, a fragment in Tenos, of pl. 50,122, where a ridge may indicate a beard). The three little winged divinities - a female, believed to be Eileithyia, a male kneeling at a tripod (to kindle the fire for heating the bath water?) and one in the air, apparently observing the great event - make the scene even more mysterious.

The rest of the vase (pls. 39-41) may be by another artist: the figures are less detailed: a row of elegant horses on the shoulder and, below them, groups of panthers attacking animals and men; then, at the great-

est circumference, a fine procession of *bigae* (slender horses with stretched front legs) and, finally, a row of hoplites, only their upper part showing, as if they are marching behind a low fence (the four ridges forming the lower frieze line). There are some fragments of a later replica in Tenos, pl. 50, p. 95; but the winged female in fig. 123 cannot, I think, represent Eileithyia, because of its size and her grand polos; besides the object reaching upwards over her wing is not an *omphalotomos*, but clearly the claw of a lion, as appears from the lion's claw on the replica in Tenos of the famous Potnia scene, pl. 48,118 (see below).

Next we are shown two fragments, one (p. 85, pl. 42, 103) figuring a Minotaur (very like a horse!) and a well-known Europa on the bull (p. 86, pl. 42,104). Other sherds (pls. 43,107; 44,108-110) may be part of another scene with Theseus and Minotaur (p. 87-88); here we have the first prominent rendering of the human ear (pl. 44,108); note the protruding, thin-lipped mouths; the very round noses of the women contrast strangely with the pointed ones of the warriors, figs. 107-108.

Group III (675-650 BC; Tenos, Boeotia, Naxos, Paros, pp. 89-101) forms the *acmé* of the production, both in quantity and in quality. The amphora shape has changed: compare the pear-shaped, heavy-necked amphora of pl. 45 with the egg-shaped beauty of pl. 39 (Group II). To this period belong famous vases such as the one with the great frontal goddess with raised hands (Athens NM 5898, the so-called 'Potnia' vase from Thebes, not illustrated here), who is held by two small females and flanked by two lions who jump up seemingly to lick her hands (but compare the later replica from Tenos, pl. 48,118). She wears a kind of feather-crown with two branches sprouting from it to left and right (this she has in common with the famous colossal Hera head from the Heraion in Olympia; but the polos is lacking on the replica pl. 48,118). On pp. 90-91 no less than seven different explanations of this famous scene are given, none convincing. The composition with the lions reminds us of the monumental rock-cut Cybele in the Phrygian highlands (Arslan Kaya, recently ruined by treasure hunters).

Another famous vase is the Perseus amphora in the Louvre (CA 795; pl. 46, 112-113; p. 91); once more a fragment of a replica is known (Louvre CA 937; pl. 46,114). Medusa is portrayed as a true monster, a centauress (perhaps because she bore a man and a horse: Chysaor and Pegasus). The relief on these vases is relatively flat (p. 92), more so than on the famous Mykonos vase with the fall of Troy. Only three of the gruesome metope-scenes on the belly of this monumental vase are reproduced here: the lonely woman wringing her hands (Cassandra), Neoptolemos killing Astyanax while Andromache stretches her hands to protect him, and Menelaos menacing Helen who unveils her face (pls. 47-48). The murder scenes are gruesome; big eyes, thick arms and legs, huge swords. And, on the neck, the Greeks are pouring out of the large wooden horse like a swarm of vicious ants (not illustrated here). To sit through a series of recitals of the *Ilioupersis* must have been a most frightening experience. This vase is dated towards the middle of the 7th century, when lyric poetry began to flourish and civilised feelings of great sensitivity were spreading: the Mykonos vase seems to lag behind in this development. Another *Ilioupersis* vase is preserved in a number of

fragments from Tenos, with the wheels of the wooden horse, battle scenes and birds of prey at work on corpses (pls. 51-54; pp. 95-96, these scenes are not in metopes). This vase is attributed to the master of the Potnia discussed above, as are the fragments of pl. 55. Vases from Naxos and Paros are illustrated on pls. 56-57; the description of fig. 139 (in Naxos) on p. 99 is difficult to follow, but the scene is said to represent Achilles and Penthesileia.

Group IV (Tenos, Boeotia, Naxos and Thera, pp. 101-113) is dated 650-600 BC. The first vase of this group is the well-known Boston amphora with the solemn procession, possibly of Theano and the Trojan women, carrying the new peplos towards the Athena temple in Troy (pl. 60).

The famous amphora in Basle with Theseus and the Minotaur and the Athenian youths (complete with the thread and the unwound ball, pls. 58-59) is dated 640 (p. 105); the Minotaur looks more like a horse (except for its tail, pl. 59,143) and the manes of the horses on the shoulder are now rendered with separate locks (pl. 59,144). Of the same period is the fragment with part of a *quadriga* in Tenos, pl. 61,147, which is praised unduly: *rien n'égale la finesse et la plasticité des têtes* (p. 105). Four more fragments from Tenos are shown on pls. 61-62 (pp. 106-107), three with warriors, another (fig. 151) with a row of women, one with a child in her arms (hard to see) and a monkey on a leash; this may be a picture of the departure of Amphiaraios. About 625 is the date of a badly preserved, puzzling amphora in Boston (pp. 108-109) with, on the neck, perhaps Priam being killed by Neoptolemos in the presence of Hecuba (not illustrated, Priam sitting on a tripod, as the author explains; but it may also be the death of Agamemnon or of Aegisthus) and, on the belly (pl. 63,152), a warrior in ambush with a fine bull behind him (believed to be Achilles robbing Aeneas' cattle and menacing him; *Iliad* 20, 90-92). A fragment from Tenos, pl. 64,154, shows in the lower frieze the same motif as the Boston vase just mentioned (with the 'death of Priam'): strange snake-like ribbons waving up and down. To the same group belongs the Louvre fragment from Tanagra pl. 64,156 (p. 110) with the upper part of two women dancing (?) whose faces and clothes suddenly seem more progressive than all foregoing work (not before 600 BC, I should say); less advanced, it seems to me, is a Thera amphora, at least judged by the *bigae* in metopes on the belly (pl. 65,157; p. 111), while the fragment pl. 65,158 may again be about 600.

On pp. 112-113 the author summarizes the special character of the relief vases from the Cyclades (including those of Boeotia) belonging to the first four groups (down to about 600 BC): apart from the wealth of scenes, some inspired by the Near East, there is the grand style and the lack of filling ornaments (both due to hand-moulding). All this ends with the start of group V (6th century- beginning of the 5th, pp. 113-122); in this group the reliefs are mostly made with '*la roulette*', the cylinder seal, which rarely was larger than 6-7 cm; and indeed, the difference is remarkable (pls. 66-72). In group V many other shapes are decorated with reliefs (lekanides, perirhanteria, louteria and the like). Of course, cylinder seals could easily be transported, yet it is assumed that potters continued to travel (p. 115). Far less material is now found on Tenos

(pl. 66); the main production shifted to the north: Chios, Thasos and Samothrace. From the Cyclades we have fine fragments from Melos (pl. 67; Heracles and the centaurs; rows of chariots); from Siphnos (pls. 68-70, 168 mules, dancers and cables etc.), some good scenes from Kea and from Thasos (Dionysus and his thiasos, the departure of Amphiaraus, pls. 70-72; pp. 120-122) and a picture of a Triton with an octopus in his outstretched hand from Chios (pl. 72, 174).

In the final conclusion (pp. 122-126) the representations in painted pottery are compared with those of the relief vases; this leads to a catalogue of the themes depicted (pp. 127-131). Then follows (p. 135-143) the Appendix with the fragments from Tenos. Finally there are a list of abbreviations (p. 147), an index of collections (p. 151; here the amphora in Jerusalem, discussed on pp. 23, 32, 34 is lacking), a general index (p. 153) and a table of illustrations (p. 167); the 72 plates that follow contain 174 pictures.

This swift, though rather lengthy, summary does in no way do justice to the wealth of material and the interest of the discussions in this very thorough book: it constitutes an important step forward in the study of this fascinating field.

J.M. Hemelrijk

AENNE OHNESORG, *Ionische Altäre, Formen und Varianten einer Architekturgattung aus Insel- und Ostionien*. Berlin: Gebr. Mann Verlag, 2005. XIV+259 S., 105 Textabb., 80 Taf.; 34 cm (Archäologische Forschungen 21). – ISBN 3 7861 2481 7.

This is a monumental and very impressive piece of work. In his foreword G. Gruben calls it an exemplary success in *Bauforschung*: 'fast 100 Monuments kompetent untersucht, vermessen, zeichnerisch dargestellt und - soweit möglich - rekonstruiert'; it is a basis for all future research in the field. The average classical archaeologist is, of course, not sufficiently acquainted with the material and cannot really judge the merits of the book. Therefore I may refer to a rather less positive criticism in *RA* 2007 (1), 1-3 by Roland Étienne, who has himself devoted nearly thirty years of study to the altars of Delos and who ends his criticisms by stating, rather unkindly, that the value of the book lies mainly in the analyses of details. It is true, of course, that the presentation of details in the drawings and photographs is most enjoyable for the less specialized archaeologist who loves the inventiveness of Greek architecture and art; but it should be stressed that also in nearly all other respects, the text is crammed with highly fascinating information.

It contains five chapters: In I, the Introduction, we read that the great 'Prunkaltäre' (Ephesus, Priene, Kos, Magnesia and Pergamum) are omitted.

Such architectural 'Untersuchungen hätten den Rahmen dieser Arbeit gesprengt', 'besides, they are partly still being studied for further publication and we have to wait for the result' (p. 1). This may be true but is a little disappointing for the reader.

In II the typology and terminology are explained: block altars (some with volute acroteria), *Wangen Altäre*, and Herkos altars (figs. 1-6). Chapter III is the

catalogue and contains no less than 180 pages, subdivided as follows: A. Naxos; B. Paros; C. Delos; D. some altars on Thasos; E. *einzelne ionische Altäre*, which means an extensive, rather mixed collection of altars and fragments, e.g., from Samos, Didymae, Miletus, Ephesus, and many others, such as Keos, Aegina, Abdera, Epidauros etc. This section E of chapter III runs from p. 121 to 189 and bears a bad misprint at the top of the pages, where we read D instead of E, which is very confusing when we are looking for the references to items in section III E. The last item in the Catalogue is the Ludovisi/Boston 'throne', pp. 184-189. Here Ohnesorg gives a summary of a more complete treatment of hers (published in *Nürnberger Blätter zur Archäologie* 14, 1997-1998, 119 ff). She follows the explanation given by A. Gerkan. The two reliefs are not by the same artist, the date is 470-460 BC. They are most probably from Lokri in South Italy. She restores them as *Giebelwangen* at the ends of the monumental altar in front of the peripteros of Lokri/Marasà, (which measures 12.75 x 2.55 m; see fig. 100, in which there are no steps to mount the platform). She refers to the enormous quantity of literature and, perhaps understandably, ignores the curious inconsistencies and differences in the style of the two reliefs.

(The reader may want to know that Étienne's criticism is directed, among other things, against Cat. nos 11, 12, 21 and 24.)

Chapter IV is called *Ergebnisse* and discusses a great variety of subjects illustrated by type-drawings and chronologically arranged tables. It is subdivided into paragraphs that are marked with the capitals A to P. Some of them may be mentioned here. In section A (pp. 191-198) the characteristics of the altars are described (block altars etc.), with drawings of the *Giebelwangen* (fig. 102) and a collection of the Ionian *Antenaltäre* (16 examples in fig. 103; here too is a short summary of the altars of Hera at Samos, p. 191). In par. B (pp. 199-204) we find a discussion, with chronological tables, of the typically East Greek anta-capitals that, in side-view, display three superimposed volutes (see Table I, pp. 201-204, and e.g. figs. 71-77, 80, 104 and pls. 71-72, 76). This is of special interest to the present reviewer for this altar type is seen on the Caeretan hydria with the Busiris-myth in Vienna and, therefore, a clear indication of the original homeland of the painter and of the date of the hydria (note also the 'Caeretan' lotus-palmette on the front of such a capital in Didyma, pl. 72.2). Other topics in the following paragraphs are: proportions and dimensions (D; pp. 211-218, with Table 4), position and orientation in the sanctuaries (E), monolithic block altars (K), *bothroi* and *escharai* (L), floral and figurative ornamentation inclusive of *Giebelwangen* (M); continuity of cults (O) and representations of altars (P). Chapter V is a short summary ('*Schluss*', pp. 250-251) followed by a list of altars that are mentioned in the text but not extensively republished here (pp. 253-258).

There are some hundred text figures and 35 plates with splendid drawings; these are followed by 45 plates with photographs (pls. 35-80).

The plans and drawings are excellent and the comments full and masterful. Yet, the reader is sometimes puzzled when he tries to distinguish between the different drawings on a plate: on pl. 4, for example, we have fragments from Samos, Cos and Naxos but they

are not clearly distinguished from each other in the plate. One may occasionally feel left in the dark also in other respects: figs. 51-53 (pp. 110 ff) may serve as an example: what is the long rectangle of rough stones on the right? Besides, there are no photographs. Sometimes the reader may feel that there is a mistake: for example, the drawing of the lotus-palmette of fig. 65, p. 127, differs from the photo in pl. 66.6: see the horizontal ridges that close the hollow canals of the volutes in the photograph. In the same way, though very rarely, other slight mistakes seem to have been made: in fig. 13 there should be a *niedrige Deckplatte* (p. 24) covering the Ionic *kymation*.

These trivial remarks are mentioned only to make clear that the reader has to be very attentive when reading the text. It is clear that the book is an *opus maximum* that will be consulted and closely studied for many decades to come.

J.M. Hemelrijk

CAROL LAWTON, *Marbleworkers in the Athenian Agora*. Princeton, NJ: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. 52 pp., 58 col. & b/w figs.; 21 cm (Excavations of the Athenian Agora Picture books 27). – ISBN 0-87661-645-7.

Marbleworkers in the Athenian Agora is a delightful addition to the Athenian Agora Picture Book series. An overview of the sculpture and the various sculpture-related establishments of the Agora was long overdue, and this informative and particularly well-illustrated book provides much of the findings and more recent research interests in the field.

The book sets off with a general introduction to Greek sculpture and a brief discussion of Athena Ergane. More interesting to sculpture scholars is the overview of sculpture workshops found in the Agora, notably in the southwest Residential-Industrial area. This part of the Agora was excavated mostly between 1939-40 and 1946-49, and published extensively by Robert Young (*Hesperia* 20, 1951, 135-288). Lawton smartly summarises the information in that article as well as later authorities such as John Camp (*The Athenian Agora: Excavations in the heart of Classical Athens*, 1986; also T.L. Shear, *Hesperia* 38, 1969, 382-417). Although this procedure results in a good overview of sculptural activity in the ancient Agora, it also is the cause of the one aspect where the book could be considered remiss. Since Young's 1951 article, and apart from an excavation report on a cistern in the so-called House of Mikion and Menon (S.G. Miller, *Hesperia* 43, 1974, 194-245), the Residential-Industrial area has to my knowledge been mentioned (F. Börner, *Die bauliche Entwicklung Athens als Handelsplatz in archaischer und klassischer Zeit*, 1996), but not thoroughly reassessed in publication. This has undoubtedly practical reasons, but the hope that some new information would be offered in this picture book was not fulfilled. Some particularities of the original report that could perhaps be readjusted with recently developed technological means have been copied in consecutive publications, including the book under review: I am thinking especially of the research regarding the painting of statues, which must have

taken place in many parts of the industrial district. In the 1940s the necessary technical research was uncommon, although some interesting tests were done at the time of excavation (Young 1951, 231-234, esp. n. 114). Lawton's good section on the colouring of ancient sculpture would have been even better had this aspect been included in the discussion of the workshops, where some suggestive installations may have had a purpose in producing paints (cf. Hochscheid diss. *Transactions in Stone. The social function of private sculpture in Athens in the sixth and fifth century BC*, forthcoming).

Another example of this issue is the aforementioned House of Mikion and Menon. Naming the house thus on the basis of a number of graffiti on pots at the later end (fig. 17), and an inscribed stylus (fig. 16) on the earlier has of course great charm. However, I would like to postulate that it is in fact not very likely that Mikion was the sculptor who used the stylus (cf. Hochscheid diss.). The house is doubtlessly a sculpture workshop and was in use as such, as Lawton describes, from the 5th until the early 3rd century BC. None of the publications mention any signs of bone working in the house itself. Further down the Street of the Marble Workers however, in a tank next to house F, a collection of sawn parts of bones was found (Young 1951, 233-234; Börner 1996, 95). It is at least possible that a bone worker lived in this house (or elsewhere in the district), who put his name on the styli he produced for commercial purposes: *Mikion made me*. A sculptor who had a relatively large house and workshop just off the Agora cannot have been unsuccessful; it is not entirely obvious why he would make his own styli, and moreover, why he would put his *fecit* on them when his real craft was marble sculpture. It seems somehow doubtful that a good sculptor in 5th-century Athens would have had a sideline in bone styli.

Of course, as the book points out, sculptors come in all shapes and sizes: the literarily famous, the epigraphically known, and the anonymous, sometimes brilliant at their trade and sometimes of mediocre skill. As can be expected from a scholar such as Lawton, the chapters on the craftsmen are eminently thorough and accurate and offer much material for anyone interested in the subject. Linking sculpture to known masters is notoriously difficult and less often practised in current scholarship than in earlier days. This section of the book shows how much ancient sculpture comes to life when the creator's personality - and his workplace - is studied. Finally, the description of the Omega house, home to a once beautiful collection of sculpture, brings the marble workers of the Agora to their nostalgic end.

There are some minor errors: the unfinished statue in fig. 24 is on Naxos, not Thasos; the pelike in the Louvre (inv. no Cp 10793) is not from c. 370 but about a century earlier; and it was Justinian, not Julian (p. 49) who in 529 AD 'closed the philosophy schools' as it is commonly described. Nonetheless, this picture book is a fine addition to its kind: well written, beautifully illustrated and easily accessible. Now we must wait for a new publication in the greater Agora series about the sculpture of the Agora and its creators.

Helle Hochscheid

CHRISTOS IOANITIS, *Le vase des Ibères. Un lécythe du Peintre de Darius*. Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2007. 59 pp., 15 pls. and 1 folded plate; 26.4 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-3806-6.

Topic of this well edited booklet is an enigmatic main scene on a lekythos of one of the most fascinating painters of Apulian red figure vases, the Darius Painter. The vase, partially preserved and restored from fragments, is in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe at Hamburg (inv. no 2003.129; h. ca 80 cm). The representation shows a naiskos flanked by armed, oriental men. In the *naiskos* a bearded man with a ram's horn in his hair holding a scepter crowned by a *naiskos* is sitting (to left) on a throne. To left, almost frontally, stands a veiled woman with spread arms. On the plinth are two inscriptions: ΙΣ ... under the woman and ΙΒΗΡΕΣ under the seated man. Under - this means in front of - the *naiskos* stands an altar flanked by two tripods. A lifeless ram lies partly behind the altar. The armed men to the right stand near two palms and an altar. To the (damaged) left an old man holding a scepter seems to speak with a nude, long haired, crowned (?) young man holding a branch in his right and a scepter (?) in his left hand, who is standing in a higher position (there is no photograph of his upper body).

Chr. Ioanitis (= C.I.), interprets the horned man as Zeus Ammon at Siwa and the inscription *Ibères* as a title (cf. *Persai* and *Phryges* on other Darius vases). He discusses 11 Apulian vases (ca 360/340-320/310 BC) with *naiskos* scepters concluding that they only are held by mantic persons. The ram behind the altar would refer to the foundation of Ammon's oracle by Dionysos, son of Ammon, who sometimes is rendered with ram's horns too (see also Hyginus *Astr.* 2.20). How to complete the inscription *IS...*? There are no specific stories about a special relation between Isis and Ammon (at Siwa). Therefore, C.I. conjectures that *IS...* might be *Isonomia*, personification of Equality (of political rights). The concept fits in a story of the Lacedaemonian Lysandros, the winning general of the battle near Aigos Potamoi, who wanted to become king. So, he wished that everybody could be elected as king. He went for advice to the oracles of Delphi, Dodona and Siwa, where he tried to bribe king Libys. That became the ruin of him. Ambassadors sent by the clergy of Siwa betrayed him at Sparta. C.I. interprets tentatively the lady in the *naiskos* as *Isonomia* pleading for Lysandros' case. In my opinion, the desperate gesture of her open hands suggests that she is flabbergasted, maybe guessing Lysandros' failure. As literary sources sometimes associate *Ibères* with Libya (the region of Siwa), the armed warriors are probably Ammon's guardians. The title *Ibères* might refer to a lost tragedy, written by Sophocles the Younger between ca 400 and 375 BC. It may have dealt with Lysandros' *hybris*, an amusing theme for the Athenian audience after the battle mentioned above. Although C.I. does not say so, the presence of the tripods may point to the successful staging of the tragedy (e.g. at Taranto, in or soon after 331 BC when Alexander the Great visited Siwa).

C.I. admits that his interpretation is a hypothesis. In fact, the conversation of the old man with the (higher placed) nude, young man to the left of the *naiskos* is not

convincingly explained (p. 38: possibly Dionysos as founder of the oracle). The nude man is, however, rather Apollo than Dionysos. In my opinion it may be Lysandros talking to Apollo at Delphi. In addition, Apulian vase representations often show more than one event at the same time, in fact a main scene showing flash back and prolepsis moments, in short a chain of successive events.

Although C.I. does not date the *lekythos*, it probably dates from 331 BC, when Alexander visited Siwa, or soon after that date.

The booklet further offers an interesting chapter about the exceptional interest of the Darius Painter in the actualization of, sometimes unknown, myths, historical events and exoticism. The bibliography is excellent.

L.B. van der Meer

RICHARD DANIEL DE PUMA, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. U.S.A. 4: Northeastern Collections*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2005. 251 pp., 55 figs., 33 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-325-0.

NANCY THOMSON DE GRUMMOND, *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Great Britain: Oxford*. Rome: «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2007. 157 p., 92 figs., 33 cm. – ISBN 978-88-8265-443-6.

MARIA PAOLA BAGLIONE / FERNANDO GILOTTA (con la collaborazione di Lorenzeto Galeotti), *Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum. Italia 6: Roma – Museo nazionale etrusco di Villa Giulia*. Fasc. 1. «L'Erma» di Bretschneider, 2007. 240 pp., ill., 33 cm. – ISBN 88-8265-408-7.

So far thirty fascicles of the CSE, the international corpus of Etruscan and Praenestine mirrors, have been published. The last three ones, mentioned above, are almost organized according to the CSE-instructions, presenting a catalogue including history, technical details, descriptions of obverse and reverse decorations, subject, iconographic and stylistic analyses, tentative dates and possible provenances.

The fourth fascicle of the CSE USA is a monumental book, written by R.D. de Puma. He made the drawings too. After an introduction on classification and terminology, intended for a broad public, 54, most unpublished, Etruscan, engraved and blank mirrors, mirror handles and pear-shaped mirrors (see below), preserved in collections at Amherst, Bryn Athyn, Bryn Mawr, Newark, New Haven, Northampton, Norton, Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, Princeton and Worcester are analyzed. The provenances of ca half of the mirrors is known, in one case even a context, the 'Toscanello Tomb' (3rd-2nd centuries BC) at Tuscania (p. 41, fig. H and I). Six mirrors are of doubtful antiquity: their engravings are modern. The Appendix offers the chemical analysis results, based on inductively coupled plasma (ICP) atomic emission spectroscopy at the University of Iowa Hygienic Laboratory; the same procedure was used for the CSE USA 1-3 mirrors. The only inscribed mirrors show *the[his]* and *ach[le]*, (no 2: Thetis presenting sword and helmet to her son; ca 460 BC), *vanth*, *aplu*, *urste*, *metua* (no 34;

ca 350-300 BC), *tethis*, *achule* and *achuvesr* (not *achuvisr*) before a basin (no 49; ca 300 BC), *artumes* (no 50; 400-300 BC). No 34 shows the Purification of Orestes at Delphi in an Etruscanized way: instead of a Fury Vanth, a death demon, is present. The presence of Metua is unexplained. The same holds good for the Etruscan deity Achuvers on no 49 (see, however, *Cosmos* 5 (1989) 77-91). As for representations without inscriptions ca. 15 mirrors show the Dioskouroi (ca 250/220-150 BC) and 7 items 'Lasa's' (3rd-2nd centuries BC). Interesting are mirrors representing Dionysos, guided by Hermes, rescuing his mother Semele from the Underworld (no 28), and the Prophesying Head of Orpheus (no 45, a theme represented on 5 other mirrors). A box mirror (no 29) shows Hermes and the infant Dionysos on mount Nysa, a theme present on 4 other ones, all from Tarquinia. As the photographs often show corroded and encrusted mirrors, the precise drawings are a welcome compensation.

The third fascicle of the *CSE Great Britain* is a catalogue of 27, most unpublished, engraved and blank mirrors, in the Ashmolean Museum, Claydon House and Pitt Rivers Museum (once bought from 20 different dealers). The text was written by N. Thomson de Grummond (henceforth: De G.), the drawings were made by K. Bennett and N. Griffiths. The Appendix presents the analysis of the composition of 21 mirrors, carried out by the bronze expert, P.T. Craddock. He used atomic absorption spectroscopy; other scholars analysed 4 mirrors by electron probe microanalysis and one by energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence. From former studies it appears that bronze mirrors have a tin content around about 11%. The presence of a rather high cobalt content is helpful for authenticity studies (p. 41). Only one pear-shaped mirror (no 20) is, exceptionally, of silver but as the composition does not contain gold, it probably is not genuine, according to Craddock (p. 41). De G., however, holds it for possibly authentic (p. 35, though if it were false 'the forger did a superb job'). Only one mirror, also pear-shaped (see below), shows an inscription: *malavi(s)* (no 9) next to a woman, possibly a (mythological?) bride who is adorned for marriage by two winged goddesses. As for mirrors without inscriptions 12 items show Dioskouroi and 1 a 'Lasa' (3rd century BC). No 2 with the Judgment of Paris shows an interesting example of conflation with the Egg of Leda representations, Paris holding out an egg as the prize of the beauty contest. De G. interprets no 8 showing a unique scene, a winged, nude male with spear opposite a warrior with shield as the immortal Polydeukes and the mortal Kastor. Nos 13, 16 and 24 have false engravings. Nos 20 and 21 show Thesan, goddess of the dawn. The latter one, dated to ca 470/460 BC, shows a cicada in front of the flying deity. This detail was added as cicadas begin to sing at dawn. Moreover, they were thought to be fed on dew. The fascicle presents several mirrors published by Gerhard, whose present location was regarded as unknown by many scholars. It has a short bibliography at the end of the book instead of at the beginning.

The sixth fascicle of *CSE Italia* is a highbrow catalogue of 29 mirrors and 11 mirror handles (of Faliscan-Praenestine form, ca 325-200 BC), once belonging to the Barberini collection of 'Praenestine antiquities', which entered the Villa Giulia in 1908.

The objects were excavated in the Colomella necropolis; unfortunately, the precise tomb contexts are unknown. The book offers an excellent bibliography, a detailed history of the collection and an important essay on Praenestine, pear-shaped handle mirrors by F. Gilotta. He shows that the latter ones were rather made between ca 350 and 300 than between ca 380 and 340 as was suggested by R. Adam in 1980, in addition, that the images were heavily influenced by vase painting in *Magna Graecia*, especially in Lucania.

All mirrors have been cleaned: modern additions were removed. 21 mirrors are Praenestine. They are usually larger than Etruscan ones. The oldest, non piriform mirrors are Etruscan, have a circular disk and are dated to the 5th century (no 13 shows a banquet scene, no 22 a Gorgo mask, no 30 dancing woman with *krotala* and no 40 *elachsantre* seducing *elina*). Some handle mirrors (nos 28; 38: Judgment of Paris; no 35: two Lasa's), probably imported from Etruria, are dated to the 3rd century BC. The only epigraphic mirror, no 40, is remarkable, showing a boyish Paris who influenced by Turan/Aphrodite is about to seduce Helena who is lying on a bed with her little Hermione. The sphinx above the bed is not explained. It may predict the consequence of seduction: the Trojan War. As in the *Iliad* the sphinx is hovering above the heads like *Ate* ('Ruin'). Some Praenestine mirrors show themes which are not typically Etruscan, they are realistic, humorous and (sometimes explicitly) erotic (nos 15, 16, 31, 32, 37). Others represent themes which are also present in Etruscan art (nos 19, 25, 26 Judgment of Paris; no 33: Hercules and Victoria).

Unfortunately no chemical research was carried out. It should be done as the question is whether the composition of Praenestine mirrors differs from that of Etruscan ones. The same holds good for Praenestine *cistae*. All fascicles have useful concordances and indexes. As the production of a fascicle is a complicated job, all authors deserve our compliments. That other volumes may follow soon.

L.B. van der Meer

MARIJKE GNADE (ed.), *Satricum. Trenta anni di scavi olandesi. Catalogo della mostra. La Ferriere, Latina, 26 ottobre 2007 – 29 febbraio 2008*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam Archeologisch Centrum, 2008. 208 pp., numerous figs., all in colour, 27 cm. – ISBN 978-90-78863-14-4.

This tastefully edited exposition catalogue gives a fairly good impression of the results of thirty years of excavations at Satricum by teams of the Dutch Institute at Rome, the University of Groningen (1977/1978-1990) and by the University of Amsterdam (from 1991 until now). The first part of the book consists of a series of essays; some are of a reflective, summarizing character (based on or critically related to the monumental monographs of M. Maaskant-Kleibrink, J.W. Bouma, M. Gnade, B. Ginge, D.J. Waarsenburg, R.R. Knoop and P.S. Lulof), but most of them offer in main lines results of most recent research or work in progress. The second part is the real catalogue, describing, more or less in chronological order, 641 artefacts, ca 400 of which are illustrated! The exhibition did not take place in 2007/8 but

it will do in 2009. As for the new, until now unpublished results, Jeltsje Stobbe deals with the beginnings of an Iron Age community on the 'acropolis', focusing on traces of huts and (votive) pits under the Mater Matuta temples. The oldest huts date from ca 800 or, based on ^{14}C research, ca 50 years earlier (see the timetable on p. 28). The pits date from the 9th until the third quarter of the 6th century BC. Remains from the Bronze Age are (still) missing. Interestingly, the huts are contemporaneous with the oldest tombs in the Northwest Necropolis. There is, however, no hard proof that the community of this cemetery lived on the 'acropolis' as the artefacts from the latter site may have a ceremonial function. Some votive gifts suggest that Temple 0 (in fact an *oikos*) was dedicated to a female deity, probably Mater Matuta herself. Stobbe also introduces the stone monumentalising of the city in the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries BC. Knoop and Lulof cast light upon temple architecture, especially on the roof systems and decorations of Temple I and II. The buildings around the Temple I/II have, according to Stobbe, an aristocratic character, probably with a (semi-)public function. Gnade explains the development of the urban zone, especially outside the 'acropolis', in Poggio dei Cavallari. Most interesting is the presence of a 5 m wide *via sacra* which can be compared with one near the sanctuary at Pyrgi and one near Rome (along the *via Tuscolana*). Gnade also summarizes her research of Volscian Southwest necropolis which dates from the 5th century BC. The tombs and their contents would prove that the Volscians were less rude than written sources suggest. Peter Attema and Tymon de Haas show work in progress: a first analysis of the enormous Votive Deposit II on the 'acropolis' from the 5th and 4th centuries. It has 12 layers... The contents show that pilgrims visited sacred site. Muriel Louwaard analyses a building of the Middle Republican period, which was used in the 5th and 4th and later on in the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC. Barbara Heldring and Loes van der Kruijf deal with the Votive Deposit III (in front of the temple(s)), which was first a cistern (ca 550-480 BC) and then converted into real dumps for votives in the 3rd century BC. Large part of the catalogue (pp. 154-182) shows the numerous finds, among which the famous *skyphos* (of the Gnathia type) with a Greek inscription mentioning Mater Matuta, again an indication that pilgrims visited the 'acropolis' at least until ca 100 BC. The statuettes of the Tanagra-Myrina type are supposed to have been imported (p. 154); they may, however, have made in Italy, even at Satricum. Reno Raaymakers presents the Roman *villa rustica* that was excavated in Poggio dei Cavallari. It dates from the beginning of the 1st century AD. It got a second life around 300 AD. De Haas gives a survey of villa's in the Pontine region during four successive periods, from ca 100 BC until 450 AD. It appears that the 1st and 4th centuries AD were periods of intensive agricultural activities. G. Colonna finally deals with the Latin, Etruscan, Volscian and Greek inscriptions, be it in a succinct way. His remark that all scholars consider Poplios Valesios as identical with Publius Valerius Poplicola (not: Publicola (p. 15)), one of the founders of the Roman Republic, is too optimistic. At the end of the book a list of the technical terms (where *ctonio* should be read as *catactonio*) and an excellent bibliography follow.

The book will stimulate discussions, as much research is still in progress and as several monographs are still to be expected. Further the vexed question of the dates of Temple 0, I and II (see the table on p. 35) has still not been resolved. The excavations seem to show that Satricum has an almost, uninterrupted material history from ca 950 BC until the Middle Ages. Much work has still to be done as only 40 % of the city area has been excavated.

Hopefully a permanent Satricum Museum will attract a large public. An English translation of the catalogue would be helpful for all those who cannot read Italian but are fascinated by modern Latian archaeology. A better, bigger and more detailed map of Satricum and the suburban area (with e.g. the position of the sacred street, only made visible on the photograph, fig. I.2) should be added (cf. fig. I.1 on p. 12).

L.B. van der Meer

DIETRICH GERHARDT, *Wer kauft Liebesgötter? Metastasen eines Motivs*. Berlin/New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008 (Neue Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Philologisch-Historische Klasse, Neue Folge, Band 1). 209 pp., 14 pls; 24.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-11-020291-5.

Central point of this literary study is a small Roman wall painting, found in room W29 of the Villa of Ariadne at Castellammare di Stabia in 1759 (on the find context, see Agnes Allroggen-Bedel, RM 84, 1977, 36-37, 82, pl. 3.3; not mentioned). This scene shows an old woman trying to sell three small amorini to a young lady and her servant. It must have formed the central figural panel of a third-style decoration in one of the rooms of this large villa. The book merits a brief mention in BABESCH because of the cultural impact of the motif. Gerhardt starts *mediis in rebus*, citing Goethe's poem 'Die Liebesgötter auf dem Markte' from 1796. It soon becomes clear that he wants to establish Goethe's sources, both for the idea of selling gods and the literary forms. Goethe fostered the plan to write a sequel to Schikaneder's and Mozart's *Zauberflöte*, in which this text would be sung by Papageno and Papagena. The double entendre is the nature of the sold figures: birds or men with wings (like the antique amorini). The inquiry brings us to variations in popular and literary poetry as well as songs, i.a. by Schubert (scores included!) and to comments on these texts. Most scholars from Goethe's time onwards saw a direct link between Goethe's visit to Pompeii and surroundings, the antique painting and this poem. A study of the sources about the picture itself starts with the question whether this was a *Spielerei* or, what seems not be in contrast, an 'ästhetische Vergnügung' (p. 44). Since no direct notices by Goethe about the painting can be found, a link might be the reproduction in the *Pitture d'Ercolano* (or, I would add, a French, English or German translation). Gerhardt does not refrain from learned observations, even when he reproaches the old scholars of being mere antiquarians, despised by Winckelmann (and now Gerhardt). He also elucidates Goethe's interest for Pompeii was rather weak in the *Italienische Reise* and mainly grew in the 1820s thanks to the contacts with Wilhelm Zahn. He extensively quotes descriptions of

the painting in 19th-century sources (see the list at pp. 63-64) and still does not find connections with Goethe's poem. Conclusion: poem and painting have little in common.

For the student of the painting itself, the section on its translations in the art, from Vien's painting of 1763 - Diderot loved the painting (p. 69) - onwards, is stimulating. Gerhardt discusses some variations like that by Fuseli. Special attention is paid to Thorvaldsen's relief 'Ages of Love' (p. 79, pl. 10), where the cage is part of a long depiction of stages of love. This provoked other poems as well. Gerhardt sees a waning interest in the middle of the 19th century. Other mutations include erotic scenes with Eros (or multiplied Eroses) as transmitters. Striking cases are a water colour by Genelli (p. 97, pl. 11), where three nude ladies amuse themselves with winged phalli taken out of a cage and a folkloristic Tree of Love (pl. 13). A digression (admittedly, so Gerhardt says p. 104) is about a long poem by Pusjkin: 'Czar Nikita and his forty daughters'. This section testimonies Gerhardt's knowledge in this field, but is not relevant for the theme.

All in all, this is a curious and highly diverting book, by an old but in no way senile scholar (born in 1911, p. 145), not devoid of interest for those who love the *Nachleben* of things Pompeian.

Eric M. Moormann

FRANÇOIS QUEYREL, *Le Parthénon. Un monument dans l'Histoire*. Paris: Éditions Bartillat, 2008. 240 pp., 8 pls, foldout plate; 20 cm. – ISBN 978-2-84100-435-5.

It is a courageous enterprise to add a new title to the immense library of works on the Parthenon, an emblem of classical civilisation. In France, however, this bulk is smaller and for the francophone audience Queyrel's comprehensive book provides a welcome introduction. The author first sketches the mythical and historical backgrounds of Athens. Second, the architecture is described in a very succinct way; no attention is paid to the question of the Parthenon's status and function. Third, Queyrel focuses on the sculptural decoration of the shrine. The brief descriptions are efficient and informative and contain the main data about its iconography and function. Topography forms a major key for understanding the organisation of the huge amount of sculpted decorations. He stresses the internal and external relationships of the figures depicted. So, the way the gods are seated next to Athena's birth reflects the position of their shrines on top of or next to the Acropolis. The birth of Athena in the east pediment succeeds on that spot as does the match between her and Poseidon in the west one, where the two groups of judges are seated according to their support for one of the gods. Together they are the oldest inhabitants of Athens, living here before the arrival of the two Olympians. One might add: Athena and Poseidon are in a subordinate position and beg for the patronage. Entering the Acropolis, the visitor would first see this episode and understand the citizens' pride. Another connection is that between the Doric friezes and other parts of the decorative apparatus. The gigantomachia on the east facade is also embroidered on the four-yearly peplos and sculpted on the outer side of Athena's shield.

The gods feature in a logical order, with Athena and Hephaistos as the main couple. Two fish on the Helios metope would refer to the zodiac sign and so to the start of the seafaring season. Theseus is active in the west Amazonomachia and the south Centaureomachia alike. The central metopes of the south side interrupt the battle of Lapiths and centaurs, showing the ancestors of Athenian power. The Helios on the first slab of the north metopes, that display the last day of the Trojan War, connects the series with the Helios on the east pediment.

The puzzling frieze not mentioned in ancient sources exemplifies 'la cité dans son essence' (p. 85). All participants are going towards the entrance of the temple at the east side. Again, topography is important. The horsemen are on the Agora, as are the gods and the ten eponymous heroes. These two groups have their altars over there and the participants in the Panathenaic festival would just have seen them. The gods are put into more or less the same positions as their counterparts on the corresponding pediment. Regarding the frieze's interpretation, Queyrel shares the large group of scholars who see here the Panathenaic Festival. The 120 riders might reflect the 1200 horsemen of the cavalry reorganised by Pericles after 445. The tithe has its counterpart in ten cows of the hecatomb on the south frieze. The centre of the east frieze has two *arrephoroi* with wool on the stools above their heads, the priest of Athena Polias, the *archon basileus* with a child (male or female whatever) as a *mystes*. In sum, the frieze connects the autochthonous Athenians with the world of the gods and of legend in the remainder of the sculptural decorations.

The following chapter describes the aftermath: the change of the building into church, mosque, ammunition house and, again, mosque. French pride dominates the next chapters, highlighting the marquess of Nointel, who in 1674 had the famous drawings made by an anonymous artist from Flanders (falsely attributed to Jacques Carrey), and Choiseul-Goffier and Fauvel, who were here around 1780. Fauvel lived for decades at Athens and collected some pieces of sculpture lying on the ground, which is a fundamentally different procedure than that of Choiseul-Goffier's colleague as ambassador at Istanbul, Lord Elgin (p. 153). The sack Elgin caused was heavily criticised by Lord Byron. The 19th century is passed over rapidly, as are modern times. Without clearly saying so, Queyrel seems to argue that the Elgin marbles can now safely return to Athens to be exposed in Tschumi's new Acropolis Museum.

One wonders whom Queyrel is writing for. There are almost no footnotes, whereas there is a good *bibliographie raisonnée* according to the themes discussed. Illustrations are few and of little help. In contrast, technical terms have an asterisk in the text that refer to a glossary. This means that a layman must get a book of images, while the expert misses the footnotes endorsing Queyrel's own ideas and referring to extant research. The latter will recognise in 'l'on' John Boardman, when Queyrel describes the theory of the 192 fallen men of Marathon or Jane Connolly when he discusses the suggestion of a sacrifice of the young girl on the east frieze. Nevertheless, the book provides a well structured and pleasant overview of the opinions about the Parthenon and does not stick to that, offering new insights as well.

Eric M. Moormann

CHRISTA LANDWEHR, *Die römischen Skulpturen von Caesarea Mauritaniae* III. *Idealplastik*. Mit Beiträgen von Rita Amedick, Dagmar Grassinger, Adrian Zimmermann. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2006. XVI, 127 pp., 11 figs., 112 pls; 31.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-3441-9.

The first volume of this series of catalogues dates back to 1993. Since the political situation in Algeria is not very friendly and makes visits more difficult than wished, many researchers will be happy to have this rich documentation at hand. The last volume is now there and it contains a set of 98 descriptions, i.e. cat. nos 176-274, mostly showing figures from the atmosphere of Bacchus. The scope of the book is a pure presentation of the sculptures as such, which brings the question of original contexts and functions to the second plan. As I did not read thoroughly the previous volumes and consulted them for single statues only, my capacity to judge this work's full merits is restricted. All these catalogues have a very high standard of scientific consistency and profound knowledge of ancient sculpture and the debates about sculptors and their products. Like in many other works of this kind, the analysis of the pieces as such focuses on style, interpretation and possible prototypes and *inventores*, whereas the relevance of the sculpture in its context - in our case that of the capital of Mauretania, romanised and changed into a Roman provincial town - gets less attention. However, in some entries the author refers to an installation of the pieces within the palace of Juba II and his wife Cleopatra. This might be true for the relief with a sphinx (cat. 234) that is seen - with due caution; it is a scholarly book - as the sideboard of a throne of the empress (p. 74). Since this volume forms the last in an impressive series, the reader would have wished a sort of conclusion, so far as the set-up of this project makes possible, but I hope Landwehr will write a sort of final conclusion in the form of another small book or large article.

The chosen form, viz. the subdivision of the statues according to their representations, does not facilitate the study of the pieces within their original context. It is sure that in several descriptions and comments remarks are added as to the provenance, but the reader - who will, it is true, mostly consult these volumes for a single piece at a time - has to do a lot of collecting before he gets an overview of, e.g., the sculptures from Juba's residence or from one of the great bath complexes. It must be said that there is also confusion about the find spots of many pieces, now divided between Alger, Cherchell and Paris (Musée du Louvre).

It has been wise to involve some excellent colleagues who are experts in specific genres or types of statuary, so that we have many descriptions of Dionysian objects by Adrian Zimmermann, and other by Rita Amedick and Dagmar Grassinger, but the lion's share is as always Landwehr's.

Some remarks may be made about single items. The first, a Dionysos from the West Baths, cat. 176, is the Roman working out of what Landwehr aptly calls a concept figure, i.e. the free development of a classical type (here possibly by Praxiteles) into a new concept according to local style and taste. The god is a fountain

adornment and pours water instead of wine. For her this very youngish god, without pubes hair, is a typical product of the later 2nd century AD, but I would date it some 100 years earlier: see the very modest drilling and the thin and body-sticking nebris (cf. cat. 213-214). A still later date is proposed for the Dionysos cat. 177, but there is no argumentation for that, and again I would place it earlier, viz. in the Severan time like the Dionysos of cat. 178 dated to that era and showing the same stylistic features. The 'concept figure' of Dionysos cat. 179 is commented on with psychologising words like 'Entrücktsein', which would be valid for a dating to the second quarter of the 2nd century: but is such a characteristic not holding true for the previous items as well and would they, then, not date to the same era?

Cat. 180, head of Dionysos, might indeed be an appliqué for a piece of furniture. Stylistically it is akin to the late-antique sculptures of Chiragan. The Antonine group of Dionysos, a (very small) satyr and a panther looks rather 1st-century like (cf. above, cat. 176). The tiny format of the god's company is also striking in a similar group cat. 185, discussed by Amedick, who is also responsible for the excellent analysis of a copy of the famous genre figure of the Thorn Picker. Amedick makes clear how the Berlin and Cherchell Spinarii show a clear 'Zeitgeschmack' of the middle of the 2nd century. The motif is Hellenistic and despite the charm it has, the topic was seen as improper because of the attitude and the direct view of the genitals, for which reason the boy was a low sort of shepherd. To the head copies, many made separately and seen as independent heads of Daphnis or Endymion, that in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam (discussed in my *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2000, cat. 93) can be added. Amedick's literary and sculptural approach also comes to the fore in her discussion of the groups of Pan and Satyr cat. 190 and Hermaphrodite and Satyr cat. 191, both from the West Baths. In the latter, the movement of the head is preserved, so that we can conclude that it is falsely restored in other replicas. Dagmar Grassinger presents some Pan or Satyr sculptures, among which the high-quality Satyr cat. 200 from the frigidarium of the West Baths. There are three examples of a Satyr playing a traverso, cat. 204-206, two from the same spot as the Satyr, one from a house, that belong to a large group of 50 replicas in the Roman world. Another popular Satyr with a pig's skin (38 exx.) is represented in two pieces cat. 207-208. This strange attribute is seen as a rather obscene allusion to the genitals of a young girl called χοῖρος, a homonym of the object itself.

I put a question mark to the very late, 3rd-century date of the Silen riding on a Panther cat. 210, that shows the small drill holes of the second half of the 1st century. As to the Silvanus of cat. 211 the lack of pubes hair is explained in a rather forced way: could the figure be a reworked Satyr? There is no dating proposal, but I would add him stylistically to the 2nd-century traverso-playing Satyr (see supra).

Among the animals there are a rooster and a hen, cat. 50-251, seen as funerary sculpture, but could they not be garden figures? A relief of a hanging bird cat. 252 likens painted still lifes of the Republican period in Pompeii and therefore is an expensive parallel of sculp-

ture representations rendered in painting, often speculated for other imitations in that medium as well.

Some mystery guests are dealt with in the section 'Nicht benennbare Figuren', the first of which, cat. 256, is a more than lifesize bearded man's head, previously seen as a portrait of a member of Juba's family. Landwehr makes clear that he probably represents a local 'Vatergottheit' like a variation of Saturn.

A pure luxury is the addition of a set of plates with comparisons, both stylistical and iconographical ('Beilagen' 1-32), for catalogues in general lack those; e.g. pictures of other examples in sculpture and paintings of masks to elucidate the colossal mask of a Papposilenos cat. 220. This and other masks and objects stem from the theatre of Juba II and give a glimpse of its wealthy sculptural decoration.

Finally, the French knew what they had to take with them as a souvenir. One of the most wonderful items is a partly preserved relief of Ourania cat. 269, leaning on a krater and pointing at a globe that is supported by telamons. On the background there is a cityscape. The Louvre possesses the second copy of it, from Florence. It represents almost all Christa Landwehr has fulfilled in the past three decades: scholarship, beauty and the art of emulation. In sum, she set a high standard for projects of the kind to follow and may be congratulated for that.

Eric M. Moormann

ANNETTE LUCIA GIESECKE, *The Epic City. Urbanism, Utopia, and the Garden in Ancient Greece and Rome*. Washington, DC: Center for Hellenic Studies, Cambridge, Mass & London: Harvard University Press, 2007. 205 pp., 18 figs.; 22.5 cm. – ISBN 978-0-674-02374-1.

This book tackles the notions of the town as Utopia and the gardens as reflections of Eden from various points of view, esp. ancient literature and art. The prologue announces an exchange between nature and urban culture in ancient Greece: Plato's Academy in the outskirts of Athens combined these indispensable elements, where *polis* and *chora* were in perpetual dialogue. Giesecke compares Plato's Academy and the Garden of Epicurus (*intra muros!*) with Roman peristyle gardens, also used in the pastime for conversation and study. These could be found in Roman urban settings like the Porticus next to Pompey's theatre in Rome, in villas like that of the Papyri at Herculaneum, seen as a reminiscence of the Greek Gymnasium, and in town houses with their walled gardens. As to literature, Giesecke sees in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* the oldest notions of the ideal city (*Eutopia*) which is not existing (*Outopia*) but striven after. When one follows her analysis of the encounters between Greeks and Trojans, the *Iliad* becomes a poem on the conflict between several Dark Age or early Archaic *poleis* (p. 16), whereas the errands of Odysseus bring this hero (and the reader) to pre- and proto-urban societies (Cyclops, Lotus Eaters, Calypso, Circe, etc.), including his own Ithaca, where he cannot settle his case before curing the garden of his father Laertes. The Homeric cities are not yet real monarchies but sequels of chief-directed communities. According to Giesecke, Thomas More's

Utopia might reflect a thorough reading of Homer, but here the wish seems to be father to the thought, parting from her own way of reasoning about the oldest epic poems. In the *Odyssey*, the garden element is striking: Alcinous and his Phaeacs are good gardeners, as is Odysseus' father. The Shield of Achilles is a 'map of Utopia' (p. 42, fig. 2). Borders separate the good (worked) from the bad (wild and undomesticated) land and man has to make walls to ensure safety. Hesiod is adduced to illustrate the beginnings of land management. Whereas this association is clear, I cannot follow why Sappho must be introduced in this section (p. 51-53), notwithstanding her love for flowers standing in *temenè* (pace *temenoi* p. 53; cf. p. 135 *epoi* instead of *epè*).

Another abrupt change is that to images on Greek vases: natural elements are scarce, but Giesecke discusses some interesting cases (with rather poor images) like that of Elpenor, Odysseus and Hermes in the Hades, from where she passes to Crete and Mycenae and the Dark Ages. The use of borders is expressed in the Geometric art, which style (p. 60) 'could be described as one of hysterical control ... obsessive about the establishment of boundaries or limits, thereby reflecting the organizational principles of the nascent polis.' And, almost needless to say, in this period Homer and Hesiod wrote their works. I find this characterisation and this connection challenging, but am not sure whether they are well-founded.

Some remarks are devoted to the development of Orientalising and Attic Black and Red Figure vase painting, in parallel to the demonstration of space. The assumption of the *polis-chora* model of Athens as invented by Peisistratus on the basis of Homer seems strange: is that not the case with other *poleis* as well? Another associative reasoning brings us from this concept to that of the rather *schwärmerisch* description of the Periclean Acropolis and the Parthenon.

At Rome, Giesecke starts with the Odyssey paintings in the Vatican Library: nature is made tame and literally domesticated, being introduced within the domestic walls. She returns to the Garden of Epicurus to discuss Rome again via the sculpture of Scopas' Maenad and the Hellenistic poetry of Theocritus. Some errors comprise the dating of the Nile Mosaic at Palestrina to the 1st century BC (p. 100) and the connection Le Corbusier would have made with the small and unknown Pompeian 'Casa del Noce' (p. 102), which is no other than the huge Casa delle Nozze d'Argento, surely translated by the architect with 'Maison des Noces'. This and other houses become containers of the *rus in urbe* ('country in town') in their already mentioned peristyle, next to urban *horti*. This notion is also expressed in poetry (i.a. Statius), philosophy (Cicero) and other kinds of text (Varro). Giesecke plays here too loosely with time: the 150 years between Cicero and Statius underwent many subtle and gross developments and literature is here used at face value rather than critically. The last chapter circles around Lucretius and Virgil and their utopia: from pastoral life in Epicurean *ataraxeia* to the turmoil of the large town that was Rome. The analysis of the description of Aeneas' shield in *Aeneid* 8 demonstrates the strong ambition of Augustus to become a new Pericles. Landscape and nature are beautiful, but violated by supreme animals, i.e. mankind, and Augustus seems to repair the

Golden Age of Saturnus. As to the arts, wall paintings seem in line with Epicurean ideas; the Ara Pacis Augustae and the Augustus of Prima Porta comprise the essentials of these new politics. The mixture of styles, esp. with Athenian 5th-century quotations underlines Augustus' classicism (p. 139) as the result of mingling Lucretius' nature and Pericles' achievements. These interpretations of Augustus and his predecessors Aeneas and Romulus and Remus are interesting and may be relevant for students of the Augustan era. But I cannot escape the impression that, as a whole, the book does not give a coherent idea of what nature and utopia really had to do together in Antiquity. Giesecke's study addresses scholars of various fields of classical history, reaching from the Dark Ages to the Age of Augustus and highlighting some well-known classical momentums. The combination of literary and artistic sources is sometimes rather forced and the balance turns in favour of the former, apparently in better command than the latter.

Eric M. Moormann

RAINER STUTZ, *Drei Hanghäuser in Thugga. Maison des trois Masques, Maison du Labyrinthe, Maison de Dionysos et d'Ulysse*. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2007 (THVGGA 2). 94 pp., 14 figs., 36 pls; 34.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-3758-8.

This beautifully edited volume is the second in a new series on research initiated at Thugga, modern Dougga in Tunisia, by V.M. Strocka from the University of Freiburg. The first gives an introduction and tackles some general questions. In the second book R. Stutz presents three large, prestigious houses located in the very centre of the town (a plan with the location within the urban grid would have been useful). Some 36 more houses are waiting for research and, although the choice is called a good one, this is not explained (p. 12). As in many old excavations - here the French started working at the beginning of the 20th century - Stutz had to reconstruct the excavation records and, if possible, to relocate the mosaics that had been carried to Tunis and gave the French names to the houses. Neither excavation dates are at hand nor is it known for most of the figural mosaics when their removal had taken place. The descriptions are, necessarily, rather dry, but to the point and important for those who want to ascertain the reconstructions Stutz made of these impressive buildings. He describes building materials, preparatory ground works (mainly removal of parts of the living rock to install rooms and drainage). The study fills a gap in Roman Africa studies, since houses have been neglected hitherto in this sector of Roman research.

The remains date from the 2nd to the 4th centuries and some of the most important features can only be dated thanks to the stylistic research of the mosaics. The *floruit* of 138-169 is the starting point for all three houses. The building technique is the aptly called *opus africanum*: sets of lintels of limestone filled in with small irregular stones like *Fachwerkbau*. All wall faces had to be plastered. The question of a second or even third floor is tackled. There must have been parts with two floors, covered with flat roofs.

The ground plan of the 600 m² large House of the three

Masks is not like those of large townhouses in Italian cities, showing long east-west rooms and courtyards along the slope of the hill. There seems to be a single building phase only. The description and reconstruction is followed by a functional analysis of the rooms. The decorations (few paintings, mosaic floors in the main rooms) are of great help to determine hierarchy and function. In the House of the Labyrinth the surface is a little smaller (440 m²) and the terrain was still more determining the elongated shape. The original layout of the name-giving mosaic cannot be established. As to the floors, Stutz gives two alternatives in his reconstruction: one or two floors, in all cases covered with flat roofs. After the rather difficult process of construction (a great deal of rock had to be cut off to obtain a plane area for the construction) and the installation of lavish floor decorations, a later moment saw the installation of a sort of shed for charts. The last house once contained the famous representation of Odysseus listening to the Sirens, while his men are rowing. Its dimensions are 435 m² and, since the house originally possessed two floors, the dimensions must have been double. Here scholars working in Italy recognize a more normal ground plan of rooms around a court yard, with the entrance area along the main street at the north side. At the south-western side there was a colonnade looking onto the street, reconstructed as a courtyard without a roof (see fig. 13), but perhaps a covered portico. In this house the oldest remains go back to the 1st century BC, whereas the main elements date to the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Stutz recognizes several phases on the basis of the mosaics. The book finishes with a well-thought interpretation of the iconographic programme of the mosaics, in which Dionysus plays a major role. The combination of this god and Odysseus in the courtyard, combined with fishermen, is explained as a demonstration of the difficulties they had to go through before arriving at their goal. The water is the common element, symbolizing here the struggle and evil (even the fishermen, I would add, have to work hard). We do not know the owners of this and the other house, not to speak of their mindset, but a certain degree of literacy can be assumed.

In sum, this is an attractive study about houses and a town that deserve a greater attention in the discussion about living and working in ancient towns. Stutz does not deliver general conclusions or observations. Waiting for the analysis of some more houses seems to be the reason for that, but it is rather deceptive not to find some sort of outcome and prospect of future research.

Eric M. Moormann

BRIGITTE RUCK, *Die Grossen dieser Welt. Kolossalporträts im antiken Rom*. Heidelberg: Verlag Archäologie und Geschichte, 2007 (Archäologie und Geschichte 11). 343 pp., 3 figs., 50 pls; 30.5 cm. – ISBN 978-3-935289-32-0.

Ruck's Heidelberg PhD has become a mature work of scholarship in this impressive publication that will be used by many scholars working on portraits and on the topography of ancient Rome. The material discussed consists of (fragments of) statues, inscriptions (especially those on the bases of lost monuments), topographic indi-

cations and ancient texts. A strong point is the relocation of statues in their original setting and, hence, the reconstruction of their function within the ancient context. Of course, this is possible in few cases only, but the careful analysis of the data available about statues, bases and inscriptions as well as textual evidence yields brilliant results.

First of all, Ruck tries to define the phenomenon of colossality and it must be said that she formulates clearer definitions than Detlev Kreikenbom did in his *Griechische und römische Kolossalporträts bis zum späten ersten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Berlin 1992), who covers a longer period, including Greek and Hellenistic monuments, but does not go further than AD 100, when dealing with Roman examples. Ruck assumes a minimal height of one and a half bigger than life size, so that a complete standing male figure would reach at least 2.50 m and a female one 2.30 m. These measurements also matter, when Ruck tries to calculate the sizes of statues on the bases she discusses. So she reconstructs a statue of 2.70-3.00 m of Trajan on a basis of circa 1 m, with indents for the feet (p. 47, pl. 32).

Ruck uses the inscriptions of lost statues scattered over Rome as precious testimonies for the reconstruction of images: she can ascertain the presence of many monuments otherwise not taken into account. The original shape of lost figures evinces from the inscription's format or from the marks on the top of the base. Beginning in the 1st century BC, colossi were made throughout the Empire; the last one must have been a statue for the mother of Theodosius, Thermantia, erected along the Sacra Via on the Forum Romanum. These inscriptions tell a lot thanks to their formulations and their format. However, the speculations about the shape of the statues in question are sometimes rather academic and - necessarily - too speculative to keep the reader's concentration alive while reading. These data are often combined with those of statue bases (a subject tackled recently in a masterly way by J.M. Højte in his *Roman Imperial Statue Bases*, Aarhus 2005). The bases as such do not provide a basis firm enough to come to sound conclusions unless in several clear cases. All in all, the two categories are instructive, despite my scepticism, in that they illustrate the wide range of possibilities, varying from single standing or seated persons to chariots and group portraits. Some are nicely illustrated in clear drawings.

The structure of the book is well defined and this makes it easy to consult chapters or sections for those who cannot read the long entire work. After the mentioned chapter defining colossality, we find chapters on the context (cult statues, public status, portraits in private realms like houses and tombs), the development of colossal portraits from the late Republic up to the Soldier Emperors, whereas late Antiquity (Tetrarchs-5th century) has a chapter of its own. A summary, the catalogue, bibliography and indices complete the study. Especially chapter Three ('Entwicklung') deserves attentive reading, since it contains the summa of Ruck's work. She sketches the increasing use of colossal statues from the 1st century BC into the Principate and the partial dependence of Hellenistic predecessors. In the discussion about religious contexts, Ruck warns for the assumption that the colossus of an emperor should reveal a divine status, since it may refer to divine qualities rather than the self-iden-

tification as a god. No living emperor seems to have erected such a statue as cult statue; those we know were set up by successors. The dimensions show that the emperor rises above ordinary people and is capable of reaching the divine realm more easily. Most statues were destined for a public or sacral context. The few instances of emperor's statues within private areas do not really convince, as Ruck admits implicitly: the colossus of Nero stood in the *vestibulum* of the Golden House, part of the palace complex that must have been open like the vestibule of a *domus* and accessible for the subjects. Likewise, the large figure of Domitian of which part has been preserved, stems from one of the *aulae* of his Domus Augustana, again a public part of the palace. Private persons seldom got statues of large size and they all were related narrowly to the emperor and his family, so that for them the same conclusions can be made as for the large category of imperial portraits.

As to late antiquity, one immediately thinks of the Constantine in the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Conservatori and some other large heads. Ruck makes clear that this colossus, a seated figure of some 10 metres, formed the *nec plus ultra*: indeed, very few colossi were made afterwards and at the end of the 4th century it is a phenomenon of the past at Rome, whereas elsewhere the production continued. The Constantine from the Basilica can be seen as a reminiscence of Sol, when we take into account the nearby Colossus of Nero, but also - as has been made clear almost simultaneously with this study by Claudio Parisi Presicce (*BullCom* 107, 2006, 127-162) - as a Jupiter. Both are right in rejecting the long-standing interpretation of H.P. L'Orange to see Constantine as a new Christ: a blunt christianisation was not in time in the years 312-325, when the statue must have been erected.

Almost all statues and bases were published in scholarly works. Therefore, the catalogue is not what one would expect from the traditional German format of similar studies: it consists of a long, clear table, without longish and dull descriptions, and is articulated according to sure or not sure Roman provenance for portraits (subdivided into male/female sitters) and bases with inscriptions in Rome. The bibliographical information in the last column of the statue section provides the reader with a key to deepen his or her research, whereas for the inscriptions a reference to *CIL* must suffice, so that one has to go through the notes in the text and Højte to find more information. Ruck shows her skills as an archaeologist and an epigraphist alike. In both fields she feels at home and demonstrates a great knowledge of the common practices and the pertaining bibliography.

Eric M. Moormann

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN, *Schriften und Nachlaß* 4,1-3. *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Herausgegeben von Adolf H. Borbein, Thomas W. Gaethgens, Johannes Irmscher (†) und Max Kunze. Band 4,1: Text. Band 4,2: Katalog der antiken Denkmäler, bearbeitet von Mathias René Hoffer, Axel Rügler, Adolf H. Borbein u.a. Band 4,3: Allgemeiner Kommentar, bearbeitet von Max Kunze, Marianne Kreikenbom, Brice Macaulin und Axel Rügler. Mainz

am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2002, 2006, 2007. Band 4,1: CXI, 859 pp., 42 figs.; Band 4,2: 614 pp., 1402 figs.; Band 4,3: 574 pp.; 27 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-2935-0, 978-3-8053-3745-8, 978-3-8053-3746-5.

Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) remains hot, as becomes clear from an incessant stream of publications about this pioneer of ancient history of art in the last decades. The study of his works can still produce fascinating results and remains relevant for modern interpretations of antique monuments (cf. my review of some publications in *BABesch* 81, 2006, 246-248). But these original books are often not easily accessible, both *in re* and in the sense of understanding, as many of his observations are strangely formulated and in many senses outdated. The series of editions of his published works and *inedita*, fostered by the Winckelmann-Gesellschaft in his birth place Stendal in Germany, solves many of these problems. It has a very high standard of quality and is now a large end on its way to completion. The three imposing volumes under review are together 16 cm thick and display in all their richness Winckelmann's main - and I think master - work, the famous *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* in which his ideas on the development of Greek art came together. As in the other six volumes at hand, first the text is given according to the first edition, which is followed by a commentary. Here, however, the editors also print the second edition, worked on by the author from 1765 onwards, but only posthumously edited at Vienna. The new text edition is very welcome, since most available prints reproduce abbreviated and/or re-spelled texts, mostly based on the 1764 edition, but also on the second edition, like the well-known Vienna edition of 1934, reprinted several times until recently, which is also true for all translations, from Winckelmann's own time onwards. A new English translation by Harry Francis Mallgrave and edited by Alex Potts (Los Angeles) could already be based on the new scientific edition. The differences between 1764 and 1776 are big, not only because of the additions to the double-so-large 1776 version, but also thanks to new insights originated from the evolution of Winckelmann's own development. In their preface the editors make clear that the genesis of the latter version, edited by Friedrich Julius Riedel, cannot be reconstructed, since Winckelmann's and Riedel's manuscripts are lost. Remarkably, for almost two centuries German scholars have discussed the edition of a scientific version, but discarded it, for Winckelmann would no longer be read and was hopelessly out of date. The contacts between BRD and DDR scholars in the international Winckelmann-Gesellschaft created an opportunity to launch the edition project in 1988.

As to the two commentary volumes, the editors have done everything to help the modern reader. Volume 4.2 is dedicated to the 'Denkmäler', as Winckelmann already called the architectural monuments and objects, that are referred to and discussed in the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. In the text volume 4.1 numbers in the margins give the key to these 1365 monuments in 4.2, in which the comment does not - and, because of repeated mentioning of important objects, cannot - follow the sequence of the text. There is a rigid, Winckelmann-like classification into the chronological periods (Egyptian/Egyptian-

ising, Oriental, Etrusco-Italic, Greco-Roman) and, within these parts, Denkmäler (cf. Winckelmann's tables of contents in 4.1). Statuary - the largest group of objects studied - has a subdivision into iconographical and schematic formulae like gods/men, male/female, standing/seated, nude/clothed/harnessed, etc. According to A. Borbein this articulation corresponds to the 'übliche Klassifikation antiker Denkmäler' and, indeed, one finds this framework in repertories, museum catalogues and the like from German origin. The classification is made after modern insights, i.e. not following Winckelmann's own dating. This means that we can consult the catalogue as a sort of modern history of art, in which the 'ideal' statues (to take one group only; e.g. Torso Belvedere, pp. 261-262 cat. 573), are classed from archaic to Roman. However, there are other classifications as well. The first section has gods, from Apollo (e.g. Belvedere, pp. 144-145 cat. 295) to Zeus, in which figures seen as such are included as well, e.g. a third-century youth in the guise of Apollo from Villa Negroni in Kansas City (4.2, pp. 153-154 cat. 309a), that evidently lacks in the portrait section, where we, nowadays, would have put it. Among the mythical themes Laocoon takes a place of pride (pp. 222-224 cat. 486). All Denkmäler seen by Winckelmann either in real or in engravings have an illustration, mostly of good quality despite the small format, so that it is easy to ascertain Winckelmann's text with the piece, having it immediately at hand. Each item contains references to other works of Winckelmann and, possibly, an explanation of Winckelmann's changing insights. The modern comment stands in Winckelmann's tradition, when its authors do not bother about original and copy (or whatever Roman pieces 'after' a great sculptor), so that many Roman objects are labelled 'Kopie', 'Umbildung' and the like of Praxiteles, Lysippos etc. I observe this without blaming them for that! These books are not there to make modern statements about Greek and Roman art as such, but to illustrate an old reference text. And I can only say that they are more than sufficient. Detailed use of the works will deliver mistakes and omission, but that is not the aim of this brief review. Borbein is right in concluding that Winckelmann had an enormous knowledge of monuments indeed and was not the bookish scholar only basing his research on ancient text, as some scholars have argued. Winckelmann was a real 'Augenmensch', working on the monuments themselves (cf. remarks on sight volume 4.3, pp. 95-96).

Volume 4.3 is a line-by-line commentary, in which the user finds explanations about the references Winckelmann makes to previous or simultaneous research and gives comparanda of reasoning in his own works. Important are the analyses of key words (e.g. Einfalt, Geschmack, erhaben, Gelehrsamkeit, Stand etc.; Denkmal lacks!) in Winckelmann's work that illustrate his working process and his evaluation from a critical reader and author of common place books to an independent scholar (E. Décultaut, *Untersuchungen zu Winckelmanns Exzerptheften*, Rühpolding 2003; cf. my review quoted). The 'Allgemeines Register' is of eminent importance and quality, since the reader can look for these words and immediately spot them in the way of an *index locorum*, whereas all other names and sources are also listed. The explanations of linguistic oddities, phrasing and word significances will be illuminating for German and non-

German readers alike. As to Winckelmann's opinions, the commentary tries to give his sources and reasoning as well as the later developments in so far they rely on the Stendal-born scholar. Researchers of Baroque and Enlightenment will be grateful for the full references to scientific and literary works Winckelmann quotes in an abbreviated form in his footnotes. As they are, their meaning is often difficult to understand.

Winckelmann also was an archaeologist recording discoveries in Rome that still are useful. So we can put on the test the work under review by linking it to a description of the find of granite columns under Palazzo Valentini at Rome, on the spot where the Temple of Divus Traianus would have been located according to Amanda Claridge (*JRA* 20, 2007, 54-94). Her quotation from the 1776 edition (p. 64, note 48; Winckelmann 1776, 829; here vol. 4.1, p. 793) has no counterpart in the 1764 version, since he speaks about 1765. In volume 4.2, p. 114 cat. 220 the reader can find the inventory number of the column brought to Villa Albani and some notes on the Forum of Trajan, whereas in vol. 4.3, p. 485 he finds an explanation about the modern setting. The comment does not enter into the topography discussed by Claridge in her contribution, but she could have had profit from this work, avoiding too much cumbersome searching after the old references.

In sum, we have a precious set of volumes that disclose Winckelmann's masterly pioneering work on antique art. It contains innumerable data for archaeologists, art historians, historians of mentality and history of research. And let us hope that this huge bulk of text will stimulate further research on archaeology in the 18th century.

Eric M. Moormann

Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Schriften und Nachlaß* 4.4. *Anmerkungen über die Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*. Herausgegeben von Adolf H. Borbein und Max Kunze. Bearbeitet von Eva Hofstetter, Max Kunze, Brice Maucolin und Axel Rügler. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 2008. XXVI, 280 pp., 86 figs.; 27 cm. – ISBN 978-3-8053-3844-8.

The *Anmerkungen* were conceived as a supplementary volume to the *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* from 1764. As early as 1766 Winckelmann hoped to compile a second German edition of this master work, when he had heard about the plans of a new French translation. Since his publisher Walter still had many copies of the 1764 book in stock, this would not succeed during his lifetime. Therefore, the *Anmerkungen* forms a publication of its own, when put next to the *Geschichte* of 1764. This book as well as a set of notes in one of Winckelmann's manuscripts at Paris contains many passages that would be inserted in the 1776 edition printed at Vienna. Winckelmann argues in the 'Vorrede' that a lot of errors had been made by him and other 'Scribenten' alike and these originate from false observations, misinterpretations of texts and stupidity or short-sightedness. The reader gets a sort of thinned version of the original book, with the same articulation and questions posed, often in reference to works discussed before in

the *opus magnum*. That inevitably does not produce a very fascinating reading, but when compared to the 1764 edition, there are many new and important judgements. The editors record in the comment which of these supplementary remarks returns in the 1776 edition, but it would have been easier for the reader to understand these changes, if these parts of the text were printed in another type. Now, one needs to have the excellent simultaneous 1764 and 1776 editions at hand, edited in the same series as vols. 4.1-3 (reviewed supra, pp. 240-242). That handling of these volumes simultaneously also pertains the commentary: the editors do not repeat data and add only, if there are novelties. In some cases it is unclear why a new remark featuring in these *Anmerkungen* did not show up in the final work in which, as we know, Winckelmann probably did not have a final say due to his sudden death in 1768.

Like in the previous volumes of the series, the commentary is extremely informative and rich of data hard to find elsewhere. Especially the identification of the monuments must have been difficult. Almost all pieces described here and not in the *Geschichte* are illustrated except for post-antique works of art. One addition comes from my own work. When Winckelmann speaks about 'zwo Begräbnis-Urnen, von denen die eine in dem Garten der Farnesina stehet' (p. 85), he describes the large Dionysian sarcophagus that is now in the Allard Pierson Museum at Amsterdam and formerly at Hever Castle (as said on p. 213; see E.M. Moormann, *Ancient Sculpture in the Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam*, Amsterdam 2000, 161-164 cat. 221). This volume is not Winckelmann's most attractive work, when read independently, but it clearly illustrates Winckelmann's ongoing personal development and research.

Eric M. Moormann

D. BERGES, *Knidos. Beiträge zur Geschichte der archaischen Stadt*. Mainz am Rhein: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 2006. 211 S., 36 Abb. im Text, 8 Farb-, 131 SW-Taf.; 31,5 cm – ISBN 3-8053-3457-5.

With characteristic German 'Gründlichkeit' D. Berges, assisted by a group of eight specialists, presents in this volume the results of the excavation of what appear to be the poor remains of the temple of Apollo Karneios at Emecik, part of the territory of Old Knidos and situated ca 12 km east of the urban centre (Datça-Burgaz, well to be distinguished from the site of New Knidos at Tekir). The architectural reconstruction of the temple and temenos, from the late Bronze to the Byzantine period, will be presented by the Turkish scholar N. Tuna in a separate volume.

In a succinct introduction B. discusses the topography of the Knidian peninsula. He subscribes to the now current view that Old Knidos is to be located at the site of Burgaz / Datça and through *metoikismos* has been moved to Tepir at the western tip of the peninsula sometime in the 4th century BC. He offers no solution for the problem of the Triopion, i.e., the federal sanctuary of Apollo Triopios of the Doric Pentapolis. According to Thucydides (8.35.3) it was situated on the *akra tes Knidias prouchousa* ('on the tip of the Knidian promontory'). This excludes Emecik a priori; moreover, inscriptions from the site show

that the Emecik-temple belonged to Apollo Karneios, not to Apollo Triopios. The Apollo-temple in New Knidos also is dedicated to Apollo Karneios. So far no archaeological remains have been found which could substantiate the claim that the Triopion is to be located in or near Tekir. B. is rightly skeptical about A. Bresson's suggestion (see *SEG* XLIX 1430) that at the tip of the peninsula a small harbor-city called Triopion established itself round the sanctuary and became part of the newly built city of New Knidos (see B. 30 note 103). Archaeological, epigraphical and literary sources supporting this view are simply lacking. Incidentally, in the section on the 30 (parts of) statuettes of lions found at Emecik B. writes that in Knidos the lion is to be interpreted as the symbol of Apollo Triopios (92-94, where B. accepts Th. Homolle's verdict: 'le lion est le symbole d'Apollon triopien'). How does B. reconcile this with his otherwise fully justified emphasis on Apollo Karneios being the main deity of Emecik?

B. interestingly suggests ascribing the initiative to build a new city in Tekir to Mausollos of Caria and dating this operation to the late 60s/early 50s of the 4th century BC.

The report about the excavation of the Apollo sanctuary at Emecik is preceded by a brief survey of the 'Forschungsgeschichte'. This survey focuses on the amusing story of the excavations (legal and illegal) at Datça itself in the early 20th century, when permits were easy to obtain and findings were shamelessly traded to various European museums and collections. B. even goes so far as to publish the correspondence of the Director of the British School at Athens (R.M. Dawkins) with the Greek excavator P.G. Polemikos and the Turkish Ministry of Education: interesting enough but hardly relevant for a publication on Emecik. The 'prehistory' of research on the latter is very brief. It is not until the 80s of the 20th century that B. and the Turkish archaeologist N. Tuna began the first excavations. Prior to that operation the site had been visited, with a varying degree of intensity, by various travellers (Maiuri, Bean and Cook).

The temenos at Emecik consists of two terraces: on the lower one (constructed ca 560 BC) one finds the poor remains of a Doric temple plus altar, on the upper one a vaulted chamber and a Byzantine church. Remains of an archaic stone wall which supported the lower terrace, are still visible. The site has suffered from illegal digs and modern road-building: a common phenomenon in contemporary Turkey, alas! As pointed out before, a full report on the architecture of the site is to be expected from B.'s colleague N. Tuna; B., however, already now points out that initially there was no temple but just a large square, serving as a meeting-place, with an altar, comparable to what in Anglo-Saxon circles is called an 'Open Air Sanctuary'. The temple dates from the late-Hellenistic period and has been severely damaged by 'Steinraub' and lime-kilns, three of which were established on the site itself!

In an epigraphic section (60-62) J. Nollé competently and briefly publishes eight inscriptions: one old text (*I. Knidos* 701) and seven new ones: three archaic graffiti on ceramic fragments (one dedication with *anethēke*) and four inscribed stones: a fragmentary Hellenistic *lex sacra* mentioning Apollo, a dedication to Apollo Karneios by an ex-prophet (*prophateusas*) and a fragmentary list of

names. The inscriptions unequivocally show that the temple belonged to Apollo Karneios and had an oracular function. B. convincingly argues (28/29) that, on the analogy of the subterranean chamber under the Apollo temple in Klaros, the subterranean vaulted chamber on the upper terrace at Emecik played a role in that context. In the section on statuettes of falcons found in Emecik he points out that falcons are known as the 'mantisches Tier Apollons' (98, where B. at the same time plays with the idea that the falcon in its capacity of bird of prey symbolizes the power of the god; perhaps we have once more a 'thoughtless' (see *infra* my quotation from 89) adoption of an existing repertoire?).

From 63 onwards the lavishly illustrated catalogue of the finds begins. Most of them date from the 7th/6th century BC and testify to the importance of Old Knidos in that era. Berges takes care of the limestone and the otherwise very rare marble objects (statuettes of lions, rams (related to Karneios), bulls and falcons). According to B. petrological analysis showed that the limestone was imported from Cyprus. B. suggests (67, 69, 72, 91) that Cypriote itinerant craftsmen introduced the manufacturing of such statuettes in Asia Minor and that local apprentices adopted and continued this tradition (cf. also 94 and 99, where B. opts for craftsmen domiciled in Eastern Greece). This is the sort of hypothesis which can neither be proved nor disproved. Apart from that, Thomas Fockenbergh, who on 195-198 reports on the chemical analysis of the statuettes, is considerably more cautious than B. He points out that the raw material used for these objects admittedly is similar to that found on Cyprus, but he adds that such material 'auf einer recht grossen Fläche im Bereich des östlichen Mittelmeers sedimentiert worden (ist)' (197); he concludes that for the Emecik statuettes Cypriote limestone 'kann als Rohstoff gedient haben' (italics are mine, HWP). Possibilities, however, are no certainties; unfortunately B. seems to think in terms of the latter! It is perhaps not inappropriate to point out here that in the pottery catalogue only one Cypriote sherd is documented (112). On 145 the pottery expert concludes that Cypriote influence on local Knidian pottery workshops can possibly be discerned in isolated items (italics are mine, HWP). This is hardly comforting for those who cherish hypotheses concerning Cypriote influence on finds in general from Emecik.

Instead of a general orientalizing style B. prefers to think in terms of a more specific egyptianizing style (74), in which Naukratis played an essential role (72). This may be true but I do not see why local Greek craftsmen would have been unable to develop their craft independently from itinerant Cypriote 'teachers'; the more so, since B. himself, from a stylistical point of view, argues against a 'zyprozentrische Betrachtungsweise' (67; cf. also 87 where B. for statuettes representing 'Thronende Widdergottheiten' argues against a Cypriote provenance). That the ideology, lurking behind Egyptian statues and implying that they were animated with the Ka of the dedicator (74), was adopted together with an egyptianizing style, is once more a gratuitous assumption. 'Dauerhafte Stellvertretung des Stifters im Dienst der Gottheit' (74) as objective of the dedication of the statuette is a product of learned fantasy or, better, of wishful thinking of archaeologists who want to build profound theories on an infrastructure of slender evidence. In this connec-

tion it is appropriate to refer to B.'s brief section on statuettes representing a deity taming a lion. There B. suggests thinking in terms of a '*gedankenlose*' adoption of a Rhodian tradition! (89; italics are mine; cf. above my comment on 98, HWP).

R. Attula signs for the publication of the almost exclusively fragmentary pottery (101-153). In addition to import of Corinthian (42 pieces), Attic (4 pieces) and Etruscan (10 pieces of *Bucchero*) pottery, A. discerns pottery manufactured in Ionian, Rhodian and local Knidian workshops. Neutron analysis (NAA) enabled A. to distinguish the latter from other East Greek centres and to identify quite a few centres in Ionia. Most fragments date from ca 650-550/500 BC. On the whole the number of vases, plates and dishes is small; A.'s main contribution is a further refinement in typology and in the attribution of specific fragments to specific production-centres. For the economic historian there remains not much more than the observation that there were somehow contacts between Old Knidos and other maritime centres. But what can one do with four fragments of Attic pottery?

K. Kleibl (153-182) publishes a selection of the terracotta votives: 116 anthropomorphic pieces (7th/6th century BC) and 328 animal votives, almost exclusively bulls (geometrical period). Neutron analysis points to a dominant Cypriote provenance (and thus import) of nearly all anthropomorphic items; the latter's popularity had a both mercantile and aesthetic background (157). On the other hand the animal votives in majority were produced locally.

On 157 K. suddenly points out that in many cases it remains unclear whether we have Cypriote import or local production imitating Cypriote models by means of Cypriote matrices. Unless this passage concerns the larger terracotta's, which she holds to have been produced locally, or the animal votives which almost exclusively were manufactured in Knidos itself but are referred to by the author further down, this remark does not square with earlier views about a Cypriote provenance. Whatever the truth, the predominance of the bull among the animal votives is related by K. to the following function of the animal: indicator of wealth of the cattle-owning elite and sacrificial animal. Ultimately, the terracotta bull may have been a poor man's substitute for a real sacrifice.

The catalogue is concluded with brief sections on glazed objects, especially falcon-amulets, and 'Strausesschalen' mostly imported from Carthage (B.), shells probably used as containers for unguents (B.), glass objects (B.), metal objects ('Slawisch') and coins (B.).

The photos are all excellent; the same is true for the lay-out and the paper: the publisher has done a truly magnificent job. Berges deserves our admiration for having published the results of the excavation relatively rapidly after its conclusion. From an organizing point of view it surely is also quite an achievement to compose such an excellent team of collaborators and to mobilize the archaeometrists for this project. For archaeologists specialized in pottery and other small finds the book is a welcome addition to their armory; for other students of antiquity there surely are more exciting volumes; but Berges *cum suis* cannot be blamed for that!

H.W. Pleket

PH.P. BETANCOURT et al., *The Chrysokamino Metallurgy Workshop and its Territory*. Princeton New Jersey: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2006. XVIII+462 pp., figs.; 28 cm (Hesperia suppl. 36). – ISBN 978-0-87661-536-2.

On the eastern side of the Mirabello Bay (Eastern Crete, Greece), the site of Chrysokamino presented the archaeologists with an exceptional challenge. The so-called 'golden furnace', a Final Neolithic/Early Bronze Age metallurgy workshop, is a unique source of information on the origin of metallurgical production, though its poor preservation required an in-depth investigation of every available detail. The book represents a state-of-the-art piece of archaeological research and placed the workshop in a wider natural and culture landscape. It is composed of three parts and a large number of appendices including archaeometric and archaeo-environmental reports.

In Part I 'The Chrysokamino territory', the natural and cultural setting of the region is described in full detail, including the history of local research, location, toponyms, climate, geology and natural sources.

Part II, 'The metallurgy workshop' forms the final report of the excavation of the metallurgical workshop and consists of several chapters. The first ones describe the settings and methodology of the excavation in detail. Within the workshop a unique apsidal structure was discovered. Documentation was complete in such a degree that only few hypotheses and arguments on the function of this apsidal structure could be suggested. Residue analysis of pottery content retrieved within the structure provided strong evidence that medicinal herbs were processed here. This suggests that the apsidal structure was most probably an on-site prehistoric pharmacy, which, within the context of an arsenic copper workshop, seems to make good sense. Such an apsidal structure is unique, both in construction technique as in function. A detailed catalogue of retrieved pottery offered the basis for a chronological sequence as well as the function of different spatial entities based on pottery shapes. Detailed catalogues and analysis of stone tools, furnace chimney fragments, pot bellows, faunal and floral remains, slag, ores and prills provided solid material evidence on the workshop's technology and its fuel. Following, Muhly interprets the Chrysokamino workshop data and rewrites the history of early metallurgy in view of the new evidence. Betancourt closes part II with a reconstruction of the smelting practices. The highly interdisciplinary approach on the totality of this project is justified by the absence/incompatibility of raw material of copper in the wider region, indicating long-distance transport of the Chrysokamino copper material from the Lavrion mines in Attica and the Cycladic islands of Kythnos and Seriphos. This was shown by lead isotope analysis of slag. Both Lavrion and the Cyclades have been shown to be the main source of copper for the entire Bronze Age on Crete.

Chrysokamino also represents an evolutionary threshold in the development of metallurgical technology. It is a precedent of the later shaft furnaces and the use of pot-bellows, while its use of arsenic copper is rather old fashioned, going back to the final Neolithic for Crete.

Chrysokamino is the first example of a site with metallurgy as its main activity in this period.

Part III, 'The surface survey': Intensive surface survey offered the chance to place this workshop within its local setting. This was accomplished by a detailed description and mapping of the region's topography, a short report on the Chrysokamino-Chomatas habitation site nearby, a brief study of the Theriospilio cave material of Edith Hall's excavation of 1910 and the wider archaeological context provided by Haggis' Kavousi survey. A brief study of local geography and land use defined the spatial configuration of local agricultural activities. Summarizing the survey data with a focus on the main sites, a diachronic regional history of the Chrysokamino region is presented.

This book contains a wealth in new archaeological data, a rewriting of technological history on the early phases of metallurgy, and a careful and detailed construction of a wider spatial and cultural context of the new data. It would, however, not have been half as valuable without its appendices that provide detailed reports on the archaeometric analyses, including actual laboratory data. The interdisciplinarity of this project and focus on the aims with any necessary means is exemplary and for that reason, I highly recommend this book to all interested in early technology, the transition of Neolithic to Early Bronze Age and interdisciplinary archaeometric investigation.

Steven Soetens

P.J. GOODMAN, *The Roman City and its Periphery. From Rome to Gaul*. London/New York: Routledge, 2007. XVI + 309 pp., 4 tables, 12 pls, 33 figs.; 24 cm. – ISBN 978-0-415-33865-3.

Penelope J. Goodman's book presents the publication of a revised 2002 Oxford PhD thesis. G. explores the organisation and use of the urban periphery as a means of better understanding the nature and workings of Roman urban society. The case studies employed cover a broad geographic area, ranging from Rome to the cities in the western provinces. Equally impressive is the vast chronological scope, taking the discussion of the Roman city and its periphery into late antiquity. However, the real core of the book is a detailed study of periurban areas of Roman cities in Gaul in the high empire. The book makes a valid contribution to the literature on the Roman city, not only enriching the wider town and country debate, but also contributing to the discussion of the relationship between Rome and her provinces.

The introductory chapter starts with G.'s working definition of urban periphery and proceeds by clarifying the terminology applied. It further provides a brief layout of the chapters presented in the book. G. defines urban periphery as an area distinct from the urban centre as well as from the rural areas surrounding the city, thus referring to any occupation and land-use in the environs of a city, which are neither entirely urban nor fully rural in character. G. opts for the terms *periurban* and *urban periphery* since *suburban* or *suburbs* might invoke associations with either ancient metropolitan Rome or medieval and modern cities.

Chapter 2 discusses the concepts of urban periphery

in Roman ideology explored through legal, literary and visual evidence, while the archaeological evidence for urban boundaries and periurban activity is considered in Chapter 3. The conclusions drawn from the assessment of sources underpin the interpretation of archaeological evidence. From these findings it emerges that periurban activity can never be securely identified from its geographic position only, moreover 'periurban identity' remains subjective and contestable. G. systematically considers the archaeological evidence of urban boundaries and peripheral zones, from Rome outwards to the provinces, highlighting the differences between literary construction and archaeological reality. At Rome, 'suburban villa-lifestyle' is revealed by literary sources, whereas the archaeological evidence does not support a distinction between suburban villas and any other luxury property elsewhere in Italy. G. asserts that what makes and breaks the Roman suburban villa are behavioural patterns. These are characterised by activities such as regular journeys between villa and city, philosophical debates, neighbourly visits, all forming part of the metropolitan elite lifestyle and its self-perception (p. 77). G. suggests that comparable patterns can be assumed for the provinces where lavish villas occur in close topographic relationship with cities; still it remains difficult to identify the Roman model of elite suburban living in the provinces, since textual evidence is largely lacking.

Chapter 4, the largest section of the book, concentrates on the main administrative Roman cities in Gaul in the high empire. G. methodically examines the archaeological evidence related to periurban development, with 49 out of 84 cities yielding positive evidence for such activities (p. 158), notwithstanding the hazards of the archaeological record. G. explores different uses of periurban space, grouped into categories of activities on one hand, and building types on the other (commerce, industry, domestic occupation, baths, temples, spectacle buildings, festivals and shows, cemetery and tombs, villas and farms). Applying a simpler, yet more consistent set of land-use categories might have been equally sufficient and would have allowed one to account for overlaps between different building-types with similar or multiple functions. G. aims at detecting patterning in the distribution of specific land-uses and building-types within the urban periphery, as well as identifying regional variation in distribution patterns. Next to commonly found mixed land use, she is able to identify clear patterning in the distribution of specific buildings. While classical temples and theatres are confined to the city centres, Romano-Celtic temples and Gallic theatres, as well as local types of spectacle buildings seem relegated to periurban and rural areas, so as not to compromise the Roman-ness of the urban centres (p. 161-162).

Chapter 5 follows suit by investigating Gaul's secondary agglomerations located within the territories of the administrative cities. In terms of their legal status, being subordinated to the administrative cities, these secondary settlements form a coherent group. In contrast, their physical appearance varies widely regarding size, function and level of urban aspiration. In fact, G. uses their degree of urban personality to subdivide them into settlements with distinct urban aspiration and those with little signs of it. The first group demonstrates that periurban growth occurs along similar patterns as those

found at administrative cities, provided that there was a closely defined urban centre holding some socio-economic local significance. Hence their lesser legal status seemed inconsequential for peripheral growth. The second group reconfirms the importance of defined urban centres against which peripheral activities develop, since sites lacking urban attitude also lack periurban activities. Then again, as G. observes, there is a close relationship between secondary non-urban agglomerations and villas. Rather than emulating the Roman model of suburban villas, according to G., these villas reflect local social hierarchies. As such they would have functioned as residences of elite families which possibly dominated the near-by local settlement (p. 195-196).

Chapter 6 examines changes in the character and function of the urban periphery in late antiquity. For G. the persistence of the centre-periphery divide and the little altered character of periurban land-use make a case for continuity between the high imperial and the late antique Gallo-Roman city. Still, G. identifies some significant changes indicated by the construction of new defensive walls. The earlier Gallo-Roman cities had remained largely unwallled, though their boundaries were conceptually well-defined. The new city-walls, often inconsistent with former boundaries and even enclosing smaller territories than the earlier urban centres, represent a rupture in the urban fabric and inverse the trend towards expansion, consequently displacing activities outside the walls. In contrast to traditional scholarly opinion, G. disagrees with attributing specific importance to extra-mural churches by stressing their unique directional pull; instead she values their extra-mural location as an expression of continuous attention given to peripheral activity. On a functional and social level G. compares extra-mural churches to peripheral public buildings of the imperial period (theatres, baths). These buildings represented foci for social interaction and participation in the wider Roman world to be later substituted by churches offering participation in a wider Christian world (p. 210).

Finally, Chapter 7 considers the urban periphery within the broader context of Gallo-Roman urbanism. G. illustrates the challenges posed by the conflicting dynamics between the 'display city of the provincial elite' and the socio-economic city. Local elites created showcases of *urbanitas* and Roman-ness, whereby the emphasis on the urban centre and its distinct boundary markers rendered urban space inflexible and thus negatively affected the city's economic function. According to G. the urban periphery was able to solve this conflict of interest. It reconciled both needs, allowing the elite city and the socio-economic city to occupy the same space without having a negative impact on one another (p. 234). Thus, the urban periphery not only created space for industrial, commercial and domestic activities, but also extended the elite's display function, offering new settings for monumental public buildings (circuses, amphitheatres). It seems all about realising the urban periphery's potential for negotiation between local needs and Roman principles. G. eventually declares that her model contributes to resolve the tension between scholarly opinions either emphasising the political/cultural role or the economic one (p. 234). Without doubt it makes a valid and interesting contribution, but G. is also careful to suggest that

her model has validity for all Roman cities and their peripheries. Hopefully more studies, examining other Roman provinces, will follow in this direction.

Goodman's book is a coherent and very detailed treatment of Roman cities and their periphery. The case studies are well referenced and clearly illustrated, providing the reader with detailed maps to follow the archaeological explanations. While the systematic approach is the only way to go and the book proves her right, her arguments and conclusions appear at times repetitive and slightly cumbersome, making her investigation and way of presenting her arguments at once a strength and weakness of the book. Nevertheless, by its very value it is highly recommended to anyone interested in Roman urbanism and Roman urban space.

Hanna Stöger

NESLIHAN ASUTAY-EFFENBERGER / ARNE EFFENBERGER, *Die Porphyrsarkophage der öströmischen Kaiser. Versuch einer Bestandserfassung, Zeitbestimmung und Zuordnung*. Wiesbaden: Reichert Verlag, 2006. 138 S., 22 Abb., 28 Taf., 6 Tab.; 24,5 cm (Spätantike-Frühes Christentum-Byzanz; Kunst im ersten Jahrtausend 15). – ISBN 3-89500-353-0.

In this interesting study two different, but connected subjects are treated in a very richly documented way. The first part is devoted to the porphyry sarcophagi of the eastern Roman emperors from Constantine I onwards; in the second part - in fact a large excursus - special attention is given to the mausoleum of Constantine and the Hagii Apostoli church in Constantinople, both in its original Constantinian and its later Justinian appearance.

After the death of Constantine I in 337 most emperors, empresses, princes and princesses of the eastern Roman empire, and some of their counterparts in the western part of the empire as well, were buried in or near the Hagii Apostoli Church in Constantinople. This royal graveyard of Roman and Byzantine rulers remained in use till Constantine VIII, who died in 1028.

Porphyry objects were very rare in the ancient world, because of the high price of the material, but between ca 305 and 450 (closure of the mines in Egypt) a small number of porphyry sarcophagi was used for members of the imperial family. According to literary sources the mausoleum of the emperors contained in the mid-6th century 23 sarcophagi; only 10 of them were made of porphyry.

The authors present in this study a combination of a wide range of literary sources, dating from Roman Antiquity, Byzantine Middle Ages and the later Ottoman period, with the remains that still can be seen now in the museums, mosques and streets of Istanbul. At the moment eight more or less complete, but badly damaged, porphyry sarcophagi are still to be found; a fragment of a cover slab and a lot of fragments of other sarcophagi that have disappeared during the late-Byzantine and Ottoman periods are a sad testimony of the splendour of long ago. Evaluating all available information the authors conclude that at most 20 porphyry sarcophagi must have been present in the royal cemetery.

Much has been written about the Hagii Apostoli Church and its imperial tombs, by Roman and Byzantine

authors and by visitors of later centuries as well. Very problematic is that often this information is incomplete or contradictory. In fact, we have knowledge of an enormous amount of details, but in spite of all that a coherent overall view is not possible. For that reason there is no possibility to ascribe with certainty the remaining sarcophagi to individual emperors or empresses. The hypotheses by the authors - in tables I and VI - are, in my opinion, very plausible and founded on a sound interpretation of very heterogeneous sources.

Most porphyry sarcophagi do not have any decoration; only one fragment shows grapes collecting putti and acanthus leaves. On some other coffins only an Egyptian ankh-sign or a cross in a wreath can be seen. Therefore, dating by stylistic criteria will be difficult. The authors have chosen another criterium for differentiation and dating: the measures of the sarcophagi are very divergent (tables II-V). The largest one seems to be the oldest and is ascribed to Constantine I, the tomb with putti and acanthus leaves to his son Constantius II; in later periods the dimensions have a tendency to grow smaller. A similar development may be discerned in the bases of the sarcophagi: they are growing higher during the 4th and 5th centuries.

Constantine's mausoleum concept, in which he was surrounded by cistae with the remains of the Twelve Apostles, was not of long duration. In 358/359 the urns of the Apostles were removed by Constantius II to the Hagii Apostoli Church, still under construction at the moment. He placed his own richly decorated porphyry sarcophagus near his father's tomb, and during the eighties Theodosius I added a third porphyry one for his own use. Other imperial burials were located in the near-by Apostoli Church in marble or porphyry tombs.

These large tombs sometimes were used for more than one burial; for that reason many princes, princesses and other members of the imperial family could find their resting places in the mausoleum or the church.

The long excursus is in fact a fierce rejection of an old thesis, put forward again by Paul Speck in 2000. Speck, and many scholars in earlier years, pretend that there did never exist a special mausoleum built by Constantine I; his tomb was placed in the eastern section of the cruciform Hagii Apostoli Church, that in this theory was already begun by Constantine himself. I think that the arguments of the authors in favour of a round Constantinian mausoleum like the Santa Costanza in Rome as original grave monument, followed by the cruciform church built by his son Constantius II during the fifties, are more convincing. The testimony (cited on p. 148) of a western anonymous traveller, who lived in Constantinople for some time during the later 11th century, is quite clear: '*in capite ipsius ecclesiae (i.e. Hagii Apostoli) est rotunda ecclesiola marmorea que dicitur fuisse capella Constantini imperatoris, in qua requiescit idem Constantinus cum sua matre Helena in tapho porfiretico maximo et preciosissimo. Cerneret in eadem ecclesia Apostolorum quamplurima sepulcra non ignobilia imperatorum et patriarcharum.*' Will this testimony suffice to end a long discussion, based in most cases on corrupted and incomplete texts?

The book contains a limited number of beautiful colour plates and a great number of fine black and white photographs and ground-plans. Everybody interested in late-Roman architecture, Constantinople, Constantine and his family, or imperial porphyry tombs will find a lot of interesting information in this richly documented study.

Jos P.A. van der Vin

Books received

BERYL BARR-SHARRAR, *The Derveni Krater. Masterpiece of Classical Greek Metalwork*. Princeton NY: The American School of Classical Studies at Athens, 2008. 239 pp., 168 figs., 32 pts, 1 map; 27.5 cm (Ancient Art and Architecture in Context 1). – ISBN 978-0-87661-962-9.

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